

**Decentralisation, School Autonomy
and the State in
England and Portugal: 1986-1996**

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Abstract

In 1987 the Portuguese and British governments initiated 'radical' changes to the organisation and provision of school education. Influenced by a programme which combined political and economic neo-liberalism, conservative social doctrines on family and nation and traditional forms of education, these two governments proposed to 'innovate' and to 'modernise' public management and governance. 'Decentralisation' and 'autonomy' were both essential principles and goals underlying the introduction of private market principles and mechanisms in public education. The translation of those principles and goals into policy and the objectives which they conveyed were at the centre of political and professional disputes in the two countries.

This thesis traces the emergence and development of principles and objectives informing the reform of school management and governance and maps the change in administration, governance, financing and provision. The comparative study of this change begins with the consideration of why governments, in countries at different stages of social development and democratisation and with an increasingly diverse social and ethnic composition, embraced policy solutions derived from similar libertarian and individualistic economic and political definitions of social freedoms and rights.

The aims of the thesis are to explain and to contrast the transformation of existing mandates for compulsory education and of the nature of professional practice and school relations; to map the trajectory of changes in management and governance in two local areas in each country; to discuss the early impact of these reforms on teaching and learning and the anticipated lasting effect on schooling. An integrated comparative approach is combined with policy sociology and a perspective of the state which takes into account national specificity and complexity and the emergence of a transnational new form of social regulation. Interviews were undertaken with key actors in both central and local national government, in regional services, representative groups with an interest in education and with those responsible for the management and governance of schools in the two countries. These interviews provide the core material to trace the influence of adopted principles over practice at local and school level.

The thesis concludes with the analysis of the impact of reforms at the institutional and local community levels. It discusses comparatively the way in which political deregulation, re-regulation and combined deregulation/re-regulation coexist at the school level and influence change in the following areas: curriculum, assessment, financing, teachers' recruitment, pay and working conditions, inspection, school admissions, special educational needs and discipline. Similarities in political regulation are contrasted with the way in which principles and reform initiatives were expressed differently in Portugal and England. The various forms and mandates which reforms took nationally and internationally across areas of social reform and across education's sub-systems and, the different ways in which principles were translated into policy initiatives are taken into account when considering the long-term anticipated impact of reforms in both countries.

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The International Rise of Neo-Conservative Liberalism and The National Processes of Educational Democratisation

[I]f the comparative discussions about homologies among politics, arts, science, economics and education and the constructions of educational arenas among different nations are historically appropriate, the changes that we now witness in the school arena are changes that involve uneven movements of a long duration in multiple arenas. (Popkewitz, 1996: 47-48)

The first difficulty is to encapsulate the nature of the changes we are looking at (Harvey, 1989: 173) [...] [It] behoves us to establish how deep and fundamental the change might be. (p. 121)

[...] [A] sea-change in the surface appearance [...] a transitional moment of grumbling crisis [...] solid transformation or temporary fix? (p. 188)

Commonality within Difference

Governments around the world emphasised the 'improvement' of the 'quality' of public services and of 'professional standards' and the need for 'lay participation' in public governance in their discourse on social reform throughout the 1980s. During this period, the management and governance of social institutions were regarded by governments as strategic areas of reform. 'Improvement', 'quality' and 'participation' were the visible side of a return to conservative liberal principles in national governance which emerged in opposition to the existing broad political consensus on governance and management. The transfer of those principles to the organisation and provision of public services became the main objective of governmental reforms. This converging trend is part of a wider international movement in economic (Hood, 1994) and in public management (Dunleavy and Hood, 1993); in the management and governance of education (Whitty *et. al.*, 1998), as well as in other public services across political systems (Glennister and Midgley, 1991). In education, the reform of management and governance extended the mechanisms and notions derived from economic and political liberalism to public₍₁₎ schooling in order to transform its mandate, as well as the social role of the state. Being one of 'the four essential circuits within the education system [...] [management and governance became] [...] both means and [...] an end in [themselves and] a way of delivering other changes (Ball, 1994: 1, 71). Governments aimed at creating new forms of government, civil society, community, state, citizenship and social welfare. The notions of teaching 'quality' and professional 'autonomy', parental 'participation' and educational 'standards' were redefined. They became essential reform tools within each national blend of neo-conservative liberalism and played an important role in the transfer of conservative liberalism to the forum where the freedom to teach and to learn were to be practised. The transformative action of reforms entered countries' politics of education and politics of educational democratisation at different stages in the history of their public systems. The ensuing international convergence of government mandates for management and governance was not the product of international rulings, transfer of policy through international agreements or direct legislation. Also, the changes introduced in the different countries did not result in the establishment of one common formal international system. Nor did conservative liberal principles and mechanisms have a different impact nationally. If the extent to which change

in the systems of management and governance produced by similar reform programmes was different, the impact of change on the process of educational democratisation was similar. Changes were rather the result of and resulted in the reshaping of similar aspects and themes of public education. The similar projects of reform adopted in Portugal and in England targeted the 'school-democracy-work' relationship (Stoer & Araujo, 1991: 226).

Paradoxically, despite the different levels of democratisation and of pupils' participation in education in the 1980s, national governments around the world highlighted similar 'problems' in provision when emphasising the need to reform management and governance. Common principles and policy strategies were adopted in countries with different educational histories, traditions, systems and positions in the arena of international (political and economic) relations. Thus, while national politics of employment, teachers' professional development or pupils' participation rates were different, the politics of educational reform developed along similar themes. Management and governance assisted in forging the break away from the broad political consensus in education which existed in both countries.

Breaking Away from 'Consensus': The Liberal and Social Critiques of Public Education

Despite having been established on social and political divisions, there was a political consensus in education in Portugal and Britain until the 1980s. There was an underlying shared assumption and an expectation that the educational state would have an active role in promoting the expansion of and the access to public comprehensive secondary and higher education. This expectation implied that public schooling would be managed and governed within a decentralised framework. Political authority would be shared between central and local government and schools. Access to secondary education would be universal and free of charge and there would not be segregation of pupils into general and vocational education in Years 7-9. These were the dominant (although not always consensual nor coherent) assumptions underlying post-1944 British and post-1974 Portuguese policy-making. The rise in the influence of the neo-liberal critique of public schooling, during the period which anticipated the 1980s reforms in both countries, took place while comprehensive access to secondary education remained the dominant reference for local practice in urban schools. In England, this dominant influence coexisted with the maintenance of a strong parallel network of private, public selective (Grammar) and denominational secondary schools. In both countries, the democratisation of access and participation evolved as patterns of administration, governance, curriculum, assessment and teaching methods which were inherited from the nineteenth century remained influential. The political confrontations and social divisions which shaped financing, organisation and governance in the 1980s revived themes which were prominent during the transition from nineteenth century schooling. During the British post-World War II and the Portuguese post-1976 periods, policy making in education was conditioned by the politics of social segregation and academic selection. The social democratic critique of public schooling highlights the social impact of those two constraints on the democratisation of schooling. First, this critique stresses how schooling has guaranteed only limited democratisation of access and participation. Secondly, how policy making has not taken into full account the impact of the constraints of social divisions, individual and cultural diversity and educational selection on the process of teaching and learning and consequently on educational participation. In the 1970s, this critique became increasingly confronted by the neo-liberal critique of public schooling. Although both critiques target the systems of

financing, management, governance, testing, curriculum, teaching methods and school autonomy, they embrace different mandates for state education which are drawn from the two opposing blends of liberalism and social democracy or socialism.

The strengthening of the neo-conservative liberal opposition to the existing social settlement in education and the embracement of a conservative liberal model for education by the British Conservative and the Portuguese Social Democrat₍₂₎ governments, throughout the 1980s, forced the break with consensus. The process of policy formulation and implementation became shaped by the confrontation between these two critiques of state education and by the rise in influence of conservative libertarian values. The conflict which underlies the meaning of 'quality', 'participation' and 'improvement' as it was advanced by the British Conservative and the Portuguese Social Democrat (PSD) governments was embedded in that opposition. Conservative liberalism proposed a version of educational improvement based on the restoration of a curriculum, teaching and assessment methods derived from selective university-oriented schooling (UOS) and of the early within-school streaming of pupils who did not fit in the UOS model. In UOS the pupil is schooled in a traditional curriculum (which is modelled on private or Grammar schools in England, and the Lycee in Portugal). Pupils who fail to achieve the goals for learning within that curriculum can expect to be diverted early in their school career to lower vocational courses.

In Portugal, the 1987 PSD government's programme of economic and political liberalism broke with the (compromise-based) agreement secured in 1986. In Britain, conservative liberalism re-emerged in opposition to the 1960s expansion of comprehensive schooling. The New Right reaction emphasised the notion of diversity based on selection and segregation within the public sector and across the private and public sectors. Private sector schooling was not central to nor targeted by government for integration in the public system. Parents were encouraged by government to become active agents in the early segregation of pupils within education's public sector and between the private and public sectors. The 1988 Education Reform Act provided the mechanism for individual consumer choice of schools by parents. Market-oriented choice of schools became the force driving provision and schools' funding. Parental choice became decisive in setting levels of funding and schools became tied to the shifts in *per capita* financing. Schools' academic reputation and social environment became of greater

importance for (skilled, schooled and informed) parents exercising choice. Segregation and selection was no longer to be solely initiated within schools. Within the 1988 framework, schools are to select pupils and re-introduce streaming in classrooms in response to parents' ideal models of schools' social environment, academic and career plans. These models are reflected in the way parents exercised their choices. The practice of school choice in the private and in parts of the public sectors became generalised. The 1988 Act also encouraged school relations where teachers' recruitment and promotion are intertwined with fund raising, managerial and accountancy-based skills. In both countries, the way in which the combination of conservatism with liberalism recreated the definition of educational priorities and problems influenced the redefinition of the policy debate and the conditions to formulate, implement and to evaluate reforms. The above combination also renewed the challenge for analysis of the politics of education.

The new forms of conservatism and liberalism shaped the politics, institutions and social relations by reference to a combination of principles which had, in the past, been opposed. The traditional opposition between the conservative and the liberal elite in power - which characterised the eight types of states, as defined by Rokkan and Lipset, in Europe (Colas, 1994: 509) - was broken. Not only did the 1980s reforms rework and were reworked through new holders and forms of power but they were also sustained within a new political order which was embedded in new forms of 'social and political regulation' (Harvey, 1989: 121).

As they carved more deeply old divisions, the reforms of management and governance were generated amidst confrontation and tension. The rift between progressive and elitist education, elitist and participatory democracy, economic individualism and democratic socialism, cut across changes to management and governance. Divisions on curriculum, assessment, teachers' training and general governance of education cut across state institutions and groups - of teachers and parents - traditionally viewed as blocks with opposing interests. Parents, teachers and civil servants confronted each other in opposition to or in support of government's reforms while official discourse portrayed each of these three groups as blocks with uniform interests. Opposition within the same group did not annihilate or replace confrontation or divisions over principles and policy strategies between the above groups and government.

The reforms of the public sector of state schooling put the emphasis on

quality [concentrating] on the management of production processes, [...] [using] a rhetoric of cultural change and empowerment, [...] [or on] developing sophisticated measurements of consumer satisfaction [which have] in common only the most basic objective of somehow increasing the competitive advantage and profitability of a firm. (Kirkpatrick and Lucio, 1995: 6)

The changes which such objectives implied were opposed and supported from within the same group according to the above divisions. The emerging tension derived from this confrontation shaped the politics of governance, management and teachers' autonomy. Changes to the role of management and governance in the regulation of education and in the establishment of a new order were at the centre of that confrontation. In the new order, priorities, financing and provision of public services would be transformed to incorporate the three sets of characteristics found at the end of this section.

As conservative liberalism emerged in opposition to existing consensus, first on the distribution of decision making power over the governance of education, and second on the financing, provision and (potentially) the ownership and provision of universal education, it diverted the course of educational and institutional democratisation. In this process, as the influence of market principles and of commercial managerial cultures on public services rose, the process of policy making in different countries became similar. The commonality which emerged became reflected in five areas:

- . selection (of pupils by schools and of schools by parents);
- . provision;
- . financing ;
- . privatisation₍₃₎ and
- . management of teachers and teaching.

This commonality also became reflected in the growing supremacy of individual parental rights of choice over the collective social right to education. Tensions, conflict and opposition emerged from both political confrontations and from divisions within the conservative liberal movement. These divisions took two forms: divisions between conservatism and liberalism and between different versions of liberalism.

International Characteristics Influencing the National Definition of Priorities, Financing and Provision of Public Services in the 1980s

-
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| . market networks | . de-concentration [...] of | . small, flexible batch production |
| . participative leadership | corporate power | . quality control (immediate detection of errors) |
| . multiple goals | . expansion of | . immediate rejection of defective parts |
| . strategic management | managerial strata | . reduction of lost time |
| . democratic free enterprise | . decline in | . demand driven |
| . hybrids of capitalism and socialism (Halal, 1986) | effectiveness of national collective bargaining | . (quasi-) vertical integration sub-contracting |
| | . challenges to centralized state bureaucracy and power | . learning-by-doing integrated in long-term planning |
| | . increased sub-contracting | . multiple tasks, elimination of job demarcation |
| | . deconcentration from city centres (Lash and Urry, 1987) | . personal payment/bonus |
| | | . long on the job training and learning |
| | | . more horizontal organization |
| | | . worker's co-responsibility |
| | | . deregulation/re-regulation |
| | | . local or firm-based negotiations |
| | | . privatisation of collective needs and social security |
| | | . decentralisation and sharpened interregional / intercity competition, 'entrepreneurial' state/city (Swyngedouw, 1986) |

(Adapted from Harvey, 1989: 176-179)

The Return of Conservative Liberalism by Government Action

What is to be taught in schools and how teaching and assessment are to take place became the focus of attention for the Portuguese and British governments during the period of this study. These governments initiated and exercised an active influence over the course of changes to policy. Models, systems, trends, ideas and political strategies were fostered by the contact of national representatives in international organisations. Since the process of internationalisation has not been produced by an international ruling on the transfer of educational programmes of reform to individual countries, the return to conservative liberalism indicates the existence of continuity in the national politics of social and education policy-making. National governments were constrained, at the same time, by international trends and strong national agents of neo-conservative liberalism. The translation of neo-conservative liberal ideas into social policy were enshrined in national political and social divisions, in continuity and change in the process of institutional and educational democratisation.

The active influence of the British Conservative and the 1987 Portuguese Social Democrat (PSD) governments over the course of change, was interwoven in the national politics of school education, central-local government relations and politics and in economic policy. The return to conservative liberalism penetrated the accumulated layers which shaped national politics of education. The influence of neo-conservative liberal reforms upon schooling was further facilitated or hindered according to the strength of national democratic institutions, the existing political and professional consensus, the traditions of management and governance and of parental involvement in issues shaping schooling. The Portuguese PSD government was very active in legislating on economic reform according to the neo-liberal cannon. An international elite of national policy makers was committed to neo-liberal reforms and converged on the embracement of principles of reference and on the mobilisation of popular (public and professional) opinion. These policy-makers steered national changes whilst contributing to an emerging international trend.

At the international level, ideas and practices were exchanged in general meetings by senior officials with overall responsibility for education. However, since the adoption of neo-conservative liberal principles intersected nationally-bound political and social divisions and

models of democracy and social development, the convergence of reforms incorporates a set of common developments which are deeply rooted in each nation. Despite membership of the European Union and the course of European policy harmonisation in other policy areas, the Portuguese and English reforms of management and governance were not legislated at the European level. This was also in spite of education and training being part of what Anderson and Eliassen (1993) define as being one of 'the two pillars [...] [where] there exists more of an intergovernmental type of cooperation' (p. 22). Governments in both countries were, above all, committed to a blend of conservative liberalism. In turn, the internationalisation of conservative liberalism relied on the active commitment of governments, individual policy makers and specific social and political groups and individuals in each country. Since the way in which reforms penetrated existing (or created new) tensions and divisions was constrained by the national environment where these tensions developed, the impact of the introduction of market-oriented mechanisms and business-oriented procedures and systems in democratic institutions also varied according to the policy areas where they were introduced. Such impact had nevertheless, a common feature: it worked against further democratisation and it strengthened non-democratic practices still existing in established democratic institutions or procedures.

The active role of national governments in spreading the conservative liberal policy framework did not reflect a straight reproduction of conservative and liberal ideals. As noted by Ball, the 'set of principles or theoretical model [...] [are not translated] into policy texts or practice in direct or pristine form. National policy making is inevitably a process of bricolage' (1998a: 126) and of time-specific national compromises. The national forms conservative liberalism took became the product of the interaction between governments' active commitment or contribution to the international policy paradigm and the development of the national politics of education.

Internal Divisions, Tension and Firm Political Agreements

The divisions within the conservative liberal movement and within government which emerged in the 1980s to shape the institutional cultures and systems of management and governance were specific to the blending of liberalism and conservatism. The governments' internal disputes over liberalism and between conservatism and liberalism influenced the forms and versions of decentralisation, autonomy and participation which were to emerge. Those versions also varied according to national traditions of conservatism and liberalism and to the type of institutional relations (past and present) existing between countries. Liberalism is a 'controversial concept [of which the] meaning has shifted historically' (Held, 1996/1998: 74). As pointed out by Gray, liberalism is characterised by a 'vast internal variety and complexity' and 'has acquired a different flavour in each of the different national cultures' (1986/1995: xii). This condition was reproduced in the Portuguese and English reforms during the 1980s as it had been manifested in the 19th century when classical liberalism influenced economic and political organisation, state mandates and social change. The internal divisions illustrate this variety and specificity but, at the same time, the overall consistency of neo-liberalism in opposing social democracy. These divisions were visible at the stage of policy formulation. In Portugal, for example, four sets of principles and regulatory models influenced the notion and goals of decentralisation, the government's programme to reform management and governance and, consequently, the process of policy formulation and implementation. Each of the four sets proposed different versions of autonomy and of civil society on which the notions of decentralisation depended. This multiplicity of meanings and mandates shaped the notions of local development, community, local freedom to participate in decision making, delegation, participation and autonomy. The meaning and purpose of complementary objectives such as diversity, quality, efficiency, assessment/evaluation and choice, were also influenced by this multiplicity. The four notions of decentralisation were represented by different official policy makers and coexisted during the process of policy formulation to produce contradictions.

Overall, internal tensions arose from the 'internal variety' of liberalism, the divisions within conservative liberalism and from national histories while the opposition to social forms of democracy, education, freedoms and rights remained consistent. Neo-conservative liberalism

is not a loose aggregate of ideas.

[Despite] diversity [...], political manifestations and social ramifications [...] [of] the ideas comprising radical right ideology [which] are complex, multifaceted and even internally inconsistent [...], [are strongly locked on the] three ideological themes of economic individualism, cultural traditionalism and authoritarian populism. (Midgley, 1991: 3,8)

The transformation brought about by reforms in Portugal and England was not an inarticulate set of changes in the various areas of public education. The three themes pointed out by Midgley steered the direction in which general educational outcomes were produced. Their specific effects had a material form across countries.

[The] extent and nature of the reforms varies widely both between and within our five countries [...] [but] within each of our five countries a range of policies has been implemented that attempt to restructure public education. A common theme is the devolution of financial and managerial control to more local levels [...] Not only have changes in the nature of the state influenced the reforms in education, the reforms in education are themselves beginning to change the way we think about the role of the state and what we expect of it. (Whitty *et al.*, 1998: 10, 30, 46)

The version of classical liberalism which inspired reforms in the 1980s, was grounded on a narrow version of democracy. The embracement of this version implied a continuity with past shortcomings on democratisation. Individual freedom was to be pursued without public guarantees for social rights. Education was to be accessed by exercising rational, individual, calculated choice. There is a shift in the regulation of social rights through schooling. Economic freedom was to be pursued with limited economic justice. There was a tendency to '[...] downgrade or deny the validity of social rights and positive freedoms and insist instead that legal and political rights are fundamental' (Glennerster, 1991: 173). The 'free' market principle confined social rights. Education acquired a market value. The notion that educating children is an economic investment was emphasised to highlight the need for its provision to be subjected to rational individual choice. Individual choice was to maximise educational, cultural and financial capital. Thus, as in a private business, investment required capital and expertise. The notions of unequal value, unequal benefits and social distinction were not integrated in the newly promoted version of (market) diversity. 'Optimal' individual behaviour and economic efficiency came to replace the requirements of social equality. The norms of competition overshadowed democratic requirements and replaced redistribution criteria with

economic efficiency. Unequal market relations and market-produced outcomes - which in effect had previously been reduced by redistributive policies - were not taken into account as being an obstacle to the foundation of democratic rights. Competition became the basis for the new form of allocation of services where one individual is to gain what another individual is to lose. In many cases, the Darwinian principle of 'natural selection' was transferred to social selection: only the 'fittest' survive educational assessments. Changes in schools followed narrow definitions of 'improvement' based on the opposition between good/bad, efficient/inefficient or useful/useless. In both countries this opposition was rooted in views about 'the quality of a service or product [which arose] from combining an emphasis on external customer needs with the continuous improvement of internal organisational processes' (Kirkpatrick and Lucio, 1995: 4).

There was an emphasis, in Portugal and in England, on the belief that

the private sector and its managerial practices [are] superior to the public sector's tradition of administration [...] [because of] [...] appealing features [which] included the potential for cost saving and containment, the idea of introducing internal competitive relations, the dismantling of 'bureaucratic' cultures and the establishment of rational service specifications which were the responsibility of both employees and employers. (p. 7)

Universal schooling became defined in terms of an educational 'minimum' where school access and educational success as guarantees for social rights, were placed in opposition to the individual's right to 'preferential' access. The liberal conception of rights, where rights are conceived as being opposed to each other, came to override the 'integrated' (Canotilho and Moreira, 1991: 44) version of rights. The negative individual right of non-interference with the freedom to learn was placed in opposition to the positive right of all to education. The collective social rights which are a guarantee for the exercise of individual freedom of education were isolated and their content was emptied. This way, the state's guarantee of this individual freedom was to be taken over by private (family) investors in education. Consumer choice was to replace the social guarantee (which is constitutional in Portugal). The (educational) market was to become the private arena where individuals exercise choice and (civil society) institutions influence financing, resources allocation, surveillance and decision making. Enforcement of the right to education is, as in other private markets, to be left to the private and only ultimately (via private litigation) to the public sphere. As in other markets,

private enforcement will be unequally exercised. The politics of education were, in this way, also transferred from the public to the private arena. The market is to regulate liberty and freedom leaving rights outside the framework of the state's privatised system of allocation, financing and provision of public schooling. The public management of private tax income by government was targeted by neo-liberals as being at the root of 'problems' in education. The private concentration of revenue was removed from government's concerns. The private market economy plus private civil society (with minimal welfare to keep social order) was preferred to the private market economy plus welfare state formula in public policy making. A new mixed economy was forged. The establishment of educational markets reduced the role of planning the use of private revenue and transformed the system of 'relocation of enterprises and household income taxes' (Glennister 1997: 11). Democratic control - which conservative liberals oppose - was reduced. Without reducing central government's intervention in schooling, neo-conservative liberal reforms reduced democratic influence. As at the end of the 19th century, business 'freedom' to trade (and to maximise profit) was extended to promote the individual's 'freedom' to maximise private individual capital. Workers (tax payers) are to become private (financial and educational) investors.

By standing in opposition to participatory democratic principles, institutional models or practices but also to further democratisation of educational participation, conservative liberal governance recreated old 'grave doubts [...] [about] the possibility of realising [the] ideal of [...] democracy as the rule of the people by means of the maximum participation of all people' (Pateman, 1970/1995: 2). The consistency of the conservative liberal blend which influenced educational reforms was reflected in this opposition.

As emphasised by Gray, 'liberalism constitutes a single tradition, rather than two or more traditions or a diffuse syndrome of ideas' (1986/1995: xiii). In the 1980s, liberalism stood against the potential historical move towards democratic socialism as a set of principles and a model for change. In Portugal, liberalism stood against the advancement of participatory models of political and institutional democracy. In England, it stood against local government's advancement in that direction. Reforms were set against social justice and social freedom while advocating liberal justice and liberal freedom. This is the most important feature underlying reforms in the two countries. In England, Stoker stresses the 'lack of faith

in local political control and democracy' (1991) which existed at the time. Jones refers to the existence of a 'constitutional change' (1991) and Ranson *et. al.* to a 'reordering of the balance of influence and power' (1985: 203). In Portugal, the National Council of Education questions whether 'the new model of school administration is a real problem of regime as far as this is the expression of constitutional principles' (Conselho Nacional de Educação, 1994).

The consistency of the opposition to social forms of democracy, education, freedom and rights had its contradictions. One of the features of the conservative liberal critique of public services in democratic regimes is the emphasis on the association of public services provision with authoritarianism (and 'injustice'). Liberalism is set to stand as the guardian, the sole bastion of political freedom which had been its classical function (against absolutist monarchies or monarchs' monopolies of commerce). However, there is a distinction between the neo-liberal opposition to social justice and the opposition to authoritarianism or to the authoritarian use of democratic institutions of the state by governments in order to ban political freedom and to establish a dictatorship. In the 1980s, the above conservative liberal plea was set to stand against participatory democracy, a social version of freedom, rights, citizenship, justice and against socialist democracy. This attack was sustained on the advocacy of 'social justice [being] whatever is delivered by the market' (Harvey, 1996: 343). The success in capturing public opinion's support for this plea was entangled in the conditions which made 'any application of the concept of social justice problematic' (p. 342) during the period of reforms. In 1982, Le Grand highlighted, from a pragmatic basis, specific to public spending, what he considers to be two past mistakes. First, the failure to have taken into account the 'five distinct types of equality that appear in one context or another as suitable objectives for guiding the distribution of public expenditure [...] equality of public expenditure [...] of final income [...] of use [...] of cost [...] and] of outcome' (p. 14-15). Second, not having used the notion of 'full equality' (p. 16) in evaluations of past policy. The conditions to which Harvey refers above are the product of the combination of an existing 'variety of idealist and philosophical interpretations' (1996: 342) of social justice first, with the advocacy of 'particularity, positionality and group difference' (p. 350) and of 'geographically fragmented notions of justice' (p. 351) and second, with the 'attack [on] government regulation and the welfare state [...] in the name of the unjust and unfair regulation of private property rights and the unfair taxation of the [...] fruits of entrepreneurial endeavour in freely functioning markets' (p. 343).

The liberal order advocated in Portugal and England was not 'a derivative of liberality, the classical virtue of humanity, generosity and the open mind' (Gray, 1986/1995: xi). Conservative liberalism, as in the USA, geared reforms in opposition to the

popular American use [of liberalism as] welfare state capitalism which characterized the basic direction of federal urban policies since the New Deal [and to which market] capitalist social theorists object to [as to them liberalism is] a social theory dedicated to reducing the role of the state in economic life in the belief that thereby the individual's freedom will be enhanced. In the [US], market liberals often are termed "conservatives". This designation tends to confuse devotees of the free market with traditional conservatives who favour substantially greater social control of individual behaviour than market liberals find tolerable. (Smith, 1988/1992: 121)

In both countries, the formulation, implementation and impact of reforms was shaped by governments' embracement of moral and religious traditions and by their combination with four liberal elements of reference:

- . individualism and the individual's central place in any notion of choice, freedom and justice;
- . 'free' market competition as a principle for social change;
- . individual entrepreneurship and leadership as organising principles for management and governance; and
- . minimal state intervention to extend individual choice, freedom and justice in the market and beyond economic competition.

The way in which these four elements shaped national government policy was influenced by the confrontation between conservatives and advocates of radical economic liberalism. While there was agreement on the political dimension of liberalism, there was also opposition in relation to the principles which should guide schooling, governance and the mechanisms for provision in the public sector. While libertarians advocated that provision be left to the rules of private-like market mechanisms, conservatives were concerned that the market might erode traditional moral, social and political (Catholic or Protestant-oriented) principles. In practice, the blend of conservative liberal governance generated compromise-based agreements which relied on market rules to maintain tradition. Education became regulated accordingly and policy represented consistent

images of an ideal society [...] [which are] not simply a direct response to dominant interests [...] but [that also respond] to a complex and heterogeneous configuration of elements (including ideologies that are residual or emerging,

as well as, currently dominant) [...] [and][...] an 'economy of power', a set of technologies and practices which are realised and struggled over in local settings. (Ball, 1990a: 3, 10)

The conservative liberal blend generated a consistent cultural change in management and administration. In this period, the notion of 'sites in which groups with decidedly different interests struggle over policies, goals, procedures and personnel' (Apple, 1998: 13) became visibly pronounced. The extent of changes was reflected in 'the 'capacity' of the state to reach into schools [...] via the use practitioners make of policy initiatives' (Bowe *et. al.*, 1992: 9).

Comparing Cross-National Transition

The comparison of both the framework within which the main concepts (which sustain the neo-liberal and the social versions of schooling) were defined and the aims which were enshrined in those discourses in Portugal and in England required studying the ideas and the process of reform. Such analysis allows for the understanding of how the conditions for the long-term transformation of governance, management, professional and school autonomy, as well as the whole process of schooling are set. In order to carry out this purpose, there was a need to explore, on the one hand, the confrontations, tensions and polarisation of positions in the processes of formulation and implementation of reforms and, on the other hand, the paradoxes which characterised the transition and the transformation of the framework within which the future mandate of state schooling, the regulation of public education and the conditions for the exercise of autonomy and freedom to teach and to learn were to be defined. This exploration was done by following the trajectory of the translation of neo-conservative liberal concepts and aims into educational management and governance. The chapters are organized to respond to the aims of mapping

- (1) the relationship between the principles, philosophy and intentions of reforms;
- (2) their 'trajectory' (Edwards et. al., 1989) through the various policy making 'contexts' (Ball, 1994) and
- (3) the features of their early impact on schools.

Mapping the trajectory of (1) implied moving backwards to look at the policy process retrospectively while the analysis of (2) and (3) involved analysing policy as it was being produced. The trajectory of those is analysed by reference to Ball's five interlinked contexts of analysis of reform: the 'context of influence, text production, political strategy, practice and outcomes'. Attention to the interplay between these contexts informs analysis. The process of making policy is viewed as a 'continuous policy cycle' where policy is the 'object of recontextualization' (1994: 19). Impact is conceptualised as the 'context of practice'. Here 'policy is interpreted, recreated and contested interpretations' (idem) emerge to create 'first order effects (changes in practice or structure)' (idem). The distinction between the 'policy text

(that represents policies, official legal texts, documents, formal/informal statements, public appearances or publicity)' and 'the construction of policy discourses' (Ball, 1994: 19) is of fundamental importance to this comparative analysis of the way in which governance and management changed in Portugal and in England. The 'context of outcomes' is incorporated in the analysis as a reference through which the 'politics of education' and 'education politics' (Dale, 1994) are related to the dimensions of 'justice, equality and individual freedom' (Ball, 1994: 26). There are two interrelated purposes informing this comparison. The general purpose is to illustrate how the development of a new historical world trend in education and in public policy reform works locally across different and specific political, economic and social processes. The specific purpose is to examine similarities between historically-specific changes which take place across different countries where 'a configuration of characteristics potentially paradigmatic in opposed directions [...] [are combined] in its own specific way' (Santos, 1993: 19, free translation - f.t.).

The consolidation of a framework of comparison faced several obstacles. There were problems involved in applying existing models for comparative analysis to the study of reforms in Portugal and in England. Paradoxically, the issues and politics of schooling and educational reform found in Portugal at the stage of early consolidation of democracy persisted in the late stages of democratic history in England while changes in school management and governance in the two countries took the form of

[...] a progressive force for transformation and the development of a new order [the] focus [of which] is on bringing about paradigm shifts involving the unravelling or dismantling of old bureaucratic, ossified companies or the social order of the welfare state settlement and the ways of thinking that sustained them. (Clark and Newman, 1997: 42)

Overcoming those problems required, a consideration of the national historical conditions in which reforms were taking place, of the national studies of education political programmes, of implementation and of the politics of education. Overall, the contrast of national specificity has allowed for the exploration of a wider range of issues. These issues tend to be overlooked in comparative analysis in the form of specific studies of welfare 'regimes', public spending or selected outcomes. Being a study of transition there was a need for a dynamic comparative framework where analysis would not be constrained by typologies.

The analysis produced in the chapters which follow is also the product of this condition of transition. What is presented in this thesis is not a final approach to compare change in Portugal and England. The comparison has strengths and weaknesses which reflect the difficulties which run through the process of analysing the complexity, contradictions and paradoxes of the process of change in the conditions of teaching and planning in the two countries. The comparison made use of various disciplines and this strategy has its strengths, as well as pitfalls. The limits of relying on country studies also have to be taken into account. Nonetheless, reliance on inductive analysis has proved useful to explore the complexities, continuity and paradoxes emerging from data. The thesis follows the 'opening out' rather than the 'focus down' model of presentation (Dunleavy, 1994a). Instead of presenting a literature review chapter, followed by research results, a brief analysis and a conclusion, this thesis incorporates the literature reviewed in each chapter, starting with the presentation of the issue under analysis which is followed by several chapters discussing findings comparatively. The 'opening out' model does not, therefore, rely on a linear presentation where the description of education systems is followed by a description of reforms in each country, of implementation and of the outcome of those reforms. This thesis relies on the discussion of reforms which brings together existing literature and analysis of data taking into account the historical dimension of educational reforms.

The analysis is rooted in a concern with schooling in urban areas, the politics of reform and of social change during the 1980s. The data on schools allows for generalisation to take place within the limits of the communities and the cities to which data refer. Generalisations are made by reference to studies in other schools in other (or perhaps unknowingly the same) cities or regions. Analysis is generally committed to the wider aims of understanding first, how the effective exercise of freedom and social justice by and for all develops historically and secondly, the long-term impact of reforms on social development, public institutions and on individual human lives. The final version of each chapter has been the result of a process initiated in 1994 where writing has been informed by the interlinked combination of :

- . existing theoretical and empirical work on policy sociology, policy and educational studies, studies of the 'welfare state', sociology, political science, economic and political thought;
- . data collection in the two countries;
- . limited direct observation of meetings and (indirect) analysis of meetings through minutes;

- . reflection on past direct professional involvement in policy delivery (in different professional and national settings) affecting school children; and finally
- . discussing of early drafts with supervisors.

Interviews were aimed at eliciting major themes and issues related to the process of implementing neo-conservative liberal mandates, policies and instruments. The specific local contexts of teaching, learning, managing and governing in the two countries were taken into account when researching those themes and issues. The goals set by government to change management and governance were contrasted with the practices followed by local government, school governors and managers. The early impact of reforms and of their priorities on schools was contrasted with priorities defined at school level. The paradoxes, dilemmas, contradictions and anachronisms generated by policy at the local level were explored. Finally, the developments generated by these policies were contrasted with patterns of continuity and change in management, governance and schooling. The tension between local specificity and macro policy, between 'agency' and 'structure' or between the 'individual' and the 'social' runs through this thesis.

Time Frame and Policy Texts

The period selected to illustrate the process of formulation was 1987-1991 in Portugal and 1980-1993 in England. In Portugal, the period 1987-1991 represents the term of the *Partido Social Democrata* (PSD) government's majority mandate. In 1988 the Commission for the Reform of the Education System (CRSE) initiated the production - commissioned by government - of a legislative framework for school management and governance. In 1989, the government produced a decree (DL 43) regulating school autonomy. In 1991 the legislation regulating school management and governance (DL 179) was approved. These regulations created a parallel structure to the one suggested by the 1986 Act. In England, 1980 represented the first legislative attempt by the Conservative Government - at the beginning of its majority mandate - to reform school governance. In 1986, an Education Act (nº 2) redefined the functions and the composition of school governing bodies. The second major intervention to redefine governance took place in 1988 together with the redefinition of school management. In 1993 the legislative framework regulating school autonomy was altered. The (quasi-autonomous government organisation -

QUANGO) Funding Agency for Schools was created and the framework for resources allocation and planning of places in Grant-Maintained schools (independent from LEAs) was established. Local Government-Maintained schools continued to be funded under the existing LMS legislation. The reforms in England were not produced, as in Portugal, as a parallel development to an existing legislative framework. Local government structures existed and educational criteria predominated in the management of classroom practice. Formulation of new patterns of school management and governance rather required the replacement of existing structures. The 1980, 1986, 1988 and the 1993 Education Acts introduced changes which had two aims: first, the reduction of local government's influence in education policy making and in provision and second, the straight transformation of existing school organisational and institutional mechanisms by business management and consumer choice-oriented principles.

Data Collection, Methodology and Research Process

In 1994 a pilot study was conducted in the two countries. A description can be found in Appendix 1. In England, initial findings indicated the following:

- . an increased awareness (amongst schools and parents) of an emerging hierarchy of 'good'/'bad' schools;
- . schools' concerns about the trend towards between-schools competition overriding educational concerns and budget priorities overriding pedagogical decisions;
- . recognition of a shift away from the 'comprehensive' principle;
- . overall supremacy of market and business criteria over education priorities.

In Portugal, there was also a growing awareness of the following trends:

- . a shift away from comprehensive education and the general principles of the 1986 Education Act;
- . supremacy of market and business criteria over education priorities;
- . reintroduction of segregation of pupils at the age of 14 with increased emphasis on early lower vocational training.

In both countries, the data collected indicated the following patterns:

- . increased managerial professionalisation of school administration (governance and management);
- . a concern with the rise in the segregation of pupils;
- . an emerging supremacy of financial criteria in school's decision making;
- . increasing constraints on responding to assessed (special) needs;
- . the emergence of a market-based hierarchy of educational and school priorities with an increased emphasis being put on the use of marketing by schools;
- . a shift towards localized and 'privatised' managerial regulation of teachers' work, careers and learning;
- . a growing professional hierarchy in schools; and
- . supremacy of personal loyalty over professional ethic in the management of teachers' relations.

Those findings guided the full collection of data and assisted in shaping the focus of analysis. The collection of data aimed at analysing the relationship between the areas and aspects of transition (as listed in Table 1) and the following government goals: 'decentralisation', 'autonomy', 'diversity', 'quality', 'efficiency', 'evaluation', 'participation', 'choice'. This analysis was, in turn, applied to the evaluation of the early impact of reforms on aspects of schooling as defined in Table 2.

The best way to capture transformation comparatively was to talk to politicians, officials, teachers and parents' representatives involved in the process of policy formulation and implementation; with teachers managing schools and with responsibilities in governing bodies and with lay persons also with responsibilities in governing bodies. A total of 80 elite and non-elite semi-structured interviews were conducted (2 of which were not tape-recorded). Its analysis was combined with historical research. Interviews covered the school, local/regional and central levels of the Portuguese and the English educational states. Interviewees represented twenty two institutions in Portugal and twenty seven in England. In Portugal, nine of those are schools, five are local or regional services and eight are central departments. In England, the numbers for equivalent institutions are eight, eight and ten respectively. A detailed list of those institutions and interviewees can be found in Appendix 2. Furthermore, extra transcripts of interviews conducted by Professor Stephen Ball and Dr. John Fitz with English Secretaries of State for Education, senior civil servants and senior local government officials in one Local Education Authority were made available to me. A mixture of reports, letters, internal circulars, records of meetings,

Areas and Aspects of Transition

Table 1

England	Portugal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . post-educational expansion politics of organized parents' interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 'forced delay' of educational expansion and the interplay between aspects related to rural societies, rural economies, economic 'modernisation' and humanist/formal education)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . emphasis on selection: parental selection of schools, schools' selection of pupils, curriculum specialisation; . intensification of private limits to the definition of priorities and to decision making in public education; . supremacy of (market) individual choice and market mechanisms in financing and provision over democratic systems and social citizenship; . individual 'leadership' and competition as models for professional conduct, school relations and relations between schools; and . supremacy of business management principles over professional knowledge 	

consultation documents covering the school, local and central levels of policy making were, together with statistical and social profiles of services, geographical areas and population, collected for analysis. A full list of these can be found in Appendix 3. Extra sources of information were informal conversations with various individuals living in the communities where schools were located, and data accumulated from living in those communities for limited periods of time with long-term residents, always as a visitor, as a national from another country, as a University-based researcher, as a woman, never as a participant or non-participant observer. Thus, the need to carry out checks on direct involvement with developments in the

Aspects of Schooling

Table 2

England	Portugal
. system of comprehensive education	. (1986 Education Act) consensus on comprehensive system up to Year 9
. tradition of local government	. tradition of centralised governance
. tradition of individualised school management	. tradition of collegiate school management
. tradition of school governance	. transition from government-appointed school managers to democratic school management
. governmental discretion	. constitutional requirements
. teachers as local government employee	. teachers as civil servants
. tradition of local curriculum	. tradition of national curriculum

institutions researched was not needed. Instead, there was a need to examine the obstacles derived from the condition of institutional detachment. In all cases, the visits, the documental study sessions and the interviews captured the general issues emerging locally. This implied not recording the detailed, complex and intense day-to-day practice, dilemmas and difficulties experienced by officers and teachers. Such detail, complexity and intensity could only be captured with a long-term ethnographic study.

The description of the detailed interaction between the quality and effort of staff in making provision and their response to the (sometimes opposing) diversity of local wide ranging needs of pupils or to reforms' intense and immediate requirements was not the purpose of the analysis carried out in this thesis. The data collected in schools, in English Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and in Portuguese Regional Departments of Education (DREs) reflect the patterns of the impact produced at an early stage of implementation. Not all data was incorporated in the analysis to illustrate the impact of national reforms on schools and in turn the response of the schools in the study to, as well as their influence on, shifting policy. The decision on how much data should be incorporated was judged against having to achieve a balance between generalisation and detail. Incorporating more data would provide a more detailed account of the role of education politics in schools' relations. Such detail was sacrificed to the aim of using data to illustrate the emergence of issues affecting national delivery and provision of education.

Analysis of the early impact of British reforms focuses on English schooling, schools and LEAs. Wales is not part of this analysis. Portugal refers to the continent. The Azores and Madeira Islands are not considered in this study. The choice of Portugal and England derives from the purpose of contrasting the adoption of similar programmes of reform and its early impact in countries with different political, social, economic, educational and policy-making histories where the provision of schooling was caught at different stages of educational democratisation. The choice of schools in urban areas reflects the following criteria. In England, six schools were maintained by a Local Education Authority (LEA) - New West County - run by a political majority from the main Party in opposition and two schools were maintained by an LEA run by a political majority from the Party in government. The choice of cities in England took into account the type of schools, the size of the school population and

the mix of public/private educational sectors. Five possible cities were considered and two were chosen (Tolbry and Guestville). The choice of Tolbry in New Central County provides the set of interrelated conditions and characteristics which are present in the other cities but it was chosen based on the criteria of proximity and familiarity and of institutional access. Overall, New Central County had a strong LEA-maintained network with a strong representation of comprehensive schools. The private, grammar and denominational schools existing close to the city centre are not represented in this study as access was requested but declined. The choice of North Central Council in Guestville was made on the basis of familiarity, opportunity and extent of transformation of the ethos and the structure of the Education Authority according to market and business management values and objectives. In Portugal, the choice of urban areas was more restricted. All 9 schools are located in Municipalities (Nova, Salilos and Madal) run by a political majority from the main Party in opposition. Nova was chosen for its similar size to Tolbry. Furthermore, the two cities share a similar economic history. They are both old port cities with an old strong industrial base which are presently in the process of transition to a more service-based economic structure. In both cities, schools are presented with a social mix of pupils originating from both professional and business enterprising families and from unemployed or casual and manual working families. Salilos and Madal were chosen for the similarity of the complexity of urban questions with North Central in Guestville.

There was a further concern in Portugal with choosing a mix of schools which would represent both the existing and the experimental structures of management and governance. The governing status of schools in Portugal was fairly uniform by the end of the 1980s. A strong maintained sector coexisted with the small quasi-private (Catholic and Cooperative) sector. In England, provision was more diverse. The maintained sector includes a variety of schools (comprehensive, selective, Grammar) which coexists with 'voluntary aided' (Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, Jewish) and private (single and mixed sex) schools. In both countries, schools were chosen to reflect provision of education for an urban population living close to, as well as in different city areas away from the centre. Overall, the choice of schools reflects a mix of purposeful sampling and what Edwards *et. al.* define as 'opportunity sampling' (1989: 97).

The interview questions were formulated to take into account the different national traditions, histories and systems. But in all cases, interviews were structured to account for the national politics relating to the following general themes: 'autonomy', 'delegation', 'devolution', redistribution of power, 'participation/exclusion' in policy formulation and implementation, service delivery, 'decentralisation', 'centralisation', 'efficiency' and 'accountability'. The following general questions informed interviews:

- . what is the meaning of the above themes in each country?
- . how does meaning change within each country according to who defines it?
- . how do transfers of responsibilities to schools enhance participation, democratic accountability and partnerships between local government officials, teachers and parents?
- . how do existing reforms of management and governance relate to interviewee's experience of policy making and to local educational issues?
- . what is the early impact of similar policies in the two countries?
- . how do the above themes relate to existing specific national policy issues?
- . how are specific policy issues, the above themes and the general provision of education related?
- . how does the relationship between school/professional autonomy and the reform of management and governance compare in the two countries?

Interviews were conducted to allow for questions to be responsive to interviewees' preferences in selecting issues, concepts and problems during each interview. Questions were sensitive to national contexts (the type of contemporary reforms' initiatives and issues), specific interview settings (levels of policy making and type of interviewees) and to 'functional' comparisons. The schedules used for the various interviews can be found in Appendix 4 and the justification for 'functional' comparison in Appendix 5. The context of 'functional comparison' is considered in chapter one. The analysis of text was cross checked. Official documents and historical references were compared with transcripts of interviews with headteachers (HT), chairs of governing bodies (CGB), representatives of specific local groups with an interest in schooling, local government senior officials and senior union negotiators and representatives. Texts were analysed as units of expert information from individuals with specific responsibilities; working under specific constraints and priorities in live (school or other) environments. Texts reflect the time period and the cross-section of the process of managing and governing, teaching and

learning which was captured by the interviews and visits. They also provide an insight into the relationships of the process of managing and governing with past and future developments. There was no attempt to subject the text to formal content analysis (Bardin, 1977/1993) even if some of its basic techniques were used in the first stage of data management. The production and selection of data has involved less 'linear' and much more 'loop analysis' (Dey, 1993: 264). Loop analysis reflects the circular process of analysis which produces the relationships between 'reading & annotating' and 'producing an account' (p. 265). There was a systematic interrogation of the validity of widely accepted accounts of schooling, policy making, of research instruments and approaches to the study of change in schooling, in educational policy and in general policy making. Such interrogation was guided by the awareness that 'vision, imagination and insight' are as important as 'clarity, precision and meticulous examination of fragmented facts' (Baumann, 1975: 5). The process of analysis reflects a method of research where 'a series of spirals [...] a loop back and forth through various phases within the broader progress of the analysis' (Dey, 1993: 265) take place. This process of analysis allows for 'discovery' of the intensity and the connections, contradictions, consistent themes, constraints, agendas and institutional, official moods explicit or hidden in texts and in practice as they emerge from accounts. The analysis produced is closer to a 'dialectical' rather than a 'sequential writing strategy'. It involves drafting and responding to feedback in a non-linear way. As Dey,

instead of writing an account in sequence from start to finish [...] an overall structure [was created] and [...] the detail [was 'filled in'] in any order [preferred]. Instead of [commitment] to an overall structure at the outset, which then imposes constraints upon the writing process [...] the structure of [the] account [was continually adapted] in response to ideas which emerge through writing. (p.248-249) [...] Producing an account [was] not just a question of reporting results; it [was] also another method of producing these results (p.237) [...] like a journey and its conclusion can be reached and understood only by travelling on it. (p.239)

This method was, nevertheless, not a free-floating process disconnected from the substantive issues and politics of the reforms of management and governance and of research in Portugal and in England. The method of data-led analysis is part of a methodological framework of research which is grounded on two premises. I will be arguing firstly, that the definitions of the general themes are different according to whether interviewees present a 'social' or a 'liberal' conception of rights (Canotilho and Moreira, 1991), model of democracy, professional and school autonomy and secondly, that the neo-conservative liberal reforms produced a similar

framework of constraints upon professional and school autonomy in Portugal and England. The definition of different notions, and purposes for decentralisation, for example, varies according to the set of political rationales (Lauglo, 1996) which they serve. The definition of autonomy as well as its

enactment differs according to liberal, socialist or other rationales (Held 1996/1998: 299-310). Each set will, by being based on different models of democracy and participation, as presented by Pateman (1970/1995), affect the principle and the enactment of participation and institutional autonomy. The constraints put upon professional and school autonomy derive mainly from the use of neo-classical economics applied to social policy; the belief in individualism and in a minimal social role of the state as the basis for social development; the deregulation of public services, inspection and recruitment; the delegation of power to individuals, individual units of delivery or to the private sphere and the re-regulation of targeted areas of governance. While the form these constraints took are specific to the period when they occur, the premises informing reforms renewed a set of arguments put forward previously. These arguments are analysed in the specific form which they took in the 1980s but not as being a product specific to that period. Those premises are political instruments which have been used and presented in different forms at different historical times. In the 1980s, the specificity of its use rests on the form in which governments and political interest groups appropriated them to make policy and to transform state institutions and institutional practices. The controversy which was at the centre of debates in England was primarily focused on objectives and on the goals of social policy (Bulmer *et. al.*, 1989; Wilson & Wilson, 1991; Plant *et. al.* 1980; Taylor-Gooby and Lawson, 1993). Unlike previous educational reforms, where the focus of controversy was specific policy instruments, in the 1980s controversy over those instruments reflected wider concerns related to '[...] changes in purpose, values, structure, control, relationships and organisation [...]' (Bowe *et. al.*, 1992: 1). Consequently, the argument put forward here is distinct from policy studies which contrast 'successful' with 'unsuccessful' implementation and which stress that it is possible to control the 'preconditions' defined by Hogwood and Gunn in 1984, to achieve perfect implementation. In their view it is possible for governments to ensure that

- . circumstances external to the implementing agency do not impose crippling constraints;
- . adequate time and sufficient resources are made available to the programme;

- . the required combination of resources is actually available;
- . the policy to be implemented is based upon a valid theory of cause and effect;
- . the relationship between cause and effect is direct and there are few, if any, intervening links;
- . there is understanding of, and agreement on, objectives;
- . tasks are fully specified in corrective sequence;
- . there is perfect communication and coordination and
- . those in authority can demand and obtain perfect compliance (Ham & Hill, 1992: 100-101).

The analysis in the following chapters presents a distinct view. Chapter one discusses issues related to the methodology for cross-national comparison and to the type of emerging policy convergence and also reflects on the practice of research. Chapter two analyses the way in which the ideas and applied forms which educational 'crisis' and the notion and project of 'change' took were articulated in Portugal and England in the 1980s. Chapter three examines the type of regulation which emerged from changes to the curriculum, governance and management by reference to the process of policy formulation, to divisions and to confrontations produced during this process. Chapter four explores how the rationales for decentralisation, participation and autonomy changed in the two countries. Chapter five presents an analysis of historical political divisions and of their continuity throughout the 1980s. Chapters six and seven examine the politics of formulation and of implementation at the levels of schools and local government in England and of Regional Education Departments in Portugal, as well as the reforms' early impact. The thesis concludes by summarising the general areas of change, the commonalities and the differences produced by the reform of management and governance in the two countries.

Notes

(1) In the context of this thesis, public schooling refers to education in schools financed, provided and maintained by central or local government. The English private schools which inherited the designation 'public school' from the nineteenth century will be referred to hereinafter as private schools.

(2) These Parties' projects of reform are loosely labelled as neo-liberal. In Britain, they have been described variously as the project of 'the New Right in its neo-liberal form' (Raymond Plant, in Wilson and Wilson, 1991: 73), *Neo Conservatism, Thatcherism and Majorism*. In Portugal, as *Cavaquismo*. These labels do not

always facilitate cross-national analysis as this type of analysis requires the study of the various national forms government projects take. The focus on Parties limits government programmes to the confines of specific political parties, individuals or context-specific movements of ideas when similar policies were implemented in other countries by Conservative, Social Democratic and Socialist Parties. Thus, reforms are analysed here as Party policies grounded on combined principles and as the product of specific governments' initiative. This way, the space is open to consider the assemblage of ideas, methods and intentions of policy. This is particularly important in the Portuguese case where the designations of Democrat or Social Democrat emerged in a context which was different from England or indeed other (for example, Scandinavian) countries. In Portugal, those designations had a specific role in the politics of opposition to the Communist Party and to the strengthening of Communism.

⁽³⁾ Gentili notes how 'the critique of neo liberal education reforms ends up frequently being easily contested due to a limited understanding of the specificity of the process of privatisation in the school context and its differences with other activities where state participation is vigorously reduced [...] [He calls for the consideration] of three complementary forms of privatisation: 1) public provision with private financing (privatisation of financing); 2) private provision with public financing (privatisation of provision); and 3) private provision with private financing (total privatisation)' (1998: 321, 322, f.t.).

Dale also emphasises the need for a '[...] closer examination of the concept of privatization. [...] The commercialization of education for profit is not the question. [...] there is not necessarily an association between privatization and liberalization [...] While privatization implies the sale of state assets, "liberalization" means the reduction of government control through the opening of an area to competitive pressures. In the same way that it is possible for privatization to exist without competition, it is also possible for liberalization to exist without privatization, introducing, this way, competition in the public sector without transferring property' (1995: 140, f.t.).

Transition and Cross-National Comparative Analysis

Because we live [...] in a time of innovation, we are reaching a landscape which is different and on which nobody has set foot. [...] the transition to a new mode of social legitimation is on its way. (Louçã, 1994: 14, f.t.)

Individualism, Competition, Freedom and the Redefinition of Social Problems

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss methodological aspects of cross-national comparative analysis and to argue that the type of convergence in policy which took place in the 1980s was not influenced by similar levels of national economic growth within Portugal and England nor by the process of policy harmonisation within the European Union.

The chapter is divided into five sections. It begins with a brief examination of the major features and the growth in influence of conservative liberal ideology. In the second section, the process of convergence taking place within the European Union is contrasted with the type of convergence developing in the process of changing management and governance of education in Portugal and in England. Section three examines how the type of policy convergence between Portugal and England is at odds with analysis of economic growth-based development and produces an account of the main features of the emerging comparability of reforms in the two countries. Section four analyses the limits of 'Economic Growth Matters' (EGM) theory for the comparison of Portuguese with English reforms. The chapter concludes with a consideration of methodological issues and some reflections on the research process.

The reforms analysed here cannot be dissociated from the context where the notions of 'socialism', 'conservatism', 'democratisation' and 'welfare' were redefined and reappropriated (Giddens, 1994) nor from the impact this had on the reconstruction of the 'Left', the 'Right' and the politics of policy making. This reconstruction is at the origin of the establishment of the new rules for public administration and governance of education and it was more than a 'passing' trend (Pusey, 1991: 153).

The 'considerable degree of consistency' (Whitty *et. al.*, 1998: 17) which the impact of reforms had is reflected in the way in which the features of neo-liberalism and conservatism were embraced both in democratic and non-democratic regimes. These ideologies influenced social policy, not only in Britain, in the USA and in the other Anglo Saxon countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand); they also informed 'the German Christian Democratic Union

(conservatives) and the Free Democrats (liberals)' (Mangen, 1991: 100). Also, in Israel 'radical right thinking has permeated both Labour and *Likud*' (p.135).

One of the characteristics of reforms which were informed by the neo-conservative liberal principles was the redefinition of 'policy problems', with the emphasis on the existence of a crisis in the mechanisms of social provision and the rejection of socially-oriented economic policy, public institutions, and mandates. Conservative liberalism questions and undermines the comprehensive universal forms of public provision and advances - as it did at the end of the nineteenth century - alternative mandates. These are influenced by the following five institutions: *capitalist production, freedom of production and contract, strong competitive market, compression of salaries and working conditions and state's abstentionist role* (adapted from Nunes, 1992: 81-84, f.t.).

The other characteristic was the systematic contrast between national economic performance and the performance of international markets. The idea of crisis was extended to education and pervaded political and public debates. The USA took the lead - several documents indicate the development of this idea since the early 1980s.⁽¹⁾ As early as 1976, in their report *Setting National Priorities: the Next Ten Years*, Owen and Schultze (USA President Carter's economic advisers), were emphasising how 'ten years ago, the state was generally considered an instrument destined to solve problems; [and how] today, for many people, the state is the problem in itself' (Rosanvallon, 1981/1984: 49). In 1987, Manfred G. Schmidt embraced this view to propose that the welfare state is a 'problem solver and a problem creator' (Heidenheimer *et. al.*, 1990: 369). This redefinition of problems resulted in educational reform becoming articulated through a different language.

The analysis and concerns found in international agencies' reports⁽²⁾ reflect the new language guiding reforms. This language was indicative of future priorities and - as emphasised in the OECD report *Support of Private Sector Development* - of a new basis for policy making.

Increasingly, the creation of wealth and the generation of employment are seen to involve the state primarily as the promoter of a positive enabling environment, while the private sector is primarily responsible for the production of goods and services. The changing roles of the state and the private sector present new challenges for effective international co-operation

in support of sustainable development. (1995: 3)

Internationalisation and Convergence within the Territory of the EU

Within the European Union education is one of the areas where more national discretion is exercised and where the practice of the subsidiarity principle is most visible. The reforms which took place in the 1980s in Portugal and England did not reflect the harmonisation of education systems. Formally, the Union was equally and explicitly committed to the mix of 'human capital investment', 'democracy' and 'citizenship' in education without direct involvement of its institutions in shaping organisational reforms. Cram points to the 'paradoxical nature of EU social policy development' and asks 'why has a comprehensive EU social policy not developed [...] [and] since it clearly has not, why is there any EU social policy at all?' (1997: 58). She concludes that there is a 'limited extent of binding legislation in the area of social policy [...] A broader range of social issues such as public housing, elderly people, education and public health are, meanwhile, the subjects of an array of non-binding, or soft law [...]' (p. 28-29). European Commission programmes on education were confined to the areas of training and cooperation between member states (recognition of qualifications, pupils exchanges and students' mobility). In her policy review of social policy in the European Union, Hantrais (1995) describes the European Union's involvement in education and follows the same argument.

For the EEC founder members, education and training were [...] of only indirect interest: attention was focused on recognition of qualifications and on cooperation in vocational training rather than on harmonising educational systems (articles 57 and 128) [...] [Later] [...] education became an area where the Union developed its own policy agenda, by formulating an agreed set of objectives and organising administrative measures for their implementation, albeit with due regard to the principles of and respect for diversity. (p. 38) [...] According to the Maastricht Treaty, the intention was not to interfere with national education systems nor to use the legislative channel to bring pressure to bear on member states to persuade them to harmonise systems. (p.43) [...] The Maastricht Treaty deliberately ruled out all attempts to harmonise national legislation or to interfere with national practices in this area (articles 126 and 127) (p.51)

The shift in English and Portuguese policy making resembled more the framework for

economic reforms and policy initiatives of the Union. Policy, within this framework, was strongly influenced by the Public Choice critique of public services which as elsewhere influenced economic reforms (Hood, 1994). Reforms were formulated nationally and intersected existing national practices, experiences, past and accumulated effects, relations and local aspirations. The reforms of management and governance introduced by the Portuguese and the British governments in the period of this study and which prescribed local autonomy and shifted schooling and its provision, reflect such interaction with local practices, experiences, past and accumulated policy effects, as well as the principles, relations and aspirations existing in schools. As reforms intersected specific institutional practices, relations, constraints and pressures on educational and institutional democratisation they magnified ongoing divisions about the demands for educational reform. In the discourse of crisis - which 'permeated the hopes, fears, dreams and despair of many people' (Apple, 1998: 12) - reforms were presented as being 'rational', 'inevitable' and 'obvious' solutions to the national schools' problems. However, when questioned about the issues which concerned them and the problems they faced in relation to the establishment of priorities for provision, the subjects selected by interviewees in both countries, as seen in Table 3, reflect how national 'problems' were underlined by the different levels of democratisation and the different policy initiatives. Paradoxically, interviewees selected similar subjects in both countries and these were expressed through the language and the context of national policy developments.

One of the problems presented by traditional cross-national comparative analysis to the study of the above paradox is that the 'top-down'/'bottom-up' dichotomy - which has characterised implementation studies - 'distorts the way some crucial policy processes are perceived' (Hill, 1997: 375). Comparative studies of education have been conducted mainly within the framework of priorities defined by international organisations (OECD, UNESCO and more recently EU). They have been mainly concerned with planning and the 'glorification of human beings as "instruments" of economic development' (Sen, 1997a: 13) and consequently with economic priorities: indicators capable of comparing expenditure, 'returns', literacy levels, system characterisation and more recently performance measurement of schools, pupils' achievement and teachers' work. The comparison envisaged here required two levels of reconstructive analysis: the redefinition of policy analysis to take into account the distinction between the three 'contexts' (Ball, 1994) of policy making and the reappraisal of the existing

stock of knowledge on the 'state'.

Local Issues

Table 3

<u>Portugal</u>	<u>England</u>
. Self-Financing and Supplementary Budgeting	. Self-Financing and Supplementary Budgeting
. Regulatory Overload	. Individual Parental Choice Vs. Locally Planned Admissions
. Collegiate Vs. Individual Management	. School Academic League Tables
. Special Needs and Reduced Specialised Teaching	. Differentiation between Schools (reputation; geographical location; pupils behaviour)
. Teaching As Secondary Income	. Parental Choice and Social Class
. Concerns with Reduced Parental Involvement in Children's Schooling	. Comprehensive Vs. Market-Oriented Schooling
. Teaching and Quality	. Changes in Schools-Local Education Authority Relations
. Financial and Material Resources in Relation to Teaching	. Advantages of Financial Delegation
. Social Welfare (pupils social conditions; 'general deprivation' and 'family problems')	. Differentiated Parental Involvement
	. Constraints on School's Autonomy
	. Pupils Discipline and Motivation and 'Quality'
	. Teaching and Other Resources
	. Comprehensive Vs. Selective and Segregated Secondary Schooling
	. Central Government Constraints on Teachers and Teaching

Comparing Cross-National Transition and the Return to Conservative Liberalism: Analytical Problem or Paradox?

The international diffusion of ideas for educational reform (as well as for other public reforms) has a long history. Policy diffusion, as a systematic effort, is as old as the modern state. The comparison of education systems as an academic activity to inform government reforms was promoted in Paris by Marc-Antoine Jullien in 1816 in his 146 questions in which his *'sketch for comparative pedagogics'* is made (Gomes, 1967). In the 1980s, national reports and representatives from countries - such as the USA - taking the lead on the discourse of educational crisis, influenced the agenda of international organisations just as much as national representatives did from countries where an emphasis on 'declining' school quality and educational performance had not permeated the political debate nor achieved a comparably high profile. Representatives of the Portuguese government in the OECD, for example, were very active, throughout the 1980s, in the work of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) on international Indicators of Education Systems. The 'modernisation' of Portuguese education was pursued as a reflection of the international school improvement movement (SIM). However, the meaning of 'modernisation' involved initiatives which reflected national specificity. The agenda for school 'improvement' coexisted with the work on administrative modernisation (*i.e.* the establishment of a national system for the collection of national statistical data on education and attempts to produce the Ministry of Education (MoE)'s national report). These policy initiatives were initiated before 1987 and were likely to continue even if the PSD government did not secure a second mandate. This was not the case in England. There the politics of educational standards had a history in the political agenda. Nevertheless, the way in which the British Conservative and the Portuguese Social Democrat Parties in government used the notions of 'improvement' and of 'educational standards' to pursue a neo-liberal agenda was similar. Representatives of the Portuguese Government contributed to the international trend in school management and governance by the direct expression of their views within international organisations (OECD, 1980). The translation of 'improvement' strategies into schooling and the centralised mandatory measures prescribed for schools in Portugal, reflected the embracement of such movement by national senior officials rather than a straightforward external constraint on central government

departments. The internationalisation of reforms was influenced by international relations as much as by direct contact between senior policy makers and government officials. Policy knowledge spread through professional training, placements and, specifically in the 1980s, through the establishment of international firms in countries not previously exposed to management consultancy and to the logic of private sector and 'new public management' (Dunleavy and Hood, 1993). Irrespective of the history and characteristics of national education systems - national reform initiatives or of the issues emerging in specific national movements of reform and disputes about social change - a converging agenda was assembled at the international level. The active involvement of an elite of senior policy-makers who were forceful in disseminating the new reform creed₍₃₎ had a fundamental role in the internationalisation of principles and reform mechanisms both within international organisations and nationally.

Economic Growth-Based Development

Portugal and England have traditionally been classified, according to the level of public spending, in very distinct groups of countries: 'developed/underdeveloped' or 'rich/poor'. These polar dichotomies coexist with a second set of dichotomies which are often reflected in policy studies, studies of national governance and comparative democratic developments. These are the dichotomies 'successful'/'unsuccessful' policy implementation; 'radical'/'mild' reform or reform's impact; 'democratic'/'corrupt' political regimes and institutional practices. Consequently, national versions of reforms are expected to be different. However, different versions of both poles of these dichotomies are present in every country. As noted by Santos,

taking the social indicators normally used to characterise the first and the third world (social classes and stratification, capital/work relations, state/civil society relations, social statistics, social patterns of social reproduction) one easily concludes that Portugal does not belong to any of these worlds and that if some indicators get it closer to the first world, others get it closer to the third world. (1990/1992: 105-106, f.t.)

The theories of economic growth-based development present several problems to the analysis of reforms in the 1980s. One of the problems presented by the analysis of public spending which generalises findings from such narrow basis is the obstacle such analysis presents to

establishing comparisons which have to take into account national specificity. Claims about social development, such as the one below, produce generalizations about development from analysis of public spending:

the changing cross-national distribution of the OECD nations in respect of social security transfers as a percentage of GDP in the period of 1960-90 [...] makes clear the extent to which the countries of the Iberian Peninsula constituted a social policy backwater in 1960. (Castles, 1995: 293-294)

EGM theory stresses that similarities in policy take place when countries reach a similar level of economic growth (and, by implication, levels of social spending). In the second part of the 1980s England and Portugal followed very similar educational (as well as economic) policies. If GDP measures and historical patterns of expenditure in education are taken into account, the national characteristics of education were very different. According to the OECD (1992), the difference in the GDP/capita between Portugal and Britain was of 6,738.90 to 13,554.90 US\$ respectively. Furthermore, in Portugal, public expenditure on education, as a percentage of the GDP, rose from 1.90% to 4.03% between 1972 and 1985 (Barreto, 1997: 99). Expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP also rose from 3.8 to 5.1% between 1986 to 1992). 'From 1986, following a period of budget containment, a growth in the amount allocated to education is recorded in order to materialise [...] the expansion of schooling and the conditions for schools to function' (DEPGEF, 1995: 123, f.t.). In 1992, education was, as expected, the biggest public spender: 21.1% of social expenditure was spent on education against 15.6% in health and 2.8% in employment and social security. This percentage had increased from 17% in 1990 (GEP, 1992: 118) and slightly decreased from 21.7% in 1991 (D.E.P.G.E.F., 1994: 126). This trend was different from the pattern of public spending in England where

education's share of public spending fell, as did the share of the Gross Domestic Product devoted to education financed from the public purse [...]. The volume of resources for state education fell after 1976 [...] Private educational spending has grown faster than public spending. (Glennister, 1998: 68)

EGM theory does not explain why similar reforms were embraced by government in the two countries. While spending patterns reflect national commitment to area policies, they do not reflect (if taken in general terms) what governments are committed to. As state involvement in education was being transformed rather than reduced throughout the 1980s, there has been, as concluded by Santos,

not more or less state but rather a new state form. To (de)state (*desestatizar*) is only an instrument amongst others and not even the most efficient. [...] All growth of the state is organismic so any cut tends to be an amputation and demands a new intervention from the state. It is known that the state has to intervene to stop intervening. (1995: 57)

Ball emphasises that

the idea of cuts is really a crude and limited way of looking at Conservative policies with regard to social policy spending. As important as the effects of cuts, are the effects of new regimes of organisation and evaluation being required of social welfare systems. Welfare and public service expenditures are being subjected to new criteria for effectiveness. (1990a: 79)

Taylor-Gooby and Lawson highlight how analysis of

general issues of state spending and the role of governments [...] [have] dismissed the organisation and delivery of services as mere detail [when] [...] the organisational changes [...] are of fundamental importance in determining who gets what, who foots the bill, and [...] who gets nothing. (1993: 1)

Baldock also notes that

the comparative literature tends to give this [middle] level relatively less attention, despite the fact that organization is the mechanism by which political commitments and intentions are turned into welfare outcomes. This lack of emphasis on administrative matters is understandable, since they are often complicated and tedious, but to be regretted because this is the area in which many of the difficulties of comparative social policy lie. (1993: 25)

The state is more than

an effectively neutral means of delivery of intended outcomes decided elsewhere [...] (Dale, 1989/1990: 23). [The] state is not a monolith. There are differences within and between its various apparatus, in their prioritising of demands made on them and their ability to meet those demands (p. 29). [It is not sufficient to reveal] the intended outcomes [...] [or to look] for organizational obstructions to the achievements of those outcomes [...] (idem). [The] [...] distinction between the State and the Government [...] [must be made.] Government is clearly a most important part of the state. It is the most active and the most visible part of it, but it is not the whole of it. (p.33)

Santos stresses the need to consider the internal composition of public spending in the analysis of transformations in the state's social role (1990: 89) and the need to move beyond the confinement of the economic dimension in analysis of the state (1995: 31-2, 37-38). Pierson

also emphasises the need for a new approach to the study of changes occurring in the welfare state unlikely to be captured by the convenient and established use of public expenditure figures (1994: 18). The notions of 'the internal third world' (Santos, 1994: 19) and of 'semi-peripheral societies' (SMS) (1990, 1993), for example, help in making sense of the specific conditions which any study comparing policy making in Portugal with other nations must take into account.

[T]hey [SMS] are intermediate societies in the double sense that they display intermediate stages of development and fulfil functions of intermediation in the management of conflicts between central societies and peripheral societies demanded by the inequalities in the appropriation of surplus produced at the world scale [...] The different functions of intermediation, according to segments or regions, presuppose and generate different semi-peripheral societies. (p. 108) [...] a semi peripheral society in the European context fulfils very different intermediation functions, cautioned by historical processes which are very distinct from those of (semi peripheral societies) in the american context. (p.109)

The pattern of public spending is only one of several aspects of policy which affects change in schooling. The Portuguese and English reforms also shifted decision making power between the public and the private sectors. Furthermore, the impact policies have reflects the history of policy making in specific areas, as much as recent reforms. The analysis of changes has to consider statutory policy and discursive contradictions, as well as the expectations and aspirations of teachers, parents and pupils.

The two contexts of policy making defined by Bowe *et. al.* (1992) are useful in studying the importance of organisational changes. The 'context of influence' is where policy discourses are produced, political parties struggle for influence to define purposes, key political concepts are defined and private arenas of influence visible. The 'context of text production' is where legislation and official documents are treated as

texts [which] are not capable of only one interpretation[...] a whole variety and crisscross of meanings and interpretations are put into circulation [as] textual meanings influence and constrain 'implementors' but their own concerns and contextual constraints generate other meanings and interpretations (p.12). [Here] [...] legislation is one aspect of a continual process in which the loci of power are constantly shifting. (p.13)

These two contexts are related to the notions of 'policy as text' (1994: 16-21) and 'policy as discourse' (p.21-22). This distinction is essential to understand the comparative nature of

transition since policy is the result of 'discursive practices' (Ball 1990a: 17) and 'idealised solutions to diagnosed problems' (p. 22). Policy is also 'addictive, layered and filtered' (Elmore, 1996). In order to capture the type of transition which was initiated in the 1980s across all social policy areas, the analysis of changes in financing, governance, administration and management of public institutions must be combined. All of the social policy areas and all of the educational changes, are 'associated' and 'co-determined'. They are,

parts of processes, processes with histories and futures whose paths are uniquely determined by their constituent units [...] [and the] interaction of those units in the construction of the whole complexities that result in products qualitatively different from the component parts. (Rose, *et. al.*, 1987: 11)

Methodological Questions

This thesis is not only a study of (educational, political and social) transition but the thesis in itself is bound by the perils of transition. Being caught in a period of transition, the approach guiding this study was limited by constraints derived from what Santos defines as the 'dominant scientific paradigm' (1987/1991: 10):

being a discipline-based knowledge, [modern science's] knowledge tends to be knowledge [...] that segregates the organisation of knowledge oriented to police the borders between disciplines and to repress those that want to transpose them. (p. 46).

More specifically, 'scientific' knowledge has a history of being inclusive of only a restricted section of 'legitimate' knowledge producers. 'William Whewell, in 1834, in the same paper in which he coined the term scientist, assured his readers that "notwithstanding all the dreams of theorists, there is a sex in minds." (Schiebinger, 1989: 1) [...] women were generally proscribed from European universities until the end of the nineteenth and in some cases until the twentieth century' (p. 17). Thus transition, at present, represents the reaction of 'a numerous and unstable, but also creative and fascinating intellectual family [...] [which] parts, with some pain, with [...] [concepts and institutional practices to give birth to] an emerging paradigm' (Santos, 1987/1991: 35). This paradigm is 'non-dualistic [...] grounded in [the aim of] overcoming distinctions [...] such as nature / culture, natural / artificial, live / inanimate, mind / matter, observer / observed, collective/individual, animal/person [...], dichotomic

distinctions' (p. 39-40). One of the most influential 'dichotomic distinctions' has been the one which Okin defines as,

the assumption that public concerns can [...] be distinguished from private ones, that we have a solid basis for separating out the personal from the political. [...] The idea is perpetuated that these spheres are sufficiently separate, [...] different, that the public or political can be discussed in isolation from the private or personal. (1991/1998: 116)

This thesis embraces 'methodological transgression [in order] not to follow a unidimensional, easily identifiable style [but rather] a configuration of styles [...] [which incorporates] [...] the criteria and personal imagination of the scientist' (Santos, 1987/1991: 49). 'Transgressive methodology' aims to take into account that 'each method is a language and reality responds in the language in which it is questioned. Only a constellation of methods can capture the silence which persists between each language that questions [reality]' (p. 48). In this context, research was conducted trying to use the 'social skills and creative intelligence' which are at the basis of 'rigour' and which stand 'in contrast to technical competence' (Ball, 1990c: 157), as well as 'a toolbox of concepts and theories' (1994: 1).

Reflexivity is an intrinsic part of this thesis. Being cross-national, the study on which this thesis is based is caught both in the methodological dialogue taking place in England and in the historical conditions of research in Portugal. Portuguese studies of policy making in education (Lima, 1991a; Ambrosio, 1987; Barroso, 1993; Azevedo, 1994; Gracio, 1981 or Teodoro, 1994a) have been produced either by 'inside participants' or by those with very close and privileged access to sources and to basic public statistical and institutional data to which access has until very recently been restricted. The research process was, in this way, embedded in two historical (research) times which are, in turn, part of the present similar (re) 'construction of space and time' (Harvey, 1996: 222-.248). Each national research time refers to a particular stage in the democratisation of research and in the theoretical and methodological development of education policy analysis. In England, such analysis has only recently moved away from the 'large gap between the study of politics and education [...] [and] [...] general 'policy studies' [as] a distinct specialism, typically combined with public administration or with studies of current politics' (Raab, 1994: 19). 'Studies directly focused on policy [educational] issues [were] rare' (Glennerster and Hoyle, 1972: 193) for a long time. The 'politics of education [was] a relatively neglected field [while] the economics of education

[had become] a very popular one' (p. 194). The study of education was neglected in policy-oriented studies also for a long period. Any present study of education policy is confronted with this legacy (Marques Cardoso, 1995: 8-11) but also with the legacy left by the various approaches to the study of education (Educational Studies, Educational Studies of Policy, Policy Studies and Education Politics). Only recently has there been a shift in approaches to the study of education policy (p. 16). Such legacy was transferred to the field of comparative education. There has been a division between the emphasis on 'socio-economic transformation' and on 'political institutions and political ideologies as key factors shaping outcomes' (Castles, 1998: 3) in cross-national 'comparative public policy'. The irreconcilable opposition between studies focusing on 'policy areas' and comprehensive cross-national comparisons (p. 19) continues to exist. 'Comparative public policy' is confined to the limits of the inherited use of economic and demographic indicators to explain the 'differences in levels and changes in public policy outcomes' (p. 4). This confinement and the above division continue to exclude the study of the pattern of public policy in some countries. There is still a reluctance to study public policy in nations such as Turkey as was the case, in the recent past, in Portugal, Spain and Greece. This reluctance is justified on 'the weakness of public sector intervention in Southern Europe [and] on the absence of economic development' (p. 6). The tradition of strong state control with weak intervention in public provision, the religious, communitarian and family forms of social welfare (which are important features shaping public policy in those countries) and the politics of social policy are left out of international research. The new classification of 'families of nations' (p. 8) continues with the arbitrary association of countries based on (in the case of Portugal, Spain and Greece) having 'many affinities as part of the ancient Mediterranean cultural world [and] [...] the lateness of their economic, social and political modernisation' (p. 8-9). When the Portuguese case is analysed, it tends to be in isolation within a cluster of 'Southern' countries with 'specific' characteristics. Ferrera has questioned recently the nature of these 'traits' (1996: 18) but education continues to be excluded from comparative analysis of the 'welfare state'. In his reflection on 'budget and democracy: the welfare state in Spain and in Portugal, 1960-1986', Esping-Anderson decides, for example, 'to exclude education due to the fact that (a) it is not redistributive and (b) its strong component of human capital implies that it is more a collective common good than a good that is of interest to a specific group or social class' (1993: 592). Public spending-based studies continue to be at the centre of controversy. On the one hand they are advocated in that

they

reduce the problem [of allocating the benefits of specific expenses to specific groups] to the question of the percentage of total public spending that the social invoice represents *seems* to be justified [...]. That gives us a *measure of the progress*₍₄₎ of the country in the direction of the Welfare State. (Esping Andersen, 1993: 592)

On the other hand, such a 'measure of progress' excludes education from analysis of changes to the social role of the state. Since social policy has several purposes (Abel-Smith & Titmuss, 1973), it exists in non-democratic regimes whether it is used with military, religious or civilian purposes. Social policy has been used by authoritarian and by democratic regimes and in a more or less authoritarian fashion within democratic regimes. Social policy is not only the policy which is designed to target specific groups (such as 'the poor'). Social policy is any measure (or non-measure) which affects social development and the social guarantee of rights for all individuals and groups anywhere in the world. For example, the analysis of social policy in Portugal and in Spain from the mid 1970s which is based on the dichotomy 'economic delay/advanced democracies in economic terms' (Esping-Andersen, 1993: 591-592) ignores not only the complexity of developments but also the context of international relations where Portugal and Spain are integrated. For all the reasons outlined above, the tradition of European comparative research on social policy presented problems to the definition of a framework of comparison of Portuguese and English reforms in a period of transition. Taylor-Gooby and Spicker also highlight this limitation. 'The regime approach is much more successful at giving accounts of stability rather than change, because it categorises welfare states by policy outputs and rests on the careful analysis of existing structures of interests. It finds change more difficult to understand' (Taylor-Gooby, 1996: 121-122). 'Countries that have a big health or social security budget are not necessarily like others that have the same kind of budget; countries that have insurance-based systems are not necessarily like others that also have insurance-based systems. (Spicker, 1996: 68). [T]he categories [used to describe national welfare regimes] are static, while policy-making is dynamic' (p. 72). The reforms which are the object of analysis in this thesis had a significant impact on the role of private enterprises and government in affecting what Salmi defines as 'fundamental and higher rights' (1999: 6). The 'regime approach' may account for changes in the government's capacity to affect 'poverty' and 'disease'. Salmi defines the latter two as areas of 'violence by omission [if

there is a] (lack of protection against [them. This, in turn, constitutes a form of] indirect violence (indirect violation of the right to survival)' (idem). However, it is more difficult for the 'regime approach' to account, on the one hand, for changes in the role of private enterprises in shaping the exercise of the 'right to survival, fundamental and higher rights' and, on the other hand, for the role of changes in policy in shaping the impact of private enterprises and government on 'fundamental rights' such as 'equality before the law [...] freedom to go on strike, freedom to form a union' (Salmi, 1999:6) or on 'higher rights' such as 'alienating living/working conditions [...] living in fear' (idem). The changes introduced in the second part of the 1980s in the governance and management of Portuguese and English education affected 'higher rights' significantly.

Furthermore, analysis based on Esping-Andersen's dichotomy takes for granted the version of linear progress towards an ideal level of economic growth or technological modernisation which implies the rejection of cultural specificity to give room for economic uniformity. The two direct relationships which are established between, on the one hand, social security or educational objectives and democracy and, on the other hand, between governments' emphasis on defence, public order and non-democratic regimes, creates a dichotomy which makes the analysis of shifts in policy and of social transition in democratic regimes difficult. Again, Esping-Andersen proposes that authoritarian and pre-democratic political regimes have a greater tendency to benefit defence and law and order while democratisation ([...] universal suffrage and pure parliamentarism) tends to produce a much stronger shift towards social security and educational objectives' (p.596). Should this conclusion be accepted, government shifts towards a stronger emphasis on defence or on law and order in democratic regimes could not be adequately accounted for. Such premise also prevents taking into account the abuses of power and the shifts towards increased authoritarian governance which takes place in democratic regimes and which may manifest itself in forms of 'alienating violence (deprivation of higher rights) [such as] alienating living/working conditions, racism, social ostracism, cultural repression [or] living in fear' (Salmi, 1999: 6).

There is a further problem in deriving analysis of social policy exclusively from patterns of public spending and of making social policy dependent on levels of economic growth (as measured by GDP levels). Public spending, level of democratisation and partisan control are

all of equal importance in studying changes in social policy. Focus on spending is also less likely to be informative about the politics of specific levels of spending. The study of the politics of public spending is more likely to contribute to an understanding of the reasons for specific shifts in spending which go beyond party politics and GDP levels. New and renewed constraints are also likely to explain shifts in policy. Coen, for example, has noted how

in recent years, this Europeanisation [of commercial lobbying] trend has been strengthened by the European Commission rewarding those firms that developed regular European representation with favoured access to its policy forums [...]. We are observing the establishment of a European public policy system that, through its restricted European actor 'entry' requirements, can influence domestic actors' use of national public policy systems and create new political business alliances at the European level [...]. The large firm, in its quest for improved access to the European public policy system, has become a partner and agent of European integration and a mechanism for institutional change. (1998: 98)

The establishment of frameworks of comparison must look beyond the above analytical constraints. The strong influence of EGM research frameworks reduces the opportunities to explore the various aspects which characterise the patterns and the social impact of shifts in policy making such as those which transformed education at the end of the 1980s. Cross-national comparative research has been left to progress according to the production of single studies which have evolved as different aspects of comparison are emphasised in isolation. Cross-national comparative research is still to be found dispersed across various university departments. In its most recent expression, cross-national comparison of education has taken the form of 'comparative educational performance' of 'three major aspects [...] [which] have been identified as important for economic achievement[:] the intellectual attainments of average students; levels of participation in post-compulsory education; and the effectiveness of schemes of vocational training.' (McLean, 1992: 9). This is the form of comparison that international organisations and the Portuguese and British governments have pursued. McLean makes a further distinction between two comparative approaches to the study of 'the context of the overall educational culture [...]: [one that establishes] broad distinctions between national education systems [...] [and the other that emphasises] the uniqueness of each educational culture' (1992: 24). The study of policy 'convergence' requires an approach which analyses reforms in the context of long-term social development and which takes into account the continuity in both government and social regulation in general. In his study of inequality,

Amartya Sen stressed how 'it is important to come to grips both (1) with the diversity of human beings (the fact that we can differ from each other in personal characteristics as well as external circumstances) and (2) with the plurality of relevant 'spaces' in which equality can be judged' (1997c: 131). This advice has to be translated into the comparison of countries to take account of both national and local diversity and of the specificity of cross national trends in social policy. Policy instruments, institutional or other measures provide the framework for the exercise of 'equal' rights within regions (Europe, for example) or across world regions. Each policy framework has an impact (in this case on teaching and learning) which is not always immediately or directly visible in patterns of spending or organisational systems.

Being a 'cross-national comparative' study, the examination of reforms in Portugal and in England focuses on 'particular issues or phenomena in two [...] countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings, using the same research instruments' (Hantrais & Mangen, 1996: 1). This research is not 'cross-national' in the sense defined by Przeworski (1987) *i.e.* 'any and all theoretically guided [study] in a single country, even if [it contains] no references to other countries' (p. 32). Furthermore, despite being constrained by, it is distinct from comparative cross-national methodology and academic heritage which have generally produced the following type of analysis:

descriptive studies where causal relations are well established [...] (p. 35)
descriptive studies of innovative policies, [...] studies which ask whether X is responsible for Y [...] studies which ask whether X is an effective measure for or against Y [...] (p. 36) [...] studies which ask whether X is producing a sufficient effect upon Y [...] [or] studies which compare the effectiveness of partial changes within complex systems. (p. 37)

Since each nation became subjected to the renewed 'market definitions of spatio-temporality' (Harvey, 1996: 229) in the 1980s, the way in which changes to the systems, framework and culture of management and governance are embedded in the history of the state, public education and democracy in each country, is important to understand the nature of contemporary change. As emphasised by Popkewitz, 'reform is a word whose meaning changes as it is positioned within the transformations that have occurred in [schooling] since the late nineteenth century' (1991: 2). 'Reforms are governing technologies' (1996: 28). In each historical period, social regulation and institutional autonomy are specifically defined according to the models of democracy and conceptualisation of rights, freedom, equality and

justice which are dominant and embraced by specific governments. In the 1980s, social reforms were embedded in the conservative liberal critique of the state which reconstructed 'governing problems'. The comparative approach used in this study acknowledges the long-term feature of social regulation and the need to study the historical forms it takes and the specific dynamics of regulation in different periods. By recognising this long-term process, it is possible to analyse the problems social institutions face at specific periods within the context of the ongoing process of social regulation. Such recognition highlights how reforms in the 1980s are not produced by an inevitable 'natural' process of change uprooted from historical forms. Reforms have a special relationship (of continuity or/and change) with previous forms of regulation and social problems.

There is an attempt, throughout this thesis, to become closer to analysis that 'being total, is not deterministic, being local, is not descriptivist' (Santos, 1987/1991: 8). I also draw on the notions of 'policy ensembles' and 'collection of policies' (Ball, 1994: 21) to capture the way in which policy is formulated and implemented and to understand its total effect on policy solutions. Policies are not instruments which have been produced in a straightforward way. Instead,

each [policy] context consists of a number of arenas of action - some private and public. Each context involves struggle and compromise and ad hocery. (p.26) [to produce] [...] crude, abstract simplicities of policy texts (p.19).
[...] [Policies] are textual interventions into practice [...] [which] [...] pose problems [...] that must be solved in context. (p.19) and [...] texts are not necessarily clear or closed or complete. The texts are the product of compromises [...] [and] cannibalized products of multiple (but circumscribed) [made legitimate] influences and agendas [...].
Policies shift and change their meaning in the arenas of politics; representations change, key interpreters [...] change [...] Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests [...] they spread confusion. (p.16-17)

In both countries, the formulation of policy took place at different times and specific pieces of legislation depended on and completed other reforms (this is clearly the case with the link of dependency existing between financial management of schools and pupils admissions in England). Furthermore, formulation in Portugal was also informed by implementation *i.e.* the impact of newly introduced policies was closely monitored by the MoE to measure their effect in relation to the goals set by government for reform. Party political competition and Party

political survival also deflected ideological reforms at specific points in time. This was the case with education vouchers in England and with financial delegation to schools in Portugal. The process of research was marked by the encounter with the various constraints mentioned above and by the confrontation between those and the requirements of discovery and creation which are the foundations of research.

The Process of Research

This was the background against which the analysis of transcripts took place as analysis was 'confronted directly with complexity, unable to gloss over contradictions, and [had to] face up to incoherence' (Ball, 1994: 109). Throughout 1994-1995 (the period of data collection) research was

a plunge into the unknown [...] [with] a commitment to a search for meaning, a suspension of preconceptions, and an orientation to discovery. [...] [which involved] risk, uncertainty and discomfort [...] [going] into unknown territory, [...] unarmed, with no questionnaires, interview schedules [...] [standing] alone with [my] individual [self] [...] [being] the primary research tool [...] [to] find, identify and collect the data [...] charm the respondents into cooperation. [...] [and] to blend or pass in the research setting, put up with the boredom and the horrors of the empty [tape], cringe in the face of faux pas made in front of those whose cooperation [I needed] and engage in the small deceptions and solve the various ethical dilemmas. (1990c: 157)

The process of interviewing (and of limited observation) was marked by 'a personal confrontation with the unknown [which required getting] to grips with the use of theory and method in the context of a confused, murky, contradictory and emergent reality' (p.168). This reality presented a constant challenge as the process of collecting data unfolded in the different national settings, at different institutional levels. In this process, data collection moved between creating the conditions which would allow for 'the possibility of surprise', 'theoretical risk-taking' (1994: 118) and 'more adventurousness' (p. 119) and the deep-rooted constraints posed by the historical legacy, patterns of and institutional attitudes to female participation in research and in knowledge production (Harding, 1991; Schiebinger, 1989); in participation in the political process and policy formulation (Collin, 1992), as well as in the research and the analysis of the political and policy process or of democracy (Pateman, 1989/1995: 210-223;

Brennan and Pateman, 1979/1998; Okin, 1991/1998; Mansbridge, 1991/1998; Shanley and Pateman, 1994).

This 'unarmed' strategy is not the opposite of rigour. It is rather a strategy which is different from the one which does not allow for 'a suspension of preconceptions, and an orientation to discovery' to take place. In times of transition, and in comparative studies of countries with very different histories and policy making traditions, reliance on instrumental definitions of cross-national comparative research hinders the possibility of discovery which is the essence of research. This possibility of discovery takes into account the need for research criteria which reflect the phenomenon or issue which is being analysed. The criteria for comparison used here is therefore aimed at incorporating general as well as specific national features; macro and micro characteristics; historical and contemporary policy measures; national specificity and international (present and past) relations between the countries concerned. Leaving the possibility for discovery open requires the establishment of the comparison between Portugal and England on theoretical criteria. In this case, criteria was drawn from the following aspects:

- . (different) history of political, institutional and educational democratisation;
- . (similar) core objectives of reform;
- . membership of (same) legislative, political and economic geographical region (EU);
- . (different) (OECD) indicators of economic, social and educational 'development';
- . (similar) area, level and scope of reform;
- . (similar) type of social institution for delivery of policy (school);
- . (past and present) policy record.

The meaning and role of concepts such as 'autonomy', 'decentralisation' or 'participation' were to be drawn from transcripts. These concepts, as they appear in transcripts, were also compared with documental data; existing analyses of education policy outcomes; other transcripts; existing research and other documental data where specific interviewees explained their views and policy goals. While language differences (relating both to general and to social and educational vocabulary) were taken into account, the basic problem of comparative research

of 'equivalence and meaning of terms' (van Daele, 1993: 35) was not of central importance. This is because, the level of comparability was more theoretical than empirical. Given that the Portuguese and English reforms took place in a period of 'global educational re-signification' (Suárez, 1995: 261), the issues of comparability were defined in semantic terms. Comparability, in this context, cannot be 'confused with equality, equivalence, similarity or parallelism' (van Daele, 1993: 35) and it might imply comparing different terms, with different linguistic definitions, which refer to the same process. At the same time, the levels of comparability which are established in this thesis will, at times, imply equivalence or similarity, even if these develop from different processes, structures or strategies. While the establishment of levels of comparability is tied to developments in practice, the conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis are not limited by the institutional context or practices.

The consideration of the notions of 'autonomy', 'decentralisation' and 'participation' helped to strengthen the notion of *commonality within difference*. This notion refers to a process of convergence of similar inter-national conditions in different national contexts at similar levels, in equivalent policy areas having a similar impact on different institutional contexts. Such process is distinct from accounts produced by 'convergence theory' which is instead grounded on

the idea that continued economic development makes societies more alike [...] that the primacy of economic level and its democratic and bureaucratic correlates supports a theory of convergence: 'Economic growth makes countries with contrasting cultural and political traditions more alike. (Willensky *et. al.*, 1987: 387)

The increased use of 'rational choice theory' (RCT) in national governance during the period of this study created specific problems for cross-national comparative research which the notion of commonality within difference aimed at addressing. RCT's use was advocated and extensively promoted beyond the confines of national governance as reflected in the quote below. In

the last twenty years 'rational choice' approaches have become the dominant paradigm [...] Their focus on problems of collective choice and collective action which exist independently of a country's specific history or of its institutional peculiarities make them an attractive framework for any comparative research which does not want to get bogged down in descriptive detail. (Budge, 1993: 81) [...] [R]ational choice theory is much wider than

economic style theorising and more relevant in its other forms to comparative politics. (p. 99)

Both the data collection and analysis were permanently guided by the conscious drive towards studying reforms in a way which allowed for first, the consideration of education as one of the areas of policy which were, together with others, targeted for change in the 1980s and second, as an area of policy analysis in its own right. There was also a conscious drive towards moving away from political science-oriented notions which have been informing 'comparative politics' (Keman, 1993) and whose meaning has begun to be extended to social policy analysis. The term 'unit of analysis', for example, is now of widespread use in comparative studies of social policy. In comparative studies where different languages mediate analysis, this approach creates further problems. For example, in the Anglo-Saxon world, policy has been defined in a rather instrumental manner (see Ham and Hill, 1992). It has been identified as referring to a legislative text, a measure or group of measures and procedures to be implemented (but also to their absence) in order to achieve a purpose in a system. The word policy does not have direct translation into, for example, German, Portuguese French or Spanish. In the Portuguese and French languages, the closest translation for education policy is *politica* and *politique* respectively. These, in turn, do not translate into the English language. Policy being, as far as we are concerned, a 'course or principle of action adopted or proposed by a government, party, business or individual, etc.' (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1991) and *politica* being 'the science or art of governing a nation, the administrative direction a government takes, the organising principles of government action' (*Dicionario da Lingua Portuguesa*, 1979); then *politica* becomes politics in the English language. Wildavsky' asserts that 'it is more important to practice policy analysis than to spend time defining it [...] [because nothing] is more stultifying than a futile search for Aristotelian essences' (Ham & Hill, 1992: 4). However, what is meant by policy is a fundamental issue that needs consideration from the outset of any study (Marques Cardoso, 1995: 10-11). As noted by Hantrais and Ager (1985)

the language and cultural barriers existing between the members of an international research team are [...] rarely discussed in any detail as a major issue likely to affect the outcome of the project. [...] [Language] is not simply a medium for conveying concepts, it is part of the conceptual system, reflecting institutions, thought processes, values and ideology. (Hantrais and Mangan, 1996: 7)

Ignoring those aspects does not only affect methodology but also the understanding of specific phenomena or issues from the outset. Reflecting on the use of data and on methodology implies the ongoing consideration of the relationship between the interviewer/researcher and the interviewee which is intermediated by the collected data: the transcript. This relationship requires reflecting both on the 'role of the researcher's self and social relations' (Ball, 1990c: 157). The consideration of this relationship is intercepted by the various types of power on which that relationship is grounded but it is also constrained by the interface between what Ball calls the 'social and the technical trajectories' of research. The former requires the consideration of issues relating to 'entry, access, research relations, rapport, key informants and disengagement' and the latter (technical) of the issues related to 'sampling, triangulation and constant comparison' (p.158). Transcripts-derived data is mediated by institutional and interpersonal relations where, in this case, the power of any analysis of data meets the institutional or individual power which generated such data. The interviewees in this study had the individual and the institutional position, power, information and ability to engage with analysis. This produced constraints on research which are different from eliciting data from 'the poor', the worker, the tenant in social housing, the 'young offender', the teacher, the pupil, the parent or from documental or statistical records on any of those. In these cases, the process of research enters the pattern of isolation or exclusion (of the groups researched) from the social sphere where formulation and implementation of policy (affecting any of the above groups) takes place. This approach to research replicates the relationship of power existing between the individuals or social institutions and any of the above groups. This type of research reflects not only the exclusion of those researched from the stage where research is produced but also the state of 'studies of education policy' (Ball and Shilling, 1994). In the study which is at the basis of this thesis, many of the interviewees were not excluded from the sites where research is produced. In many cases, interviewees were either in charge of research, of its financing or were researchers. This presents different constraints for researchers. Gewirtz and Ozga (1994) have reflected on some of the ethical dilemmas and constraints which interviewing the British 'education policy elite' poses. Gurney raises questions about how 'valuable and reliable data' (1991: 56) is and about 'invisibility' (p. 60), access, trust and 'maintaining rapport' in studies of 'cultures with which [in this case female researchers] have had no prior experience, [where they] interact with people who are quite different from them [...] in a setting dominated by males.' (p. 54).

The contemporary condition of 'scientific' and political transition had an impact on both research methodologies and on political processes. Disentangling the political from the 'scientific' process can only be done for analytical purposes because 'transformations are nothing more than all of us, all the social scientists and all non social scientists of this world transforming ourselves' (Santos, 1994: 20). The examination of reforms and of change is caught in this condition of transition. As concluded by Harvey, 'to the degree that we are witnessing a historical transition, still far from complete and [...] bound to be partial in certain important respects, so we have encountered a series of theoretical dilemmas.' (1989: 173).

Notes

(1) A Nation at Risk, N.C.E.E., 1983; Educating Americans for the 21st Century, N.S.B., 1983; Carnegie Report on Secondary Education in America, 1983; Paideia Proposal, 1982; The Council of Chief State School Officers Report, 1985; the National Science Foundation Report, 1985; the National Science Board Work on Indicators, 1991; Education Counts and a Trial State Assessment of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1987; the Creation of an Indicator System by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement 1988; the National Education Goals Panel Report, 1991; the National Council on Education Standards and Testing, 1992.

(2) Performance Management in Government (OECD, Public Management Committee, 1996), Budgeting for Results, Perspectives on Public Expenditure Management (OECD 1995), Integrating People Management into Public Service Reform (OECD 1996), Support of Private Sector Development (OECD, Development Assistance Committee, 1995)

(3) Several OECD reports indicate this trend (Schools and Quality: an International Report, 1989; School: a Matter of Choice and Quality in Teaching, 1994; Measuring the Quality of Schools and Schools under Scrutiny, 1995)

(4) *Italic not in original.*

Political Divisions and the Policy Process

There is a lively and rapidly growing interest in the economic value of education. (Schultz, 1963a: vii)

Resistance to the Democratic Value of Education

This chapter explores the divisions which preceded and were embedded in the formulation of changes to the governance and the management of education in Portugal and England. The analysis focuses on the continuity political divisions had with historical developments in social policy, as well as in the definition of mandates for schooling. Those divisions were visible in the six areas⁽¹⁾ affected by reforms at the end of the 1980s and showed a continuity of similar core areas of tension with the divisions manifested in earlier periods. Curriculum, assessment and teaching methods were the three areas where tension was more visible. Historically, local autonomy over provision (in its political, technical/pedagogic, financial, cultural and administrative versions) has been one of the most conflicting themes shaping the process of policy making. The limits and the possibilities of implementation, together with the definition of the nature of evaluation and inspection, were some of the aspects which governments have historically subjected to more prescription, often overriding professional knowledge and expertise. In the 1980s, the linkage of tensions referring to autonomy and to curriculum, assessment and teaching methods indicated the re-emergence of the redefinition of the following three components of regulation of schooling:

- . participation in the definition of educational priorities;
- . allocation of resources and evaluation of provision;
- . distribution of power within the education system and autonomy in provision.

Political Divisions and the 1986 Education Act in Portugal

In Portugal, the areas where Parties were most divided in 1986 were parental choice and public financing. Right wing⁽²⁾ parties argued that education provision should be made taking into account resource scarcity. Also, that the state should finance private education to guarantee parental choice and equal treatment of private and public education. Private education was associated with the claim that the families' right to control their children's education should be paramount. In addition, Right wing Parties argued that compulsory education should not be

provided on a comprehensive basis and that technical and vocational courses should be integrated in specialised secondary school programmes. They also argued that professional training should be organized in partnership with businesses.

The conditions under which the preparation of the 1986 Education Act occurred were shaped by the political compromise between neo-conservative liberal and Communist and Socialist forces. Through their representatives - FENPROF - and by putting direct pressure on Parliament and on governments, teachers played an important role in the production of the Act. This pressure was exercised in order to implement the 1976 constitutional requirement that Parliament produces an Education Act. Consensus was reached due to specific conditions.

It (consensus) was only possible because no political party had the parliamentary majority [...] Amongst teachers there was the [...] need to end the trend of Ministers with isolated measures [...] and to start the production of an Education Act that gathered the consensus of the main social forces and that allowed for changes in education, the initiation of an educational reform which went beyond short term parliamentary majorities. It was a naive idea at the time, I participated actively. We created constraints, for example the methodology (defined by the Parliamentary Education Commission) was stated in a FENPROF memo which suggested that methodology. It insisted that all political projects should be presented (in Parliament), discussed together, (with) a public debate [...] There is great pressure (at the time) for consensus. We believed that if such consensus existed the trend of isolated measures would be overcome and things would become more stable[...] less subjected to individual Ministers' projects [...] there was the idea that the permanent conflict (between Ministry and teachers) was negative and that a more structural and consensual approach (*politica*) was needed. (FENPROF former leader, 30/3/95)

In 1986, teachers' representatives were eager to move away from a system where education's priorities were dependent upon (short-term) government and governments' changing programmes. The absence of a comprehensive system of schooling with comprehensive educational guarantees was a core concern for the teaching profession. Once established, such a system was expected to put an end to the constant stream of decrees, many of which bore only a distant relevance to schools' needs. Teachers' representatives were eager to move away from this legacy as they were concerned about the ability of the profession being able to keep attracting graduates.⁽³⁾ The implementation of universal comprehensive provision was at the centre of the discussions on the Education Bill. Constitutional principles had been waived as a consequence of 10 years of history in the government of education. By 1986, the

implementation of those principles was constrained by the growing distance between the Constitution and the neo-liberal practice of government. Indeed, the Act was produced at the crossroads between 1976 constitutional principles, 10 years legacy of *contingency/opportunistic* governance of education (which had produced the system existing in 1986) and the on-going practice of neo-liberal governance. The period between 1976 and 1986 was a phase when government policy deviated from existing (Constitutional) consensus. During that period, the actions of successive governments were effective in shaping a 'parallel state' 'preoccupied with building a modern capitalist democracy when its constitution prescribed a Socialist classless society [...] until 1989 when the second constitutional reform eliminated the last features of the socialist program' (Santos, 1993: 30, f.t.).

There was a high degree of participation in the discussion of the 1986 Education Bill in Parliament (mainly amongst teachers) both inside and outside Parliament (see Sampaio, 1988 for detailed account and calendar of debate). The parliamentary debates developed according to Party political division on essential issues. This division, as demonstrated in Table 4 below, reflected traditional political divisions between the support for a democratic state where participation and citizenship were based on individualism and on the free market as a social regulator and a democratic state where social citizenship and participative rights, as well as public planning according to need were supported. The political divisions were similar to the ones which were observed during the discussion of the 1986 and 1988 English Education Bills. The divisions which developed between 1976-86 in Portugal, presented similarities with divisions which had developed in the post-World War II period in England. The political divisions which gained expression in 1986 were embedded in the attempt to restore what teachers' representatives saw as traditions which had been rejected in 1974 for being non-democratic. Throughout the debate of the 1986 Bill, the definition of a legislative framework based on constitutional rights, on provision according to need, on equal opportunities in the access to education and equality in educational achievement, on participatory management and democratic participation in educational decision making, was systematically (but unsuccessfully) challenged. This challenge came from within political (Party) projects influenced by principles which emphasised the need for a public commitment to maintain a private system of education, to 'make public provision dependent on 'available resources' and to introduce notions of parental choice to the main body of the Education Act (see discussions

on articles 1 and 2 in Sampaio, 1988: 31-33). The importance of private education and parental choice were emphasised by CDS. Financing was defined in general terms but it was a source of contention within PSD. All other parties advocated the need to guarantee public financing

Political Divisions

Table 4

ISSUE	Right		Left		Result
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
*should competencies be given to Associations of Parents?	x			x	no
*should state's role in providing education for all be determined by available public and private resources?	x			x	no
*should families choose model and type of education?	x			x	no
*should the state finance private and co-operative education and introduce parental choice?	x			x	no
*should technical elements be integrated in specialised Basic schools ?	x			x	no
*should professional training be organized in partnership with economic agents?	x			x	no
should administrative criteria be subordinated to pedagogic criteria in the management and administration of schools?			CDS () Asked for the Abolition of This Clause	x	yes
*should the state recognise the value of private and co-operative education and the family's right to coordinate children's education?	x			x	no
*should the state give equal treatment to private, co-operative and to public education?	x			x	no

(*) Centre Democrat Social Party
(Adapted from Sampaio, 1988)

of schooling. The Act would guarantee that 'education should be considered one of the national priorities to be included in the state's budget plan' (article 42, 1. of the Act); PSD proposed article 42 should be abolished since financing should be left to be defined by governments. These were the terms under which, in their 1987 Party manifesto and programme for education, education financing was presented as a priority for reform. This programme presented many constraints to the implementation of the 1986 principles of democratic participation in the management and governance of education and of participatory democracy. As will be seen in the next chapter, the practice of school management was shaped to move away from *authoritarian* centralised delegation towards *democratic* administrative delegation without local government of education being implemented. Parliamentary discussions were characterised by a high degree of conflict between, on the one hand, the growing influence of the neo-liberal national agenda during the first part of the 1980s, the general strength of the international move towards neo-conservative liberalism, the demands of an increasingly deregulated European economy and, on the other hand, the national constitutional principles on social development and education. As explained by FENPROF'S leader, there was great awareness of this split amongst both teachers and members of Parliament.

The entry to the EEC also influenced the process [...] greater investment in human resources [was emphasised] [...] For many, there was the idea of going back to the (1973) Education Act (with democratic principles at its base) [...] We (teachers) exerted pressure from the outside [...] and when it wasn't possible to reach positions close to the ones we already had, then, we needed to achieve points of ambiguity, compromise and not let things remain so clear that our positions would be defeated later. This was the case with teachers training [...] That was a strategy. (30/3/1995)

Until 1986, the continued uncertainty and difficulties created by the absence of any national strategy for education had caused a steady retreat of teachers from managing schools. According to Lima (1988), legislative change to school management between 1980 and 1985 'reinforces the normalisation tendency initiated in 1976' (p. 114). 'Teachers' training and professionalisation', 'low achievement' (and absenteeism), 'pedagogics, psychology, didactics and assessment trends [...]' (p. 116) were the substantive themes relating to school management during this period. 'The [issue] of *democratic management* in general [...] [had been] practically absent from the concerns and interests of the educational community since 1980'

and until 1985 (p. 117). By 1985, elected teachers managing schools executed ministerial instructions. The implementation of local government structures which would allow for the creation of decentralised forms of management and governance were put on hold until 1986. By then, the absence of a national reform and a twelve years history of running schools without the establishment of conditions for local democracy and participatory systems left the basis of collegiate school management very vulnerable to criticism. Criticism, which originated both from those wanting to see criteria for participatory democracy to be implemented and from those embracing Public Choice critiques of public education and collegiate management. The high percentage of existing School Teachers Councils (TC) which were nominated, rather than elected, were quoted frequently by both sides. In 1974/75, '80% of [Year 5 to 9] schools had elected Teachers Councils' (Lima, 1991a: 243). In 1982/83 the percentage of Teachers Councils appointed by the Ministry was 58.2% (p. 303). Educational collegiate management was criticised by teachers, not for the conditions in which it had to survive between 1976-1986 but for the inadequacy generated from the constraints under which it had to develop during that period. 'The lack of autonomy (and working conditions) was one of the aspects most questioned by teachers [...] more than the management model [...] - lack of financial autonomy, complexity and quantity of legislation and lack of pedagogic autonomy' (p. 305). In Public Choice critiques, school management is mainly blamed on teachers' lack of interest and commitment or motivation to the management of schools or indeed to any tasks which are beyond their teaching timetable. Paradoxically, what were constraints on innovation derived from the legacy of centralised control of education, were used as the main ground for Portuguese Public Choice-type critiques of education. These promoted the idea of independent school governance and managerialist solutions based on delegated management as defined by the 1980s dominant theories which were applied across private businesses and public sector institutions. Public Choice critiques viewed constraints derived from centralisation as a way further to reinforce their arguments and to promote their ideas while those who favoured participatory democracy had traditionally viewed the critique of centralisation as an opportunity to implement a structure of local government of education and participatory democracy. Decentralisation and the definition of central, regional and local competencies was considered by teachers, as highlighted by Sampaio (1988: 111), to be very important and a major means of ensuring greater local financial autonomy and freedom to plan and to provide education (p. 111-112). While this distinction in the critique of centralization is clear, its

expression in practice was at the core of tensions during the period of policy formulation which was initiated in 1988. One member of the Working Group on School Administration (WGSA) in the Commission for the Reform of Education (CRSE) pointed out the dilemmas of formulating policy within the pressures produced by those tensions.

Democratic management was, it had several phases but, basically in essence it was about the election - and this is fundamental - the election of teachers, but it ended up (overtime) not being an election [...] it ended up being the nomination of an individual in a 3 persons list. Teachers continued to think they were electing but - the collegiate and election principle is fundamental for Teachers' Councils. [...] This didn't change schools much, on the contrary it reinforced central power [...] The MoE gave schools to teachers, isolated teachers and therefore defended teachers from parents, local authorities and local forces but what was given was in terms of implementation, policy execution. The ME concentrated all decision making power. We lived in a situation where teachers elected teachers to run the school but this is misleading because these representatives, these teachers were seen as representatives of teachers who had elected them but simultaneously and above all as delegates of central administration. So teachers elected teachers who would be made to execute Ministry's policy. (WGSA and CAA₍₄₎ Member, 6/9/1994)

Local Democracy and Professional Autonomy

The Portuguese Parliament was not only divided on the issue of parental participation in education. Local democracy was understood by the 'Left' and the majority of teachers as meaning the creation of structures for the local government of education. Specifically, in terms of extending local government's responsibilities beyond primary school education (transport, meals and school buildings) and transferring responsibilities for financing schools, planning and inspection to local government. Professional autonomy was understood, within the context of the need for government's commitment to value the teaching profession, to consolidate the democratic basis on which teaching would be exercised and to break away from a system where teaching was strongly regulated according to the needs of the pre-1974 authoritarian regime and the constraints of central administrative rule. This willingness to break away from the pre-1974 legacy is at the origin of article 45, 3. which subordinates administrative to educational criteria. This was a very sensitive issue which led the CDS to oppose teachers. CDS proposed that number 3 of article 45 should be removed from the Act. Educational criteria was an essential condition to consolidate democratic schooling and professional

autonomy which had been subordinated to the political project of the pre-1974 regime. This split was reflected in later disagreements in relation to the demands of managerialism and to the principles of educational management. From the teachers point of view, 'democratic school management' (Teodoro, 1982:95) is strongly tied to direct participation, self-management forms, the need to replace centrally appointed school managers, programmes (see Benavente, 1984: 113-122 for primary school experience) and to transform schooling (curriculum, teaching and organisation). Democratic management was also linked to the experience of providing schooling during the 1974/75 period which in some cases was characterised by close involvement of teachers with direct community action. One example of such action was the pressure exercised by the tenants association to have a local primary school for their - 'builders, dock workers, street and market sellers, factory workers, unemployed' - (p. 37) children given that the nearest schools 'were oversubscribed, did not accept the children of this [Municipality's building] which demanded long journeys' (p. 38). Professional autonomy was viewed by teachers as being strongly tied to school management. School management was viewed as an area of professional autonomy in the sense that the day-to-day running of schools would be taken by teachers elected at school level who would be accountable to the school community and to local government. This version of autonomy implies a form of management which Lima describes as being identified with the second period of democratic management, specifically with the post-1976 'predominance of teachers in School Teachers Councils' (1991a: 265). Planning and governance would be shared between elected teachers-managers and local government. The advancement of this view was informed by the wish to move away from the legacy of a framework of governance which had pushed teachers away from their initial commitment to being elected to participate in the governance and management of schools. Overall, the 1986 Act recognised the need to develop a national public education service which was freed from political authoritarianism and which recognised civil liberties, democratic freedom and equal participation in national development. In this context, the management and governance of education and of schools had the mandate to implement direct participation and to promote equal access and educational achievement to every child. The Act contained both possibilities and constraints. Sampaio (1988) summarises the general conditions which help to define the meaning of consensus while contrasting them with potential constraints of majority party rule.

The Assembly of the Republic was made up of various forces, no party had a majority position [...] it [the Act] will contribute to the expansion and qualitative improvement of the education system [...] and it will seek to adapt itself to constitutional prescriptions [...] [A] favourable appraisal (of the Act) acknowledges the validity of the consensus, to which every party contributed, because it is understood that an Act likely to express the position of only one party, regardless of its quantitative significance in the Assembly of the Republic, would become a permanent source of conflict which would affect the stability of its content [...] PSD obtained the majority (in the last elections) which hypothetically would make the overturn of the Act possible. We don't think it will happen [...] the electoral majority does not derive from the existence of a clear political project [...] [The] PSD's Bill was criticised in some cases by their own militants and even party leaders. (p. 145-148, f.t.)

Despite these constraints, the Act was still seen (after 1987), by those opposing the 1987 government's project, as an opportunity to implement 1976 constitutional principles. Lemos Pires (1987/1995), for example, considers that the Act introduced the possibility to 'further consolidate the democratic nature of school administration'⁽⁵⁾ which had not been 'entirely democratic' (p.48) until then. The implications of a consensus based on a compromise for schools' autonomy and participation in policy making were that, despite having been shared during the discussions of the 1986 Education Bill by all parties and teachers' representatives as major rules to be respected by educational management and administration (article 43, 1.), notions of participation and democracy had different meanings for the 1987 PSD government. The Section on school administration was considered, by Lemos Pires (1987/1995), as 'one of the most confusing aspects of the law and, therefore, one of the most difficult to interpret' (p.47). One of the members of the WGSA defined it as "one of the most problematic groups" (9/9/1994). The 1986 Act was the first comprehensive education Act of the democratic regime. It makes educational criteria paramount in the formulation and implementation of policy and in the organisation of schooling. It guarantees that any future attempt at religious, political or philosophical supremacy over the school curriculum will not be endorsed by the state. It also secures a formal general consensus about the need to establish a decentralised system of education; to guarantee 9 years general education and to consolidate professional autonomy. School management was defined according to the principles of democratic rule, political decentralisation and deconcentration. The Act defines four areas for democratisation:

- wider social democratisation
- democratisation of social institutions;
- democratisation of public administration and

■ democratisation of management and governance

The National Council for Education (NCE) established a clear distinction between the 1986 and the 1973 Acts. In their view, the regulatory framework of the 1986 Act, as explained below, breaks away from the mandate for schooling existing before 1974.

The political context of the 1973 was one of an authoritarian, centralised administration, instead, the political context of the [1986 Act] is one of a decentralised democratic state. [As such] [...] the interpretation of the distribution of power [guaranteed in the Act] must be articulated with the 1976 political Constitution where the democratic state is defined and structured [...] [These are] two different conceptions for the democratisation of schooling. In 1973 democratisation is understood as the strengthening of the distribution of educational resources - [...] more schools, more teachers, more financial allocation, greater diversity of courses -; of the equality of access - [...] free schooling, [educational welfare], social and economic [welfare] support geographical distribution of educational establishments -; and furthermore of the equality of success - [...] changes to the curriculum, professional training of teachers and educational technicians, teaching methods and the use of new educational technologies. [In the 1986 Act] democratisation together with that distribution of resources which is substantially increased, is also understood as a distribution of power over decisions in education, through decentralisation of bodies and popular participation in the definition of the [country's programme of education] and in the governance and management of educational establishments. (NCE, 1994:153, f.t.)

This distinction is very important for the analysis of the nature of changes introduced by the 1987 Social Democrat government to management and governance. This distinction is also emphasised by the NCE: 'it is in this qualitative difference of the concept of democratisation that the political dimension of the distribution of competencies takes a particular relevance' (NCE, 1994: 153). The way in which consensus was translated into the implementation of a system which guaranteed 'education for all' was forged in the subsequent practice of policy making and regulated within the limits defined by government programmes. The 1986 Education Act is the first of the democratic regime which laid down the principles and the requirements for the national decentralised education system and to require, in its section on school administration, that government produces regulations which translate those principles and requirements into a system to manage and to govern schools. These regulations were produced by the PSD government. Unlike the English 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), the way in which the 1986 Act legislated school administration was general rather than detailed or highly prescriptive. It represented consensus, while the 1988 ERA represented a break away from consensus. In Portugal, the radical shift away from consensus was achieved through

secondary delegated legislation. It was at this stage that, as explained by FENFROP's former leader, the conflict between managerialism and democratic educational management principles clearly emerged.

There is a concern (in 1986) with transferring to the LBSE what was in the Constitution [...] There is a great concern [...] in relation to school management, this was the concern. This resulted in great confusion because 'direccao' (governance) and 'gestao' (management) were not discussed. The separation of the two concepts provoked great splits in the post-86 period. I think that wasn't spotted then (1986) [...] I think the majority of MPs gave the same meaning to both concepts, a tautology, this separation didn't exist then. (3/3/1995)

The aspect which most concerned teachers was that the regulation of aspects of school administration should guarantee the clear move away from the legacy of non-democratic control of schools by government as it was practised before 1974. Teachers wanted to have the guarantee that there would be no turning back to the 1930s situation where

school rectors were freely nominated by government, they did not have to be teachers, they were independent from those they managed, the School Council only had consultation functions, there was [...] subordination of [teaching functions] to [director's functions] and a hierarchy of competencies with the mechanisms of inspection by the rector and his agents reinforced (Barroso, 1993: 286, f.t.) [or to the situation existing in] 1957 when the MoE was choosing rectors. (p.249)

In the second part of the 1980s, schools were, as in England, expected to respond to a diversity of initiatives. From 1989 onwards, the idea of national public services was systematically challenged by isolated government measures. This was the case in education as in health. For example, the 1993 health reform advanced, as described by Medina Carreira below, changes which resembled the transformation taking place in Britain at the time:

the explicit or implicit principles in the law question[ed] three types of ruling principles: the state's responsibility in health, free provision and its financing and the type of entity, service or institutions providing health services. In 1976 and 1979, the state committed itself to the exclusive guarantee of citizens' right to health. The principle now in force introduced joint responsibility between citizens, Society and the state with freedom of choice and provision [...] the management contracts and the possibility to contract out will with time break up the unitary characteristic of the public health service [...] and will move towards an overlapping of units not accountable to the centralised command that exists today. (1996: 127-8, f.t.)

In education as in health, the reform of the systems of management and governance were subjected to competing requirements and aims.

The national health service which was created at the end of the 1970s, was based on an advanced definition of health - community health - and followed the English model [...] universal [...] priorities to public health and public health services, - being for that reason violently attacked by the medical association [...] - (It was never implemented) [...] access was limited, selection increased, some health costs were transferred to the users [...] the state became less of a welfare and social protection producer to transform itself in an entity financing welfare produced privately, in the market and in social security [...] the state supported, financed, promoted non-profit organisations which through state contracts provide social services which were provided by the state before [...] These charitable institutions, with great tradition in Portugal, provide services under the supervision of the state, they work as semi-public institutions. Although they are private institutions, the presence of the state in its regulation and financing is so strong that I call them the secondary civil society to emphasise that through them the state is reproducing itself in non state institutions[...] in other words, in Portugal a weak welfare state coexisted with a strong welfare Society. (Santos, 1993: 44-46, f.t.)

The trend in the production of parallel initiatives which were expected to be carried through changes in the management and governance of education were visible in the two countries. Table 5 shows the type and the extent of such initiatives.

Parallel Initiatives

Table 5

Portugal	Britain
<p>. (1980) pilot scheme to provide three years of training after compulsory school age (14 years old) in industry;</p> <p>. introductory agricultural courses for children leaving Primary (four years) school;</p> <p>. Joint Commission for Employment (Employment Ministry, Social Security Ministry and every Public Administration Department involved in employment and professional training policy making)</p> <p>. (1982) National Commission for Learning</p> <p>. (1983) Secondary Technical and Professional courses (ETP) of three years with a six months work placement</p> <p>. (1984) 'learning system' (Sistema de Aprendizagem) for young people over fourteen leaving school who could be trained in industry</p> <p>. (1985) Training in Cooperation programme coordinated by the employment services aiming at the qualification and professional improvement of young and adult people</p> <p>. (1986-1990) European Community funds applied to basic professional training</p> <p>. (1989) professional (independent) schools funding through a public/private partnership</p> <p>. (1991) Technical and Professional Training in Basic and Secondary Education Scheme</p>	<p>. use of private managing agents for YTS courses based on employers' premises'</p> <p>. 'increased use of industrial sponsorships' (p. 85)</p> <p>. the possibility of early separation of life chances and occupational entry [...] [with] distinct routes [...] emerging. TVEI, CPVE [...] [together with] Youth Training Schemes have sketched out a worker-pupil, pre-vocational/vocational route which could be embarked upon from age 14, separate from an academic, subject-based, GCSE, A-level and Higher Education route. (p. 93)</p> <p>. the Mini-Enterprise in Schools Project (MESP), the Economic Awareness project, the Schools Curriculum Industry Partnership (CSIP) and the Understanding British Industry Project (UBI)" (p. 94) and finally</p> <p>. the City Technology Colleges [...] intended to provide a 'new choice of school', to 'the changing demands of adult and working life in an advanced industrial society [...]' (p. 113)</p> <p>(Adapted from Ball, 1990a)</p>

Autonomy, Choice and Participation: Two Versions, Two Purposes

By the mid 1980s, the overlapping of various types of state was one of the specific characteristics of public management and governance in Portugal and this was different from England. As explained below, elements of the authoritarian regime met democratic reforms and practices and various versions of democracy informed the reforms of the public services in a very short period of time:

during this short period the Portuguese corporate state went through a transition to Socialism, a fordist regulation and a welfare state and also a neo-liberal regulation. Given that the several attempts of regulation translated themselves into laws, institutions, administrative services and ideologies (some more than others) and because those create its own and have their own inertia, the structure of the state presents, in specific moments, a geological composition with several layers, with different sedimentation, some old other recent, each with its own logic and strategic orientation. This is what the heterogeneous state is (Santos, 1993: 41, f.t.) the state apparatus after having been cleared of its fascist characteristics did not perish, it only suffered a general paralysis. [...] there was not a 'bourgeois domination' but for the same reasons one cannot talk about 'proletarian domination'. [...] one of the main characteristics of the Portuguese revolution is to prove that the capitalist state can be affected by a general paralysis during a long period without nevertheless disappearing. (p. 27)

In Portugal, the type and the nature of educational issues and battles fought between 1976-1986 were indicative of the nature of a future shift and were an important influence on the way policy was formulated in the second part of the 1980s. Unlike in England, where the shift in policy steered by neo-conservative liberal governments transformed established national public systems, in Portugal, the transformation took place as national public systems were developing: 'it was as if Portugal was going through a welfare state crisis without ever having had the welfare state' (Santos, 1993: 45, f.t.). In the 1976 constitutional socialist consensus on the need to introduce public and social citizenship rights, education was politically defined as having an important role in achieving this. However, the 1976 Constitution never proposed the creation of a welfare state, as the aim of the Constitution was the creation of a socialist state not of a capitalist democracy. As noted by Santos,

the Portuguese state is not a welfare state [...] although in some aspects it gets close to that political form [it] is a semi welfare state [...] The Portuguese state is more similar to the Anglo-Saxon model [...] in what concerns the variety of services, the way they are provided and the financing mechanisms but

substantially distant in terms of the range and the quality of services [it is rather a] welfare Society [which] does not distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate inequality [...] it is hostile to citizens and rights [...] it also creates dependency and social control [...]. the heaviest social welfare costs fall, inevitably on women until the dominant family habits change. (1993: 44, f.t.)

By 1986 a political split about the role and the purpose of education was established within the existing broad consensus. The origins of the shift in policy are, as described below, different from the context of the changes which took place in the 1970s in England.

Portugal is maybe the most clear example of a complex combination of [...] opposing social characteristics, a configuration which is manufactured and re-manufactured in the historical short-circuit of the last 15 years [...] five centuries of European expansion, two centuries of democratic revolutions, one century of socialist movements and 40 years of welfare state. In the beginning of 1974, Portugal was one of the less developed countries in Europe and the most ancient European colonial empire [...] soon after [...] socialism was the goal to be achieved [...] some months later a long and winding path was open in the direction of a social democratic welfare state, at a time when the welfare state initiated a phase of turmoil in central countries in Western Europe and all over the world [...] There was an internal crisis which occurred in the middle of an international crisis (Santos, 1993: 19, 25, f.t.)

The political split which gained strength in Portugal began increasingly to resemble the conflict, tension and changes which developed in England in the 1980s. In 1986, the British Conservative government initiated what would become the 'first really large structural change to the education system since the 1944 Act' (Glennerster, 1995: 200) and to management and governance. Parliament began by approving the no. 2 Education Act which would change the existing framework for school governance. The 1988 ERA established a new national education system and a new framework for the management of local government-maintained state schools. In 1993, the Schools Act changed the framework for the administration, management and governance of newly created and centrally-maintained state schools (Grant-Maintained Schools). Changes to administration were embedded in changes to central/local government relations and defined, readjusted and contested in the 'reworking of the ideological terrain of ideological politics' (Ball, 1990a: 8). Thus, by 1986, consensus on curriculum provision, teaching methods, management and governance of schooling, as well as, on educational social policy measures designed to address the issues of social inequality and social justice identified in the 1960s had been left behind in England (see Table 6 below for detail of transition) to give way to three new forms of control of the management and governance of schools:

- . ministerial and central departmental control,
- . 'quasi-governmental' (Quango) control and
- . non-professional (lay) control

Continuity and Transition

Table 6

Social Democratic Consensus	Break-up of Consensus	Implementation of One (Conservative) Party Project
<p>1944 Education Act</p> <p>Appeal Procedures -----> Teachers As Professionals -----></p> <p>Decentralised Government -----></p> <p>Comprehensive Schooling with Wide Variety of Schools Maintained by Local Government -----></p>	<p>1969/70 Black Papers 1976 Callaghan Speech 1965/79 Conflict over Comprehensive Education</p> <p>----->----->----- ----->----->----- </p> <p>----->---/----/-></p> <p>----->---/----/-></p>	<p>'Flexibility' 'Efficiency' 'Accountability' 'Diversity'</p> <p>Consumer Choice-----></p> <p>Teachers As Employees and As Technicians -----></p> <p>Market Decentralisation + Limited Strategic Local and Central Government and Extensive Central Government Control of Curriculum, Assessment, Teachers Training, Working Conditions and Inspection</p> <p>National Curriculum + Independent and Quasi Independent Schools</p>

|| End > Continuity / Break up \> Maintained System without Continuity

By 1986, the Portuguese Ministry was faced with the challenge of guaranteeing both the registration and the retention of pupils of school age in years five and six. Furthermore, the

formulation of curriculum and assessment policy and the creation of a new framework for the management and governance of school education took place while the establishment of the national teachers' training system and the framework for the provision of educational welfare were awaiting implementation.

The process of transition initiated in the second part of the 1980s took place in opposition to the support for collegiate forms of school management which were favoured in schools in both countries. In England, between the 1960s and the early 1980s, 'social democratic management' (Grace, 1995: 34) developed based on notions and practices of 'consultative management' and 'shared decision making' (p. 38-39).

[It] was possible for innovating headteachers (men and women) to introduce a regime of shared decision making into all types of school culture [...] the consultative mode of decision making and the model of the school leader/headteacher as actively participative rather than hierarchically directive was receiving official commendation as the practice. [...] Hierarchy and authoritarianism in schools were in retreat and the practice of shared decision making and the culture of collegial professional discussion spread. (p.193)

The practice of consultative and participatory management varied from school to school according to the headteacher's 'leadership style' and the 'participative style of teachers' (p. 37) and professional autonomy drove school management. Consultative management did not, however, extend to include parental participation. Parental representation in governing bodies varied from one LEA to another. The norm was for the management of schools to be shared between teachers, headteachers and LEA representatives. The practice of management was, thus, marked by what Grace described as 'contradictions, limitations and vulnerabilities' (1995: 194).

While individual headteachers (with the endorsement of the school governing body) might be prepared to operate relatively egalitarian forms of professional decision making in schools, these democratic forms existed within a set of constraints. External legal and bureaucratic structure continued to operate as if the headteacher was (subject to the formal power of the governors) the manifest school leader. (p.194)

Grace's description of what happened in England had similarities with the post-1974 trends in Portugal.

[T]he social democratic period from the 1960s to the early 1980s was characterised by forms of management [...] which attempted to realise notions

of professional collegiality, consultative management and shared decision making. Autocratic forms of management were in retreat [...] weakening the boundaries between school and community was, in a sense, a radical extension of the principles of consultative management. [...] parents and community members would be taken into partnership with the headteacher and teachers [...] a notion of real community management of schooling came into direct conflict with the interest of headteachers (for professional autonomy) and the interests of school governors [...] the guiding principles of state schooling remained [...] those of professional control rather than popular and community involvement. It was these limitations of social democracy in practice which provided the conditions for New Right ideological attacks upon state education. (p.38-39)

The essential problem of low democratisation of public decision making was real in both countries. The Public Choice critique of central government departments, of teachers and of schools was successful in isolating educational management and local government as being causes of educational problems which had long been the focus of the professional critique of public education. Again, Grace explains the impact that almost one century of state schooling in England had on schools and how schooling had also been criticised by professionals constrained by education policy.

English schooling culture in the 20th century has always had, at its heart, a major paradox and contradiction. Formally designated as the cultural agency for 'making democracy work' and involved, at specific periods, with explicit pedagogical projects to enhance education for citizenship, its own practice has remained largely undemocratic. Among a complex of reasons for this lack of democratic practice in school life, the influence of the hierarchical 'headmaster tradition' has been significant. While this tradition may have modified over time into more consultative forms, the fact remains that most headteachers are the operative school leaders and that few examples exist of serious organisational democracy involving major decision making by headteachers in association with teachers, pupils and other school staff. (Grace, 1995: 56)

The British Conservative government, exploited a critique which had been a strong asset of political Opposition groups. The constraints to local autonomy had also been a problem which had been identified by teachers and by advocates of universal public systems of education in both countries. However, the definition given to local autonomy by teachers and advocates of universal public education in England was, as in Portugal, different. This is, for example, clear in the work of the Portuguese WGSAs.

There was a fight for decentralisation and autonomy, school governance, a democratic and representative form of governance, there was a political background and logic of community power in all of our proposals, for example the educational project was political in the sense that it would legitimise school's autonomy [...] we said things like: from now on no central

administration service can send direct orders or circulars to schools [...] this was a revolution in the relationship between schools and central administration. (Member of the WGSA and CAA, 6/9/1994)

This Group had the 1986 Education Act as its main reference and designed its proposals based on the assumption that political decentralisation would be implemented. Local autonomy would increasingly imply the implementation of democratic regional and, therefore, politically autonomous education services, rather than the creation of ministerial delegations as were later implemented. The WGSA started by arguing that school management had not been democratic until 1986 because self-managing practices, initiated in 1974, had been stopped by government in 1976. Therefore, in order to increase the autonomy of schools, schools would have to have some say in areas of education policy in curriculum, assessment and values.

Curriculum, assessment and values, it was our (WGSA) understanding that the curriculum project couldn't carry on being defined by central administration at 100%. It could be defined centrally at 80 or 85% [...] Curriculum, disciplinary procedures, [...] regulations, teachers time management [...] the educational project should establish guidelines, values to implement in areas of curriculum, classroom and extra classroom activities [...] staff recruitment. We accepted savings could be achieved, for example, a school wants to pursue a specific project, (then) it could sacrifice staff to pursue such project [...] if the (school) educational project is everything but the curriculum (for example) then it is not the essential instrument of autonomy. (Member of the WGSA and CAA, 6/9/1994)

The analysis in the next chapter will demonstrate how the implementation of WGSA's initial proposal could not be sustained for the following two reasons:

- its democratic features were in conflict with the business-oriented features of the framework of management by objectives which were advanced by the MoE;
- its implementation without the implementation of the 1986 Act's (and constitutional) requirement for political (local and/or regional) decentralisation was void.

The political divisions existing in the two countries at the stage of policy formulation shaped the process of implementation. The implementation of new legal frameworks to regulate financing, the curriculum, assessment, the recruitment of teachers, pay and working conditions, the structure of management and governance, reflected the tension existing between the forceful prescription of neo-conservative liberal frameworks of regulation by governments and the demands or the requirements derived from the local processes of schooling. In its

preliminary report on the progress in the implementation of changes to the management and governance of school education, CAA pointed to, amongst others, the production of 'excessive' (CAA, 1995: 52) rules as one of the weaknesses of the experiment.

Despite the difference in the process of formulation, the different characteristics of implementation and the different features of the organisational and institutional changes introduced in the two countries, the tensions inherent in the definition of forms of decentralisation, autonomy, participation and, specifically, delegation as well as, the direction in which the cultures and practices of financing and of provision moved were very similar. The parameters of regulation of education embraced and introduced by the British Conservative and the Portuguese PSD governments created the conditions for a new form of regulation to emerge and to replace the form of regulation taking shape in England from the 1960's onwards and the regulation required by the 1974 Constitution and the 1986 Education Act in Portugal. The tension observed during the implementation of educational reforms and the impact of these on schools illustrates the way in which schools reacted to the emergence of new forms of provision and of new roles for schools. The process of policy making post-1987 was shaped by the strategic aim of moving away from what Carneiro defines as 'production-oriented' towards 'innovation-oriented' education. This transition implied specific changes as is shown in Table 7 below. 'Production-oriented education' is described as being reliant on state finance, administration, control, the provision and principles of comprehensive, universal provision and 'innovation-oriented education' as presupposing the existence of 'autonomous, institutions-based, selective education'. With the introduction of changes, schools were to become faced with the opposition between teachers' control of the local process of teaching and learning and 'innovation' which was introduced by central government. The reconstruction of the image of teachers as being opponents to change and to innovation, which characterised the process of policy formulation was also carried through the process of implementation. In the Portuguese case, this reconstruction became embedded in the transformation of the state which was carried out without a constitutional or legal basis. The 'formal framework was subverted' (Ruivo, 1993a: 408). Despite the existing legal requirements for the creation of local government of education, the practice of central/local relations forged a parallel level of relationships and a pattern of central governance which deviated from the legal status. The preamble of Decree 172/91 refers to the principles of the

1986 Education Act notwithstanding the model anticipated for experimental implementation being rooted on and creating a network of institutional relationships and levels of autonomy and accountability based upon business management principles.⁽⁶⁾

Areas of Change

Table 7

Production-Oriented	<p>. teaching as manufacturing assembly line . standardisation . uniform prescription . bureaucratic power . teachers-based production . national budgets . supply strategies . pupil's assessment</p> <p>Main actors: teachers, teaching unions, central planning</p>
Consumption-Oriented	<p>. the democratisation of education . participation (parents, pupils) . national regulations . deconcentration . technocratic power . mass technologies . public investment . global financing . demand strategies</p> <p>Main actors: pupils, students associations, peripheral planning (deconcentration)</p>
Client-Oriented	<p>. co-responsibilisation . tailored systems . decentralisation . shared power . individual trajectories . clients' taxes . vouchers . educational marketing</p> <p>Main actors: parents and employers, clients' associations, local planning</p>
Innovation-Oriented	<p>. negotiation vs. imposition . project work . creation of networks . ongoing institutional redesign . creative power . horizontal management methods . programmatic financing . marginal financing . strategic spin-offs . performance assessment</p> <p>Main actors: educational institutions/autonomy . educational associations</p>

Adapted from Roberto Carneiro (copy of OECD draft paper, n.d., obtained in 1994, f.t.)

Despite national differences in the structure of educational responsibilities, as they can be seen

in Table 8, from the early part of the 1990s onwards, educational issues in the two countries became increasingly embedded in similar developments. These developments emerged notwithstanding the framework where similar characteristics coexisted with differences as can be seen in Table 9. Thus, while there was a difference in the extent of transfers of power and control within the central-local government-schools system and differences between the two national systems remained in place, the extent of the policy which shaped the management, governance, financing and provision of schooling in the two countries infiltrated the two systems in a way which would affect the long-term conditions of public schooling in a similar way.

Table 8
Educational Responsibilities

	before		after	
Areas of Responsibility	Portugal	England	Portugal	England
Curriculum	central	local/school	central	central
Assessment	central	local/school	central	central
Inspection	central	local	central	central
Participation of Parents	association's representative in Pedagogics Council	representative in school governing body	representative in School Council	representative in school governing body
Funding	central	local	central	school/local
Recruitment of Teachers	central	local	central	school
Special Needs	central	local	central/school	local
Governance	central	school/local	school	school
Management	Teachers + Pedagogics Council	Head Teacher	Executive Director	Headteacher
Certification	central	central	central	central

Table 9
Instruments of Change

Portugal	England
. Private Budget . Educational School Plan	. LMS . School Development Plan
Changes in Structure	
. School Council	. Lay Governing Body
. Executive Director	. Existing Headteacher
. Pedagogical Council	. Governing Body Committees
. Departments	. Departments
'First Order Outcomes'	
. New Headship	
. Lay Governance	
. School-Based Financial Management and Delivery of Centrally Prescribed Policies	
. External Strategic Governance	
Remaining Differences	
. National Budget	. Local Government Sets Amount and Formula . Schools Manage (+/- 80%) Budget within Limit Set
. National Recruitment	. School-Based Recruitment
. Limited Involvement in Contracting Out	. Compulsory Competitive Tendering
. Continuity with National Curriculum and Testing	. Introduction of National Curriculum and Testing
. National Inspection	. National Inspection Targets with Contracted Out Inspection
. No Local Education Authority with Responsibilities for Secondary Schooling	. Reduction of Local Education Authority's Influence . New Quasi-Independent Centrally Appointed Bodies (FAS, etc.)

The similar developments in management and governance which began to take shape in the two countries are the following:

- school managers are to become key individual leaders of change;
- increased emphasis on the role of individual entrepreneurs in introducing change (the Protestant ethic 'individual demonstrable merit' (Grace, 1995: 21);
- functions of individual managers are to change in order to become mainly focused on financial and administrative rather than educational tasks;
- peripheral operative functions give school managers the sense of being in control;
- professional relationships in schools are to be re-defined;
- increased prescription in educational matters;
- the philosophy of professional management permeates priority setting;
- increased training in management studies;
- re- definition of professionalism;
- move away from collective educational management as integrated function of schooling which implies a move away from:
 - (in Portugal)
 - a close relationship between the Pedagogical Council and the Teachers' Council or the Management Commission;
 - 'open dialogue and consensus';
 - monthly meetings where teachers representatives of each subject, parents and secondary pupils' representatives are present;
 - shared decision-making based on collective discussion and a voting system;
 - decisions reached in the Pedagogical Council being implemented by the Teachers Council which President executes decisions;
 - school relations based on equal participation, collaboration and consultation;
 - collegiate, educational management;
 - professional management to resemble private companies management with private-like decision making;
 - concentration of managerialism decision making power;
 - lowering of level of local democratic accountability;
 - reduction in professional participation;
 - new management structures and systems;
 - separation between governance and management.

The different procedures and mechanisms for the reform of management and governance in Portugal and in England, as they are outlined above, were not an impediment to the development of similarities in the policy process. These have often been shaped in a similar movement of power towards the centre. Bullock and Thomas (1997) summarise the 'distribution of responsibilities for locally managed country schools in England and Wales' as follows:

movement towards the centre where the curriculum and national assessment, the framework for employment and the standards of premises, the guidelines for spending and formula and the information on access that is to be published are specified. The centre also approves admissions policy changes (p. 15)

This type of change in the distribution of power is very similar to the direction of reform in Portugal after 1989. Since the purpose of the comparison is not to establish whether one reform was a weaker or a stronger version of conservative liberalism nor to establish the extent to which market mechanisms were introduced in the financing or in the provision of schooling, similarities are analysed to understand the nature of transition and the direction of change which transformed the practice, culture and aims of management and governance of education. The next chapter discusses how market-oriented notions of autonomy and decentralisation reflect social and political divisions about the social role of the state and the role of schooling.

Notes

(1) These areas are: central-local government, government-professional, local government-school relations and educational expertise-policy making relations; institutional distribution of (management) authority and responsibilities and finally, the relationship between professional autonomy and government control of the definition of priorities for schooling.

(2) This division is kept to follow Sampaio (1988)'s analysis. The Social Democrat (Partido Social Democrata - PSD) and the Centre Democrat Social (Centro Democrata Social - CDS) Parties were characterised as Right wing Parties. Nevertheless, the adoption of this analysis does not imply the acceptance of a narrow definition of Left and Right wing political Parties. However, the consideration of themes required to contrast a narrow with a wider definition of the above distinction is beyond this thesis. Appendix 7 provides a description of Parties' characteristics.

(3) By 1993, research from the MoE reached the conclusion that 'the teaching profession is of little attraction to young graduates, this is visible in the analyse of resignations [...] of teachers that applied once only, whether they are fully qualified or not and of permanent teachers who have requested ilimited sabbaticals without pay or resigned.' (G.E.P, p. 103, f.t.)

(4) CAA - National Council for the Evaluation and Supervision of the Experimental Model of School Management and Administration created by Decree 172/1991. Consultation body in the Ministry of Education. (C.A.A., 1992)

(5) Administration is a term Lemos Pires uses as an alternative to management for the latter 'is linked to executive aspects (of school administration) while the former, includes management, but it is wider and therefore more in agreement with the pedagogical content of administration' (1987/1995: 48, f.t.).

(6) The experiment involved 54 schools in 1993/94. Twenty four schools became part of the experiment in 1992/93 and thirty schools in 1993/94. In 1992/93, five of all schools were located in the area of competency of Cima Terra Regional Department of Education and four in Salilos Regional Department. In 1993/94, another eight schools joined the scheme in Cima Terra bringing the number of schools involved to thirteen schools. Four schools joined the experiment in Salilos bringing the total number up to eight schools. In 1993/94, two of all Cima Terra schools were in Nova city and these schools are the object of analysis in this thesis. Two of all Salilos schools were located in Salilos city and they were not included in the analysis. One of Salilos schools was located in Madal and it was included in the analysis. Three out of the nine Portuguese schools analysed in this thesis were part of the experiment.

Applied 'Rational Management'

and

Market Criteria

The standard "welfarist" interpretation of market performance is silent on the importance of freedom, in addition to relying on a strong and unlikely assumption regarding human behaviour. (Sen, 1991: 35)

Some companies have seen their fortunes rise with the talk of business-run schools. Nord Anglia, the UK's first quoted schools operator, which controls a string of private schools has seen its share price rise from 140p last year to a high of 455p last month. It now has a capital market value of £55m. (Targett, S. in Financial Times, 9/4/98)

The Neo-Conservative Liberal Critique of Public Education

This chapter traces and discusses the ideas informing reforms and the applied forms which 'educational crisis' and the project of 'change' took in Portugal and in England. It examines how ideas were presented and how they informed the formulation and implementation of policy. This analysis takes into account the way in which reforms were influenced by the embracement of the definitions of 'market', 'market forces (supply, demand, free economy, price and resource allocation), of 'market failure' (Bannock, *et. al.*, 1972/1992: 273-274) and how the national projects of 'change' were shaped by the goal of establishing 'quasi-markets' (Le Grand, 1990: 5) as the main framework to organize public services.

The organisational forms which governments intended to implement relied heavily on the influence of private business management and the organisational forms of highly profitable international firms. They relied mainly on management models focusing, for example, on 'institutional loyalty and group effort, teamwork and conformity, long hours and hard work, sense of mission and client service' (Maister, 1993: 306). These models reinvented, amongst others, the 1950s Port Sunlight model of private industry staff management and problem-solving staff participation in operative management (Lever Brothers, 1953: 50-51). The discourses of 'crisis' put a strong emphasis on the supremacy of market criteria to inform the reform of public services, stressed the idea of existing scarcity of resources, the need to tie policy to rational criteria, to respond to private individual choice and to efficiency and the economic function of education (Le Grand and Robinson, 1985: 2, 54-55). There was an emphasis on the need to strengthen 'civil society'. Market relations were expected to become the reference for school admissions, financing, accountability, inspection and staff management. Policy making informed by positive measures to enhance pupils' education was to be replaced by *reactive* rather than *active* educational responses to local needs for schooling.

The national critiques of compulsory, universal, public, comprehensive education embody three neo-liberal claims: 1) individual freedom; 2) business entrepreneurship and leadership; 3) market choice and quality. Such critiques neutralise progressive, social critiques of liberal education at the same time as they act as conveyers of new institutional and school relations

and mandates for schooling. Changes to the management and governance of education in Portugal and England pushed forward market and business versions of participation in decision making (as well as in the classroom), of local, professional and learning autonomy. Those versions stand in opposition to educational efficiency, standards and assessment. In England, reforms were informed by

the introduction [...] [of] 'quasi-markets' into the delivery of welfare services [...] the intention [being] for the state to stop being both the funder *and* the provider of services. Instead it is to become primarily a funder, with services being provided by a variety of private, voluntary and public suppliers, all operating in competition with one another. (Le Grand, 1990: 2)

Classroom teaching, assessment, the notions of achievement, performance and diversity were to become transformed according to the parameters defined by the economic value of education. As explained by Smith, the opposition to educational criteria is based on a wider transformation of public services which has a long-term effect on the shape of social institutions and relations.

It is government, not corporate power, that is the chief antagonist in Friedman's social philosophy [...] [to him] free and voluntary markets are the *sine qua non* of both political freedom and the *depoliticization* of social life. (1988/1992: 126) [...] market choices are preferable to planning [...] to political decisions in the arena of public policy making [...] properly functioning markets will enhance the degree of cooperation and social integration in society. [...] market capitalism will depoliticise the making of public policy. (p. 127)

Unlike the social critique - which scorns the institutions of the state and targets government regulation which reproduces inequalities in social and political citizenship, poverty and social injustice -, the neo-conservative liberal critique derides public initiatives which attempt to reverse the trend in reproduction of inequalities and questions the need for maintaining public services without much concern over whether social rights are guaranteed. The social and political divisions these two different critiques entail became wider throughout the 1980s. While the social critique advocated the need for public regulation to increase social protection of specific groups or individuals, the conservative liberal critique of state institutions promoted specific forms of regulation in order to increase the influence of private, charitable or individualised interests. Policy making influenced by the latter aimed at shifting regulation away from the public towards the private, charitable or family spheres with wider implications. Louçã describes this process as the 'hyperpoliticisation' of the state on the one side and the

depoliticisation of civil society on the other [...] [which] hides [the fact] that [the minimal state] rather than expanding itself through its formal bureaucratic apparatus, expands itself under the form of civil society' (1997: 174). The frameworks of financing, provision, schools admissions, staff development, management, governance and, ultimately, teaching and learning were targeted for change by the conservative liberal critique in anticipation of the redefinition of public policy, the process of policy-making and of the relationship between the public and the private spheres of influence over education. 'Scientific management' and the 'economic and public choice (PA) approach to bureaucracies' (Hood, 1990) advanced liberal notions of professional autonomy, decentralisation, civil society and community. Therefore, the questions *What is education?, Who controls the decision-making process? and Who is education for?* lie at the heart of the discourses produced at the stage of policy formation in both countries. The policies pursued by the British Conservative and the Portuguese PSD governments from the late 1980s onwards intersected a very important tension existing at the heart of British socialists, liberal or social democrats committed to public education. In 1977, Stuart Hall argued that

one must understand society or any particular aspect of it [...] by focusing on the purpose or intentions of the individuals or 'social actors' involved. [...] the 'liberal' view sees the development of education in terms of the humane intentions of various groups of individuals [...] The [Marxist view] sees the course of educational change as the result of the actions of wicked men who, under the guise of furthering the development of human capacities, have really been concerned to keep children in their places and maintain an unjust and dehumanising society. Hall argues that [...] 'both explanations [...] belong to the same *order* of explanation, which is to reduce social processes to the intentions - whether good or bad - of the social actors involved.' (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985/1993: 157-158)

Tapper and Salter (1978) also highlight academic (across discipline) tensions and ongoing political divisions relating to the provision of post-World War II universal secondary education (p. 196). Both the political and the academic divisions which were visible from the 1960s onwards, are of fundamental importance to the analysis of contemporary political and academic tensions relating to education. Indeed, the debate within the Marxist tradition which took place in the 1970s (for example, the differences between the positions of Nicos Poulantzas and Ralph Miliband) is of fundamental importance to understand today's recurrent themes and evolving positions relating to the relationship between dominant social institutional relations

and individual action in analysis of educational reforms. The work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham (CCCS, 1981), particularly their studies of post-WWII politics of education, is a fundamental departure point for considering not only national differences and tensions relating to the social, liberal and socialist democratic projects for education in England but also to study the transition underlying 1980s educational reforms elsewhere. As academic freedom was banned until 1974 in Portugal, the production of sociological analysis was compressed to a much shorter period. As noted by Santos

to be a social scientist in Portugal in the last fifteen years was not an easy task. The repressive action that the social sciences were submitted to before 1974, did not allow for the creation of an analytical tradition about the portuguese society [...] On the other hand, the rupture created with the twenty fifth of April and the, not less dramatic resistance of some continuities with the previous regime, transformed Portugal into an intriguing [...] laboratory [...] hardly understood by sociological theories developed in other contexts and places. Nevertheless, these were the theories that social scientists had assimilated during their training, almost underground and self-taught. (1990/1992: 9, f.t.)

Table 10 shows how the discourses of reform in Portugal and England in the 1980s were similar.

The Economic versus the Democratic Value of Education

In both countries, the support for market mechanisms was combined with neo-conservatism.

In England, this combination emphasised the following premises:

(on markets and market rationality)

- . judgments are not biased
- . better than central planning authorities
- . ability to cope with rapid change and uncertainty by continuous adaptation when decentralised maximises entrepreneurship
- . selfish aims [...] leads to saving general interest [...] (Hayek, 1976: 138)
- . no moral priorities in distribution patterns, unprincipled
- . does not produce equality, equality is unhelpful not unfair
- . natural economic order: poorest, losers will benefit from progress
- . no intentional effects, no one to blame for failure but failure itself (adapted from Ball, 1990a)

The Discourse of Reform

Table 10

<p>Portugal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 'individual client', (Carneiro, 1994: 19, f.t.); ● 'independent education to all by granting to all parents the power, at present enjoyed by only the wealthy, to choose the best available education for their children' ● 'bringing parents and the community to the School' ● 'the possibility of effective choice of private models of education for all, [...] effective participation of families in public education to build the educational project more adapted to the local needs and culture' ● 'per pupil financing [...] free choice [...] free market of supply and demand of education [...] ● evaluation of results [...] results as marketing indicator (p. 25) 'quality and choice [...] to change the way that we finance and manage them (schools) ● 'management of change' (p.27) ● 'accountability' (p.20); ● 'private financing' (p.23) ● 'alternative financing'; ● 'School/business partnerships' (p. 20); 	<p>England</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Making the system fully responsive to parental choice [...] direct financial relationship between provider and consumer is the way to better standards [...] freedom, freedom of choice, accountability, readily available information [...] 'local and diversity of provision (Ball, 1990a: 44); ● competition (p.61); ● advocacy of vouchers (p.63); ● the idea is for almost all schools to attract as many pupils as possible, in order to maximise their income [...] devolved budgets (p. 67); ● assessment [...] the making of comparisons between schools and teachers, in order to facilitate informed parental choice (p. 52) ● schools are to become businesses, run and managed like businesses [...] accountability is now firmly local (p.68); ● State aid to the private sector [...] increased reliance on parental contributions in State schools (p. 84) and ● industrial sponsorships (p.85)
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(on Conservatism)

- . freedom subordinated to the nation
 - . social discipline rather than individual freedom (Wordsthorne, 1978)
 - . community founded upon social bonds arising out of common culture/national identity
 - . ideal citizen, parents/alien family
 - . traditional family
 - . fixed gender roles
 - . 'normal' sexuality
 - . family loyalty
- (adapted from Ball, 1990a)

In Portugal, Roberto Carneiro, as Keith Joseph in England, was a pivotal influence on shaping the conservative liberal framework for the reform of management and governance. They were both political entrepreneurs committed to change the purposes and the structure of services. They contributed to the spread of Milton Friedman's economic propositions for educational provision or to what Smith defines as the 'paradigm case of market capitalist social theory' - MCAST - (1988/1992: 121). What Smith identifies as MCAST below summarises the basic propositions to which the Portuguese and the British governments were committed.

- . [limit] the role that state policies might play in distributing life chances;
- . benefits of redistributive allocations by the state are invariably weighed against the harm they might do to the market as a central means of social organisation and economic integration;
- . unstimulated and unregulated market forces are more likely to produce prosperity than is the "mixed economy";
- . the free market, despite periodic fluctuations, is the best long-run route to increased economic growth;
- . radically reduce the scale of government in providing or financing public services;
- . government support for the "truly needy" takes the form of cash transfers [...] or vouchers, rather than services;
- . oppose direct subsidies to providers;
- . collectively provided and consumed services should be privatised;
- . they should be privately purchased in the market place as commodities;
- . collectively consumed public services [...] stimulate excess political demand for their expansion;
- . demands outstrip the capacity of government to respond [...] draining tax revenues and fostering social instability;
- . if the door is opened [...] insatiable demands for universal provision will ensue, bankrupting both state and society. (p. 122-123)

Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962) was probably the most influential piece of writing that underpinned much of the international neo-conservative liberal agenda for the reform of

education in the 1980s. In this book, competitive enterprise is promoted as being the 'far more efficient' (p. 91) form of provision and financing of services. The student is given an economic value and is to be taught the basic moral and social code of the day by the state and trained to 'raise the economic productivity. The individual is rewarded in a free enterprise society by receiving a return (to the initial investment)' (p. 100). The state should continue to finance schooling but schools are viewed as private firms which can be de-nationalized and their equipment sold to private enterprises. The emphasis is put on the need to subject education provision to 'rational' abstract criteria and to link costs to the benefits individual tax payers are to get. The notion of community is reduced to a financial exchange between individuals (some of which are seen as being more *responsible* than others). 'Educational services can be provided by private enterprises which operate for profit, or by non-profit institutions' (p. 89). This book provided not only the framework for reform but also a moral social code. 'Reducing the role of the state [...] will [...] enlarge the role of the individual entrepreneur [...] the state ought to play only the quite limited role in economy and society of protecting markets and 'voluntary' contracts' (Smith, 1988/1992: 124). The 'meaning and value of human freedom is bound up in free and voluntary interrelationships among people' (Smith, idem). The democratic, planned, state delivery education system is to be replaced by systems responsive to individual parental choice; the former is, in neo-liberalism terms, identified with complacency and the latter with efficiency through choice. As such, parents must become market choosers, customers to whom vouchers are given by the state to guarantee a minimum level of education in an approved institution of their own choice. Parental choice is promoted as a mechanism to *enhance* 'variety' of schools and to allow poor children living in areas with bad schools to have access to the good schools in the 'high income neighbourhoods'. The 'market [...] voluntary cooperation of individuals [...] [is opposed to] the coercive power of the state' (Smith, idem: 125). It was Friedman's belief that 'the only methods of passing from individual tastes to social preferences which will be satisfactory and which will be defined for a wide range of sets of individual orderings are either imposed or dictatorial' (1962:59). The politics and dynamics of poverty are neglected in favour of the reification of 'value for money' which becomes opposed to public investment to compensate for the adverse economic effects on people's lives. The advocacy of choice is similar to Arrow's theory of choice and individual values which asserts that 'there are logical barriers to aggregating individuals' preference orderings into a social preference ordering' (1962: 17). That there can be no such thing as a

general will, or a general social choice function. The

market allocation is clearly preferable to state planning arrangements [...] economic transactions [...] [allow for] mutual voluntariness [...] information [...] to engage in rationally self-interested mutual exchanges [...] units that are each small enough to bring a substantial degree of equality to the bargaining process [...] (Smith, 1988/1992: 125) [...] the free market, as a last bastion of individualism, minority opinion, diversity and choice. (p. 128)

In this framework, teachers' salaries are to be calculated on merit. The function of education is to ensure that the individual learns a 'common set of social values' and acquires the skills necessary for the competitive success of the national economy in the world market. The government regulates school attendance much as it regulates minimum standards of building maintenance or car usage (Friedman, 1962: 86). Since education is to be paid for by parents, those not able to pay for their education would have some sort of charitable subsidy. Education is not an entitlement but since the social costs of a break down in the state's legitimacy are not to be risked, state intervention is in this case justified. The aim of such a model is to reduce the role of public services in education provision, as well as regulating choice as to the number of children families have. As Friedman asserts, 'imposing the costs on the parents would tend to equalise the social and private costs of having children and so promote a better distribution' (p. 87). In this model, the type of education which is to be financed by the state is determined by the tax payers. Learning is trivialised and compared to 'restaurant sanitary standards' (p. 89). Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942) is an attack on the classical doctrine of democracy. In a renewed version, this attack was adapted to promote the idea that political life is not the expression of a general will and politicians do not seek the common good and that any party's aim is to prevail over the others to stay in power. This attack was also combined with Downs (*An Economic Theory of Democracy*, 1957) and the idea of *Homo Economicus* which stresses self-individual interests and with Schumpeter's 'notion of democratic theory [...] [as] a theory unassociated with any particular ideals or ends [...] a political method a certain type of institutional arrangement for arriving at political - legislative and administrative - decisions (Pateman, 1970/1995: 3). Schumpeter's version of democracy provides for a convenient association with the idea of 'minimal' public regulation of social relations. As the influence of the emphasis on the financial cost of extending democracy beyond the guarantee of free national elections grew, the advocacy of democracy was reduced.

The Supremacy of Market Criteria

Any improvement to education provision is, as stated by Keith Joseph, justified with the decrease in state involvement. "I'd already questioned the whole nature of the relationship between the state and education provision [...]. I've always worried about the state's involvement in education" (in Ribbins and Sherratt, 1997: 80). As the culture and system of provision are to be grounded on the combination of individual leadership, entrepreneurship and market-type mechanisms, teachers are to be defined as being complacent, self-interested and schools as controlling, inefficient and ungovernable bureaucracies. Public education priorities which value comprehensive provision were criticised for contributing to 'inefficient' budget expansion. Quality becomes an end in itself and is strongly associated with selection and performance-related assessment; comprehensive education was represented as a constraint and conflicting with this definition of quality. In practice, the functional changes in the education system resemble patterns of change in management, administration and decision-making taking place across business organisations, as well as in public services in general. The premises driving those changes were informed by Hayek's theories.

For [Hayek I] the market mechanism was needed and sufficient for coordination given that it establishes the perfect information of prices in a perfect atomistic society: consequently, it was assumed that markets are efficient [...] [For] Hayek II coordination was imposed by selection: in both cases the market and the natural forces would lead the system towards the desired state. (Louça, 1997: 367, f.t.)

The way in which teachers' experience and their knowledge of the learning process influenced the notions of participatory democracy and democratic participation in schools set them apart from the centrally prescribed neo-conservative liberal notions. Teachers' criticisms of centralisation conflicted with those notions. In Portugal, for example, the criticisms were articulated with the advocacy of local government as opposed to market-oriented school-based management. In contrast, the neo-liberal critique of centralisation rejects affirmative state intervention and therefore the role of local government in planning because the aim is to confine the social role of the state. The critique of centralisation is a critique of state involvement. The Public Choice (PA) claims over public bureaucracy were not only discursive tools. They sought validation in research₍₁₎ and were clamped on characteristics of public administration which were disliked by all. Azevedo applies PC theory and its association with

budget, size, redistribution and quality when he states that

the Portuguese educational system is ill! [...] these [findings] are enough to worry any of us who make an annual contribution of 700 million thousand [escudos) to feed a system that generates such results. It is a gigantic machine with two million, two hundred thousand pupils and two hundred thousand functionaries distributed in close to eleven thousand schools, a machine with shrilling margins of inefficiency. (1994: 19, f.t.)

The transformation of public education went beyond the demands of short-term financial austerity and economic modernisation or economic restructuring; it suggests a new social contract where 'parents and employers or, in other words, families decide in terms of the educational model of their choice and companies receiving graduates are the main actors in a system driven by the client's preferences' (Carneiro, 1994: 25, f.t.). Keith Joseph explained how such transformation implied a shift of responsibilities towards parents and away from teachers and how parental power is to be combined with quasi-market mechanisms of provision: "because we were so dissatisfied on behalf of the consumers" (in Stephen Ball's interview on 6.11.1987).

I wanted vouchers simply because you transfer, in one go, from the producers to the consumers [...] if vouchers were combined with open enrolment, some of the least good schools would disappear [...] these were the prospects that attracted me to a combination of the voucher idea and open enrolment [...] finances didn't enter into it, no, it was political. (Keith Joseph in Ribbins and Sherratt, 1997: 82)

Both Roberto Carneiro and Keith Joseph were acutely aware that 'to win at the state level, one needs to win at the level of civil society.' (Apple, 1998: 3).

If we accept the principle that education is a public good (at least a quasi-public good), schools must be considered above all as social institutions, or more exactly as an institution belonging to civil society. In other words, schools cannot be just a piece inside an economic compressing roller that reduces the fragile links of human solidarity to nothing. (Carneiro, 1996: 237, f.t.)

For Carneiro, 'reform', 'management' and 'decentralization' were connected to changes affecting 'private initiative' and the shape of 'civil society'.

the structural reform of the Administration [...] [implies] a new model of social

management and a new model of distribution of competencies between the various government levels. And also, [...] the [promotion] of a legitimate private initiative and social initiative that [...] has reduced expression in Portugal. (1984: 605-606, f.t.)

The reform of education was not pulled by changes taking place elsewhere in the economic sphere. These changes and the reform of education were part of the same programme of change which main aim was the curtailment of public provision in favour of private services and financing.

The Politics of Educational Expansion and National Mandates

Keith Joseph's and Carneiro's role in spreading the ideas of PC models of bureaucracy were very influential in the formulation of policy. The 1994 Carneiro's 'production-oriented' model (which is outlined in Table 7) provides an explanatory framework where the expansion of education systems (the democratisation of access) is identified with the growth in levels of education financing. This model associates the political priorities of universal comprehensive education with bureaucratic complacency and defines them as promoting the opposite of 'good' education. Consequently, he argues, change requires policies which move away from those priorities. Quality is the mobilising concept justifying the shift. This is the model applied to explain the development of schooling in Portugal. Similarly, in England Keith Joseph suggested that policies geared to promote universal comprehensive education do not promote quality. Specifically, he tied the period of educational expansion with a lack of concern with quality.

When I arrived at the Department of education, I found honourable and diligent civil servants who had scarcely had time to think about quality because they had been so preoccupied with roofs over heads, in the growth of the child population of the 50s, 60s and 70s [...] I found them almost indifferent, no that's unfair [...] almost [...] unaware of the urgency of doing something about quality [...] They (teacher unions) didn't concern themselves with quality, or didn't appear to [...] it was a producer lobby, not a consumer lobby. I was there for consumers [...] Raab Butler had designed a triple based education [...] and the third leg (technical vocational education) had gone. What I'm concerned with is not the quality of money but the quality of what's achieved. (in Stephen Ball's interview on 6.11.87)

Quality became associated with the need to change educational priorities. Changing priorities meant changing the curriculum and the way power was distributed within schools and the education state. Compulsory education is no longer to be comprehensive, that is to say, provision is to become selective and segregated rather than unitary. In this framework, vocational education was to be introduced at the compulsory level, via individual student referrals rather than being generalised. Comprehensive values and planning according to needs were presented as problems. Existing educational welfare or programmes which had been designed to address pupils' needs and to enhance non-selective education, were seen as constraints. This is one of the examples where socially-oriented planning and liberal individual

notions of freedom, justice and liberty conflict. The latter are defined according to negative notions which emphasise that citizens must 'be free from State control [...] (and) take responsibility for - and so exercise accountability over - their educational, housing and health requirements, rather than relying on the offices and organs of the state' (Heelas & Morris: 1). This tension runs through the policy making stream in the two countries and established a continuity with historical political divisions. Such tension highlighted the distance existing between this critique of education and local educational (teachers') professional knowledge and practices. This is the major weakness of this critique, as Dunleavy noted for different purposes, as it does 'not only go back to Adam Smith's ideas (1991: 210) but also, to Niskanen's (1973) argument about self-interested professionals being 'ethno-centric': 'generalising too much from rather exceptional American institutional arrangements' (p. 211). Furthermore, according to Dunleavy, Niskanen 'often generalizes from conclusions reached about top officials' behaviour when in sole charge of their organisations to more realistic situations where policy influence is dispersed amongst many officials inside government agencies' (idem).

In both countries, the aim of emphasising that there was an educational crisis, was to introduce the idea of the naturally inevitable need to shift from public investment to the mixed financing of education which relies on self-income generation, the public/private financing partnership and, therefore, the reduction of public and social responsibility in education. Following on from the discourse of educational crisis, professionals were held responsible for the problems schools faced. Cross- and within-country public systems were perceived as evolving according to evolutionary principles, regardless of their historical context. Such arguments provide the basis for a critique which does not take into account differences in state organisation. For example, the post-1944 decentralised British system was targeted by the similar arguments used to criticise the centralised Portuguese system. Social priorities-led provision was criticised for the ever growing demands for public financing which were unjustified, given that such a system grew without control or purpose, as advocated by Keith Joseph:

national agencies tend to be producer lobbies, like nationalised industries. One of the main virtues of privatisation is to introduce the idea of bankruptcy, the potential of bankruptcy. That's why I'd like opting out [...] of course I wanted vouchers. (in Stephen Ball's interview, 6.11.87)

As with policy, the distinction between 'origin' and 'beginnings' (Ball, 1990a) must be made in the case of developments in the economic or market value of education and in the democratic value of schooling. The critique of participatory forms of school management and governance is linked to earlier critiques of participatory democracy and to earlier divisions relating to the resistance to the advancement of participatory forms of democracy. Pateman notes the development of this critique as early as 1970:

the idea of the maximum participation of all the people [has been overshadowed by particular readings of] data from large-scale empirical investigations into political attitudes and behaviour [that state that] the outstanding characteristics of most citizens, more specially those in the lower socio-economic status (SES) groups, is a general lack of interest in politics and political activity [...] that widespread non-democratic or authoritarian attitudes exist [...] particularly among lower socio-economic status groups [...] [and] that in view of the facts about political attitudes, an increase in political participation by present non-participants could upset the stability of the democratic system. (p. 1, 3)

The shift in policy in Portugal and in England reflected how policy was:

designed to encourage the widespread cultural adoption of a distinctive way of allocating priorities and organising activities [...] in the attempt to establish a regime where the individual, rather than the state apparatus can flourish'. (Heelas & Morris, 1992: 2)

The opposition between the individual and the state crossed all aspects of the critique of public provision. In Portugal it took the form of opposition to 'the 'Ministry of Education's direct administration [...], power to regulate and inspect all schools, control over certification' (Carneiro, 1994: 10, f.t.). Schooling was criticised for 'the national uniform treatment of pupils'; 'the bureaucracies having the power and peripheral institutions being execution links where command is at the centre' (p.11); and for 'institutional freedom being at risk'. Keith Joseph articulates a similar criticism of the very different system:

we've got compulsory education which is a responsibility of hideous importance and we tyrannise children to do that which they don't want and we don't produce results. (Keith Joseph in Ribbins and Sherratt, 1997: 80)

[...] people at the DES they're imprisoned by the state system they have to operate. A system that tends to discount motivation. You compel children to go to school, you've got them as prisoners and if some of them truant, too bad. Now, that system is the one the DES has to operate. They are unlikely to say: 'let's jettison the whole system.' (p. 84)

Despite national differences, both national critiques emphasised the basic arguments advanced by 'public choice models of bureaucracy' where 'bureaucracies [appear as] expansionist organisations, constantly seeking to increase their size, staff, financing or scope of operations' (Dunleavy, 1991: 147) and 'unless large organisations can reap substantial economies of scale they are less efficient than smaller bodies.' (p.152). Those arguments, when applied nationally, penetrated concrete issues and aspects of collective representations of public provision: 'the growing ungovernability of the education systems which, because managed nationally, cannot respond to the growth in complexity of a mega system vulnerable to the cultural regional and local differences (Carneiro, 1994: 16, f.t.). According to Dunleavy, 'public choice accounts became widely accepted because they fit closely with everyday or common-sense views of bureaucracy' (1991: 147). Most emphasis was put on the excessive control of the system over individuals and on '[limiting] the role of the state [...] the market is the realm of freedom and the state the realm of coercion [...] the extension in the role of the state which took place in the 1960s and 1970s led to a vicious circle of overload and ungovernability' (Marcquand, 1992: 70). Emphasis on size was the central theme underlying any aspect of public education being assessed. This focus entered popular discontent (as well as progressive social democratic critiques) very easily. It was consistently used in the contrast with 'individual diversity' or freedom to address diversity, as well as, in the construction of the perception that forms of organisation based on positive versions of rights and freedoms are incompatible with diversity, quality, efficiency or innovation. This was the strength on which 1980s reforms thrived. This was also the argument put forward by Carneiro.

Schools [...] like big teaching manufacturers reproduce [...] assembly lines where the raw material will be transformed [...] educational inputs [...] curriculum subjects [...] produce a variety of educational outputs which are modelled according to the demands of the economic system [...] each educational centre must be programmed so it executes, at the same time and in an identical manner, the same teaching strategy. Pupils, although individually different are submitted to a national uniform treatment and must be 'homogenised' in various production lines [...] the educational system is a precise mechanism which relies on the ad nauseam repetition of operations [...] big quotas of power are appropriated by bureaucracies and peripheral [associative interests] are not more than execution links in a long chain where command is the privilege of the centre [...] the practice of bureaucratic power uses it in the production of uniform prescription from [...] the vertice of the educational pyramid. (1994: 10/11, f.t.)

PC arguments present a critique of education's role which neutralizes arguments traditionally

highlighted in the Sociology of Education: social reproduction, supremacy of economic objectives and state control of education. Despite its differences, on the surface, such critique might be easily embraced by opponents of liberalism and conservatism since, as Marcquand notes for England, 'the rhetoric of 'choice', 'freedom', 'individualism', 'initiative' and the rest - appeals because it strikes chords that the romantic revolt (1960s and 70s) has brought into existence' (1992: 65). (For example, the de-schooling movement as an alternative to state provision). The use that was made of the above notions by the Portuguese⁽²⁾ and English governments is part of a process that Suárez defines as the 'global educational re-signification [... where] the neo-conservative, neo-liberal Right aims at reformulating other central concepts and categories of the progressive discourse and, even, of the classic liberal glossary [...] by replacing those concepts by other terms, which are, in general, taken from the neo-liberal economic vocabulary' (1995: 261). The PC critique is a very influential framework which transcends historical periods and political Parties. Dale pointed to this influence when warning about relying too much on 'the development of the New Right's concept, almost as if that would in itself explain the different, even contradictory, policies' (Dale, 1994: 208). Despite being a critique of public comprehensive education and of its aim to pursue a 'golden age' of elite education, PC claims have the potential to unite two types of propositions: the one which associates all educational problems (decaying buildings, lack of teaching material, facilities, specialised staff, etc.) with provision being public and comprehensive and the other which sustains the critique of schools as agencies of the state, not responding to pupils' specific needs, for example. The British Audit Commission had an important role in advancing the first proposition in 1986:

There are a disturbing number of indications that teaching costs - and teachers - are not being managed effectively. Costs per pupil have been increasing in real terms [...] the quality of secondary education is a continuing cause for concern [...] Clearly, things cannot go on as they are. [...] the prospects are for a bad situation to worsen. [...] LEAs are in general not reorganising their schools to bring capacity into line with school rolls [...] the quality of education is bound to suffer [...] major changes will be necessary [...] (p. 1) New incentives [...] The way teachers are assigned to schools [...] (p. 2) assessing individual schools' performance [...] Maximum authority should be delegated to the local [...] better manpower planning [...] use of early retirement and voluntary severance [...] more positive use of redeployment schemes [...] more use of part-time teachers [...] (p. 3) New arrangements for determining pay and conditions of service for teachers. (p. 4)

The practical unifying result of PC critiques is to push the commitment to inform funding by the assessment of need out of the political agenda. This presses local government and schools to think about the management of resources, staff and pupils in general rather than in concrete local terms and, therefore, to render less attention to the impact of local characteristics on schooling. In real terms, keeping a commitment to the assessment of needs meant, for the headteacher, governors and teachers in one of the English schools studied in this thesis (Farvalley), taking into account of the 'lack of employment opportunities, community facilities, inappropriate or poor quality housing and isolation from [the City]' (Whiterock and Leetree Black Support Group, 1993:6). These are characteristics faced by many schools in urban areas. If schools were asked to push this commitment aside, this also meant not taking into account the previous characteristics in the process of decision-making on financing, recruitment, curriculum and assessment. In Farvalley, doing this would imply ignoring the characteristics of the Ward where the school is based and the reduced benefits from income earning, housing and health enjoyed by its population.⁽³⁾

Comprehensive Universal Education and 'Bureaucratic Complacency'

Tulloch (1976) and Noll and Fiorina (1979) critique asserts that 'officials maximise the size of the agency [...] [that] size is assessed primarily in terms of personnel' (Dunleavy, 1991: 154) and suggest that the ever increasing budgets only respond to staff needs with no guarantee of an adequate education. Educational expansion and the democratisation of institutional relations and participation are identified with bad education, waste of resources and teachers' self-interest. Overall, the provision of education is portrayed as serving the interests of a system geared to 'maintain complacent professionals'. When translated into policy, this critique was articulated with the idea of an existing crisis in public financing. This association promoted the advocacy of increasing private financing and maintaining or reducing public spending, as explained below:

Government budgets end up reflecting the social priorities assigned to education insofar as they represent the major share of the public financing [...] Public investment [...] responds to education consumption which is the expression of a growing social demand (for education). More than capital expenditure, it is the expenses of an increasingly growing system - where the

salaries of teaching and non-teaching staff dominate - that ends up dictating [spending patterns. Any] education system reaching that generation, along its long evolution cycle, confronts itself with strong financial pressures. [...] very high levels of educational expenses with systems of universal access [...] and the generalised economic difficulties derived from the end of the Welfare State and, the inevitable emergence of public deficit containment policies [...] (is a paradox without a way out). [...] In such context, diversifying sources of financing and seeking alternative resources in areas not traditionally explored, are frequently thought of [...] [and] the partnership school-enterprise route [follows]. (Carneiro, 1994: 15, 20, 21, f.t.)

Teachers are compared to '[bureaucrats and described as] officials working permanently for large (public or private sector) organisations in circumstances where their own contribution to organisational effectiveness cannot be directly evaluated' (Downs quoted in Dunleavy, 1991: 148). The system of public education (together with public services in general) is deemed 'ungovernable', 'inefficient', controlled by self-interested teachers and bureaucrats who hold the expertise and act, in that fashion, as intermediaries. This suggestion was also applied in Portugal by Carneiro: 'a system organized exclusively according to production does not even become aware of the need for a specific institutional evaluation nor the systematic consideration of the corresponding performance conditions' (1994: 12, f.t.). The transfer of the issues relating to teachers' pay and working conditions, which until then were negotiated between teachers and Ministry representatives, to the public arena was embedded in this discourse. Parents were encouraged to consider those issues as having an impact on the 'quality' of their children's education. Any shortcomings in provision (derived from previously applied liberal policies and from the failure of governments to move away from pre-democratic selective procedures and social segregation of pupils within the system) became instead presented as having been produced by previous post-expansion social democratic and progressive attempts to democratise educational participation. In this way, redistributive measures, progressive teaching and assessment methods, school-based democratic methods of management, governance and staff relations became portrayed as being the causes of 'problems' in education. The link which was established between size, economic growth and the expansion of services became the framework within which the argument against public education provision was presented.

[In practice] supply grows [...], [as access is made universal, to] a scale without precedent [...] In this unstoppable 'production' fever, educational systems [...]. become geared towards supply [...] the Ministries of Education grow, become

gigantic and are rapidly transformed into untouchable managers of great education monopolies [...] direct administrators of enormous educational formal State machines [...] detaining the power over regulation and audit regardless of ownership [...] sole controller of the power over certification [...] the most formidable State administrative machines and bastions of political power. (Carneiro, 1994: 9/10, f.t.)

In Carneiro's model (1994), production-oriented systems lead, inevitably, to a period of consumption-led education and to the expansion of public provision. '[M]ass aspirations' became associated with expectations informed by social mobility purposes which is an inevitable but unreasonable expectation because not everyone 'can become a University graduate' (p. 10). Compulsory comprehensive schooling is described as a system where, as a result of provision being responsive to needs and centrally planned, education is imposed on everybody. The way in which comprehensive universal education was put into question in the two countries anticipated the advocacy of individual demand for education, market-oriented 'diversity' and the idea that parents should choose schools much as they consume products in the market. In the Portuguese case, moving away from planning for comprehensive universal public education, was expected to give way to expand the state's private sector and, even, to direct financing towards such expansion:

CMC: the documents make reference to the 'possibility for parents to choose an educational model'. What does that mean?

It means, first of all, that there should be freedom to choose between private and public education, so parents would not be forced to go to one or the other according to catchment areas or social-economic conditions. Should a poor person want to send their children to JB College they should be able to, provided they have the ability [to be enrolled], the intellectual, cognitive capacity. [A situation shouldn't occur where) 'the poor goes to a public school and the rich go to JB College because they can pay the fees'. The same thing goes for University: whoever wants to go to University C, to a private University, due to, for example, Law degrees being perceived to be better there, should be able to [...] I created [when in government] a system of scholarships [to allow for that to happen]. (ex-Education Minister, 12/3 /1995)

The argument about the 'impossibility to aggregate collective preferences' mediated changes in Portugal. The critique of 'production-oriented' provision and of self-interested professionals and bureaucrats helped promoting the idea that individual parents or the 'civil society' are the best decision-makers because 'teachers are trained in the production and reproduction of national programmes; the Ministry is a producer managed by teachers or by their allies where the game of interests is dominated by the teachers' perspective' (Carneiro, 1994: 12, f.t.).

The liberal individualistic model of democracy and citizenship is presented as being at stake and threatened by an assault on individual freedom. This is the central tenet of the critique of public education which neutralizes social progressive critiques and mobilises the support for conservative political and economic liberalism. As market-oriented notions of choice are, in the above view, prevented from flourishing, a liberal model of education provision needs curtailment of public forms of accountability, decision making, institutional and school relations. As explained below, market-oriented and social forms of provision are, from the conservative liberal point of view, incompatible because they advocate conflicting ends for schooling.

The consumption of educational goods is thus a consequence of the 'trickle-down effects of the democratisation of material benefits that economic growth implies [...] The [social democratic] educational system is, therefore, commanded by social demand [...] [which is] dictated by the aspirations of the popular masses, namely the upwardly mobile middle classes [...] and [by the] the popular belief that acquiring education is the safest life insurance [...] Education [taken] as social consumption demands collective responses [...] [this] leads to the Welfare State [provision] [...] an organisational utopia based on the gradually universal satisfaction of those aspirations offered free and as a public entitlement. The Welfare State is the institutional expression of a social democracy which believes in the unlimited possibilities of the public sector to solve the always increasing demands of the population [...] [It is] based on an egalitarian philosophy which taken to the, sometimes absurd extreme, might repudiate diversity [...] [because it] fights for comprehensive systems [...] [In this context] local creativity can not do anything against the supremacy of national norms that are now produced to obey imperatives of almost absolute justice before a crowd of consumers who push each other at the [school] door. (Carneiro, 1994: 13-15, f.t.)

Market supremacy is perceived, although not always clearly stated, as the ideal model to advance a state system which, in allowing for the segregation between its public and private sectors, selection, private initiative and entrepreneurship, will 'respond' to the demands of universal education. Public services are portrayed, as 'command organisations run in a completely top-down manner' (Dunleavy, 1991: 156), implying a 'Niskanien' view that 'all bureaus are too large' (p.161). The basis for the relationship between size and access is thus re-defined, suggesting that access to education, rather than being taken for granted (as a social right), should be based on mechanisms of individual (market-type) choice. As stated below, no other form of provision has the conditions to mediate the transition from access to participation, from admission towards educational success.

The explosion of education systems led to [...] an increase in numbers. The supply strategies are self-reproductive and schools' growth would [if they continue to be encouraged] only originate more quantitative growth [...] [According] to that supply strategy, educational centres would [have to] be created where there were children and that was enough [in terms of what the Ministry needs to do]. (Carneiro, 1994: 11, f.t.)

On the one hand, the system is criticised for doing too much and on the other hand for not doing enough. In the Portuguese case, the above critique was closely associated with strong support for privately provided, partially state funded (Catholic) schools. The advocacy of the creation of more Catholic schools was made by Sousa Franco by articulating the notion of human rights with the Social Doctrine of the (Catholic) Church. This is, in turn, associated with the demand for public financing of Catholic schools. Sousa Franco uses the PC portrait of public education as a monopoly to advance the case for private Catholic schools.

Men's objectives [...] are the ones of each person [...] not abstract values, transpersonal or collective (of humanity, society, classes, groups or institutions (Adragão, 1993: II, IV, f.t.) [...] freedom of schooling clearly presupposes [...] [elimination] of the privilege of public schooling [...] which introduces a powerful factor of distortion in free choice [...] (p. III) [...] the active intervention of the state [is needed] to restore the concrete conditions of free choice, through the financing [...] of all forms of education according to [each] family's choice. (p. IV)

The Catholic schools movement also makes use of arguments based on negative freedom of education (Adragão, 1993) to advance the case for expanding the Catholic educational sector. As in private market relations, universal public provision is identified with a monopoly and, *in extremis*, with totalitarian (non-democratic) forms of administration. Following on from the attempt to raise the influence of organized Catholic interests and to secure the influence of the Catholic group in social provision, the critique of public education developed into an attack on post-1974 democratic developments. The attack was in particular focused on those developments which aimed at guaranteeing (constitutionally and in statute) that no religious or any other creed would, as had been the case until 1974, dominate citizens' relations within and with the state. This remains a significant aspect of contention. The constitutional guarantee is confronted by powerful pressure from the Catholic movement which defies the unitary public system and the guaranteed right of non-denominational education for all. This attempt to raise the influence of Catholic interests paralleled developments in national politics. Following on from an evolutionist analysis of the history of party politics - which portrays as

being irreversible the move away from public towards private interests forms of association as the basis for politics - Braga da Cruz stresses how 'Catholics' intervention in public life must be thought of in that context to impregnate it with Christian values.' (1995: 127, f.t.). For this to happen, several recommendations must be attended to:

Catholics' participation must be political participation in the choice of governors but also in the mechanisms of formulating decisions. Catholics are particularly called upon to intervene in the electoral political processes as much as in the permanent political organisations. Politics must be understood, above all, as a service and practised with charity. If the political activity has its own rules and its own functioning autonomy, it must, nevertheless, always guide itself by the higher criteria of political charity. As such, political participation is a right and a duty, reinforced for Catholics, made as they are by charity to seek the realisation of common good and to sacrifice legitimate personal interests. Not all Catholics will, however, be vocationally inclined towards the same levels of political intervention but all are obliged to participate, according to their possibilities and attitudes, in political life. [...] Pressure groups are today more and more necessary to an effective and balanced experience of democracy (Maynaud, 1958; Ornstein and Elder, 1978; Almond & Power, 1978). Catholics must know how to familiarise themselves with the Christian perspective on common good but also to assert themselves as a movement of opinion or even as a "pressure group" [...] To participate in public life is, thus, a demand [...] not only in specifically political but also social and cultural terms and to this "parties and movements" present themselves as the instruments and the chosen arena. (p.127-128, 129-130)

The advocacy of state promoted private schooling was at the centre of tension after 1987. This tension was visible in schools-MoE relations, as much as in the governors and in the ED-teachers relations. Some interviewees (President of the School Council at Mar School, 28/2/95) made reference to how Catholic values and principles for participation guided their practice of management and governance. Schools where governance and management were subjected to the leadership and entrepreneurship of individuals advocating these values were faced with the confrontation between the neo-liberal rhetoric which emphasised the commitment to 'innovation' and the Catholic attitude towards social change. As in other countries, there is a tension between the 'acceptance of capitalism and liberal democracy' and the 'concern with the destruction of traditional symbols and practices' (Giddens, 1994: 30). '[Portuguese] christian religious beliefs, namely those bearing a Catholic orientation, are associated with reduced opening up to social change and new values.' (Vala & Viegas, 1990: 684, f.t.). Catholic values and principles are informed by the 'Social Doctrine of the [Catholic] Church' - SDC - (Cleto, 1993: 511-512) which is explained within the terms of the 7th Commandment - *thou shalt not steal* - (507-518). This doctrine is an outcome of the role of

'the Church in producing a moral judgment on economic and social issues' and is adapted as 'the Church interprets historical events' (p. 511). The doctrine 'proposes principles, criteria for judgment and guidance for action' (idem) which are based on the following premises:

- every system where social relations are entirely determined by economic factors is contrary to human nature and to its acts;
- a theory which has profit as its main rule and as the ultimate end of the economic activity is morally unacceptable [...] [has] perverse effects and is one of the causes of the numerous conflicts which disturb social order;
- a system which "sacrifices the fundamental rights of the person and of groups to the collective organisations of production" is contrary to human dignity;
- the Church rejected [...] "communism" or "socialism"[...] individualism and the absolute supremacy of market rules over human labour, in the practice of capitalism. Economic regulation through centralised planning perverts the foundation of social ties; to regulate it by market rules is to avoid social justice, "because there are numerous human needs which cannot be satisfied by the market" (p. 511-512, f.t.).

The tension between the instructions of this Social Doctrine and the economic values and requirements put forward by free-market theory and deregulation strategies underlined the Cabinet politics of governance of school education for most of the mandate of the 1987 government. This tension took place within a political framework for the reform of management and governance where policy was produced within both an alliance between Catholic values and PC and 'free'-market theories and an opposition between the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church and market theory applied to social policy. This context of parallel alliance and opposition characterised also the period of Conservative governance in England. Morris highlights how

the Christian beliefs of the cabinet and advisers have played a significant role in the determination of enterprise policy. [...] There are close links between prominent government figures and [Christian groups]. The position of Mrs. Thatcher [...] represented a typical and forceful statement of [...] 'enterprise theology'. (1992: 280, 281)

At the same time, the libertarian influence on the 1988 educational reform contributed to the 'first breaches in the long-established and mutually supportive relationship between the [Protestant] Church of England and the Conservative Party (p. 277).

The instructions laid out in Article 7 of the Catholic Catechism underlined the political positioning of both policy makers and those involved in implementation in Portuguese schools.

These instructions provided, by its nature, both the moral justification for the embracement of liberalism and the rejection of libertarian positions informing the transformation of the political economy, the social role of the state and the changes in public governance. Consequently, they are at the origin of both the creation of possibilities for political alliances and the tensions and divisions internal to the governance of the Social Democrat Party from 1987. While the analysis of these instructions will not be pursued here, it is important to highlight some of its main premises and guidelines as they provide a reference to understand some of the aspects underlying the politics of education during this period and some of the contradictions and paradoxes of the set of ideas which were put forward by key policy makers. These are, amongst others the following:

- justice and charity in the management of assets and the product of labour;
- respect for the right to private property;
- the Earth was shared [under God's influence] between men. The appropriation of assets is legitimate [...] [but] must allow for the natural solidarity between men to [develop];
- the promotion of the common good demands the respect for private property (*Catecismo da Igreja Católica*, 1993: 507-508, f.t.);
- the development of economic activities and the growth in production are aimed at fulfilling human needs [...] [and] not only [...] at raising profit or power;
- work is a duty;
- the right to economic initiative;
- the State has the duty to guarantee and to guide applied human rights in the economic sector [...] the first responsibility is not allocated to the State but to the [social] institutions and different groups and associations. (p. 512-513)

The notion of public universal education is deemed 'unreasonable' and 'utopian' because it is based on a system of public education which should, in the neo-conservative liberal view, be taken apart. As in Britain, 'government-directed attempts at egalitarian redistribution' (Heelas & Morris, 1992: 16) were put to the 're-evaluation' test; universal comprehensive access was therefore considered, on the one hand, a constraint on individual freedom and, on the other hand, a utopian aspiration. It was perceived as a constraint since its mandate carries a social version of justice, citizenship and rights where equality is the core principle informing the notion of citizenship. Neo-conservative liberal principles depart from versions of negative freedom and rights and leave to the market access to those conditions. The notions and forms of equality reflect those versions. Equality is defined within the framework of negative

freedom. From this perspective, if there is inequality in the market (or if there are any other social forms of inequality), this is 'unintended'. Raymond Plant explains how this notion of 'unintended' effects of the market is defined by market theorists and how it is linked to the notions of, 'liberty', 'fairness', 'justice', 'inequality' and distribution of resources:

the market cannot restrict liberty if we understand liberty correctly as the absence of coercion because the outcomes of markets - the distribution of income and wealth - is not intended or foreseen by anyone [...] people buy and sell [...] the outcome [...] is that some get more and some get less but this outcome is not itself intended. Given that liberty can only be restricted by intentional action, it follows that the unintended outcome of free market exchanges cannot infringe liberty [...] the free market will [...] secure resources and opportunities to individuals through the 'trickle down effect' more effectively than state distribution of resources [...] and [...] that does not require us to solve deep moral differences about what we mean by fairness and the just distribution of resources [...] injustice can only be caused by intentional action [...] The market rather than the state is the main instrument of empowerment, even though it leads to greater inequality. (1991: 75-76, 78)

The notion of comprehensive education being a 'utopian aspiration' is associated with propositions which embrace selective access and segregation within public schooling or state education systems. In conservative liberal terms, state systems should include a public and a private sector. In the Portuguese case, the 1987 government's program for education included a blend of market-oriented and selective (explicitly at the higher education level) instruments and ends which were to guide reform. The potential constitutional problem which the National Council of Education (1994) pointed to, created by government's regulation of school management and governance, reflects this opposition between a social and a liberal version of education. Unlike in Britain, where the shift towards a neo-conservative liberal-oriented educational mandate was secured by primary legislation, in Portugal the secondary legislation, which was delegated by Parliament to the government, deviated from the compromised consensus guaranteed in primary legislation (both parliamentary laws and the Constitution). Citizens' involvement in any areas of the social services was promoted in a framework of individual initiative, implying active individual choices and decisions but also private forms of accountability. Citizens were expected to participate as consumers and to litigate in court as any other actor involved in market relations since these were expected to guide social relations.

The critique of public education was associated with the critique of political Parties. Braga da Cruz puts forward such critique.

Some even saw in parties, the political nomenclature of social classes (Gramsci, 1975) these wide ambitions of "parties of the masses" - of social masses - [...] These organisations of "parties of the masses", with vast layers of militants, as they increasingly institutionalise themselves, became [translated into] processes of growing bureaucratization and allowed a growing ascendance of political oligarchies over their organisational machines (Michels, 1971; Ostrogorski, 1979). (1995: 123, f.t.)

The evolutionary perspective on the history of political parties, is sustained by the belief that party political representation also evolves according to an irreversible move towards civil society's representation. In this view, participation is conceived within the sphere of civil society (taken as being separated, as in eighteenth century liberal perspectives, from the state). The growing penetration of Catholic interests in public life is viewed as part of this 'irreversible' process:

[today] if parties are the big instruments to materialise political citizenship, social citizenship implies the existence of associations and movements [...] The reinforcement of democracy takes place through the reinforcement of citizenship, civil society or society of citizens, through the enlargement and deepening of participation. In this sense, this reinforced democracy is, although a democracy of parties, a democracy of movements. (p.125-126)

The emerging influence of Catholicism on politics and specifically on the politics of education, is advocated as being part of that irreversible (evolutionary) move away from democratic shortcomings. Again, Braga da Cruz articulates the critique.

Portuguese democracy [...] reveals [...] an excessive weight of political parties in the processes and mechanisms of participation. This weight has historical [...] roots. But it is also the democratic political system that favours *partycracy* allowing little space and role to other forms of organisation and participation. The electoral [...], parliamentary [...] and administrative [systems] have exaggerated the predominance of parties. [...] this [...] can and must be dwindled with an effort to advance greater associationism. (p.126-127)

In this view, the existence of democratic shortcomings is portrayed as being a problem of the 'democratic political system' in itself. This assessment of Portuguese politics is not specific to Portugal, nor does it integrate the process described in an international context or in wider analysis of Portuguese society. Instead, such view articulates, in a simplistic way, what David Milliband defined as 'a pervasive sense that even as democratic reform triumphs across the globe, political systems in Western Europe are not functioning effectively' (1994: 1). During

the period of formulation and experimental implementation of the framework for management and governance regulated by Decree 172/1991 the advocacy of civil participation in policy and decision making was tied to the above call for the association of individuals outside the state. In turn, this call implied an underlying discourse of 'social disintegration'. At the same time, it was linked to the argument advocating the need for civil organised groups to become actively involved in education. The involvement of individuals active in specific groups (Catholic, Opus Dey, Free Masons or other) has a long tradition in Portugal (Ferreira, 1984) and the number of members was on the increase after 1980 (p. 49). From 1974, members of the Free Masons joined the Socialist and the Social Democrat Parties. The

Prime Minister of the First Provisional Government [1974] [...] is a [...] Free Mason's leader [...] from 1976 various [...] politicians are masons ([...] two Presidents of the Assembly of the Republic [Parliament], one Prime Minister, various Ministers, Secretaries of State and Chiefs of Office - the [1983 Socialist/Social Democrat Parties coalition government] has, naturally, the record in terms of [the number of masons it has] (p. 49, f.t.). [...] Research [...] [was unable to draw many conclusions] about the real and significant weight of "Opus" in Portuguese politics, [...] because of lack of information (this organization tends to be more closed than the Free Masons). (p. 51)

Unlike in England, these underlying ties were not (despite having been strongly articulated within the small circle where policy was formulated) presented explicitly to the public in the second part of the 1980s. In England, the presentation of religious values as a 'binding force that holds society together' (Morris, 1992: 285) was assertively articulated by the Prime Minister, Secretaries of State and Conservative social philosophers such as R. Scruton (1980) (Morris, 1992: 285). The articulation of education policy with a discourse on 'moral and civic norms' (Soares, M. J. B., Himmelfarb, G., Fukuyama, F., Moreira, J. M. 1999: 4-42) for public consumption and the use of those norms to advocate parental choice of schools, direct individual financing, performance appraisal, expansion of private provision and curtailment of public provision (Moreira, 1999: 32) took place much later.

From Planning to Market Decentralisation and Accountability

As the Portuguese ex-Secretary of State for Secondary Education asserts "there is a daring element in the way the [1991 governance/management] model is conceived [...] There's a clear rupture in the practice of Public Administration" (5/4/1995). The new model assists with the transition from management based on educational expertise towards business-oriented professional management, school-based lay governance and 'self-income generation'. The emphasis on the ungovernability of the system also anticipated new criteria for inspection. Inspection was to be given a new role in the introduction of a system of management and evaluation by objectives. As stated by Baroness Cox: "freedom of choice, accountability, readily available information [is needed] because you have to have informed choice, and accountability implies information" (quoted in Ball, 1994: 44). The neo-conservative liberal critique of public schooling portrays the education services as unaccountable. However, in England, the mechanisms for public services' accountability were well established. Members of the public could make use of judicial reviews, the Parliamentary Ombudsman, the Local Government Ombudsman and the Commission for Local Administration in England (CLAE) - 6.2% of the complaints received in 1993/1994 were related to education (CLAE, 1994: 36) and out of the complaints which were subject to investigation reports, 11.5% were related to education (p. 39).

The monitoring of output was idealised as being the core parental requirement for information. Thus, as with any other market product, the type of teaching, learning and academic results of each school must be made available. This idea was strongly emphasised by the Portuguese ex-Minister of Education.

To measure, to control, to evaluate. There is a great transformation of inspection. Inspection used to be a punishment exercise, disciplinary procedures, etc. [...] I don't want to evaluate Mrs A, I want to evaluate the system, the state of the system, the state of the nation [...] done through *probing* (English language in original) [...] This is a different culture, monitoring, [...] with targets. [The aim is] [...] to assess institutions, schools [...] so parents could choose [...]. This can only be done if there is information, I think society - the tax payer pays taxes and has the right to have information about the state of its schools: school X had 80% of 100 results last year, school Y had 75% of 100 - I think society has the right [...] the MoE has the obligation to provide indicators, per school, about the quality of the product being offered there. [...] in essential areas such as Mathematics, History, etc. (7/2/95)

The state is to have a new regulatory function. This type of state delegates power, authority and responsibilities to the individual parents and business communities; it reduces the teachers' share in decision-making, and their input in the definition of priorities. At the same time, it keeps the role of monitoring results and acts as an intermediary between teachers and parents. This state defines priorities and output targets, in order to guarantee the efficient compliance with objectives centrally defined and to audit on parents' behalf. The role local government is to have was not made clear. As in England, 'the role of assessment [...] for the making of comparisons between schools and teachers, in order to facilitate informed parental choice' (Ball, 1990a: 52) was advocated. 'Accountability' was given a central role in such a process of reform. Schools were to be subjected to the principle of external accountability (Lauglo, 1995) and responsiveness:

no educational institution is freed from regular accountability to the society which sponsors it. To be accountable of what is done, how it is done and the way it is or isn't achieving the objectives allocated to it is an unavoidable responsibility of the school and of their main mentors. Accountability is not reduced to the mere publication of an annual report of activities or a periodical meeting to assess the school's activities. It implies a wide range of responses related to the big educational questions that the community of clients formulates constantly. (Carneiro, 1994: 20, f.t.)

Overall, quality was abstracted as being both the solution to all problems and the imperative justifying power redistribution and the new regulation of professionals. Individual choice was made a condition of participation in the transformation of schooling and of its provision. '[The] possibility of effective choice of private models of education for all, [...] [is] the condition for effective participation of families in public education to build the educational project more adapted to the local needs and culture' (Carneiro, 1994: 20, f.t.). Management and governance became idealised instruments to guarantee the provision of quality education. Quality was defined as being a 'natural' outcome of professional management and lay governance. "The quality of education has to do with these two type of investments: wider participation and greater management professionalism" (Portuguese ex-Secretary of State for Secondary Education, 12/3/95). As concepts, the notions of participation, management professionalism and quality appear not to be problematic. However, they were defined in practice, where they appeared associated with effective regulatory formal and informal mechanisms which constrain and prescribe forms of autonomy (with individual punishment/reward systems) and

performance as will be observed in the last two chapters of this thesis.

Individual Consumer Choice: Autonomy or the Privatisation of Control?

The involvement of parents and local businesses in the definition of school priorities was expected to increase because 'civil Society' (individual parents, private businesses and private associations) was to replace the state planner/provider. This fundamental shift was presented to the public as representing two aims:

- . making schools 'autonomous' from central (national or local) departments of education and
- . 'enabling' the involvement of parents, the 'community' of private businesses, cultural and social institutions in school's process of decision making for a 'better' education.

Emphasis on customer-oriented provision changed the rules of provision but also the representation of service users. Citizens were described in market and business terms. That is, acting according to 'rational' procurement rules, selecting between available (school) providers, displaying a strong sense of investment in a family's human capital. This is the ideal family or parent acting as a service user according to the rules regulating private customers in market exchanges. This is, however, only one of the components of policy frameworks reformed to allow for the establishment of educational markets. The others, include the requirement for competition-driven decentralisation and the move away from public towards increased private and family financing. Private 'choice', was combined with a requirement for schools to make provision in response to customer demand. Therefore, schools will be required to incorporate knowledge from private enterprise in their governance, management and administration. This was the philosophy of reform informing the Portuguese ex-Education Minister's vision of change: 'the individual client sees in the School a powerful ally to achieve [...] responsible participatory citizenship [...] Thus, the pupils and their legal representatives' wishes [...] are the single most important element in the institutional configuration of the system (Carneiro, 1994: 18, f.t.). Participation of parents in decision making was a mobilising objective of reform aimed at fragmenting teachers' influence over the formulation and implementation of policy. 'In this context, the phasing out of the most militant teachers'

positioning and the related devaluation of their roles and of their social representativeness as an intellectual profession [will be the outcome]' (Carneiro, 1994: 18, f.t.).

The increase in parents' influence relied on reducing the influence of teachers in the transition and implementation of the new system of assessment and of financing and the new curriculum. The new organisational structure of management and governance was, as explained below, envisaged by government in partnership with individual 'consumers'.

Higher levels of performance [...] will be demanded [...] families decide about the educational model of their choice and the companies receiving graduates, are the main actors in a client-based system [...] each institution follows its own design, originating client-tailored systems according to their individual conceptions about how education must be organized [...]

The clients' point of view is the great inspiration for a profound reform of the financing system [...] a radical transformation of the traditional financing philosophy: rather than finances being directed to the production centre, they are allocated to the pupil or to their family (the client) who is made responsible for choice, free of catchment area or other constraints [...] everything is played in a free market of supply and demand of education where the client has the say in choosing and setting investment priorities in education [...], generated by individual choice [...] The evaluation of the system is then informed by the concern with tangible results from the client's point of view rather than that of the producers or even and mainly of the political managers. (Carneiro: 18-25, f.t.)

This was the proposal for a national version (which would not be implemented) of what Le Grand has described as a 'quasi-market' where:

the method of funding is [...] to change. Resources will no longer be allocated directly to providers through a bureaucratic machinery. In some cases the state continues to act as the principle purchaser but resources are allocated through a bidding process. In other cases, an earmarked budget or 'voucher' is given directly to potential users, or to agents acting on their behalf. (Le Grand, 1990: 2)

In England, the reform of education according to the rules of market exchanges and business administration was also associated with shifts in power away from teachers. Kenneth Baker testifies how this was the purpose of his ruling.

I took away all negotiating rights from the [teachers] union. It was quite brutal. [...] It was absolutely extreme stuff. [...] I legislated for LMS (Local Management of Schools) [...] and it diminished the power of the teacher unions and the LEAs (Local Education Authorities) [...] Oh, certainly there was a political edge to the attack on the LEAs. Oh yes, though no one ever admitted it. I have no regrets. [...] I would have liked to bring back selection but I

would have got into such controversy at an early stage that the other reforms would have been lost. [...] Choice was the other weapon. [...] I hoped it would open it all up and it would lead to the poorer schools literally having to close. [...] I was not going to take on the comprehensive system head-on. I'd had the teachers' strike, the national curriculum [...] I believed that if I set in train certain changes, they would have a cumulative beneficial effect. (1999)

A new pattern of government-teaching unions relations were introduced in the two countries. In Portugal, there were two clearly distinct modes of negotiation throughout the second part of the 1980s: government's oppositional negotiation with unions committed to progressive education, participatory democracy and democratic socialism and government's cooperative negotiation with unions supporting their programmes. The reduction of teachers' and public servants' influence was the main aspect to change. Catholic commitments to social solidarity were, ideally, supposed to act as a screen reducing possible excesses of the market which was, nevertheless promoted. The establishment of quasi-markets was to be guaranteed by the reform of instruments for provision: allocation of money, for example, was to be made directly to parents and schools were to be subjected to competition rules. In order to survive, they have to respond to parents' requirements regarding teaching, learning, school ethos and environment.

This system of 'vouchers' or educational cheques, which are given to each family according to the number of children and the educational level of each of them, gives them an endorsement, exchanged by money at the school of their choice, based on per pupil annual costs which are rigorously calculated every year. The institutions which are most successful in the market of educational cheques, that are able to attract many clients, are the ones which will be handling more income. Those which do not merit the clients' preference are penalised in their financing and, either they alter their image, or they will move inevitably towards extinction. (Carneiro, 1994: 24, f.t.)

In this view, social inequalities between the exercise of parental choice or unequal distribution of income between schools were not seen as being a problem (because of the notion that the market is the best regulator and its outcomes, if unequal, 'are not intended'). Schools were pushed into prioritising according to market demands. Market demands compelled schools to prioritise, organise and manage staff, teaching and assessment methods according to preferences of the section of individual families engaging with market mechanisms in an active and 'rational' way. Carneiro describes this as a national shift in public provision where schools move towards making increased use of business strategies such as marketing.

We are now in the presence of a new era [...] In the traditional monolithic

public services, organized according to the rules of state administration, subjected to mass provision [...] schools never followed marketing criteria. Now, being an organisation subjected to a competing market of clients, they are compelled to alter their behaviour profoundly and, based on marketing studies, to seek to rationalise their options and strategies. Educational marketing means that each institution must make an enormous effort in order to better know their clients' preferences, must research permanently the reasons of educational choices, must understand the images it passes on and the preconceptions generated and finally, must define clearly its positioning in the sections of the market which it aims at conquering [...] it's an essential activity in the establishment of organisational bridges between the producers [...] of education and the civil society. (Carneiro, 1994: 24, f.t.)

The demands of the market, exercised through client choice, will, as in industry, function as a mechanism of quality control: the quality of education will respond to the evaluation exercised by parents when choosing schools. Schools will no longer be defining their priorities according to educational criteria; parents/customers will set the criteria with their purchasing-equivalent power:

results are measured by an aggregate concept of quality of the final product on offer which weighs on the process of individual choice of the educational institution preferred by each family [...] that evaluation is constantly done by clients that construct an hierarchy index of the competing institutions or, that use ratings made available by more or less independent institutions. The evaluation of results is, therefore, a structuring element in the complex relationship institutions and clients and an indicator of primary importance to develop the marketing strategies which are appropriate to the objectives of each institution. (Carneiro, 1994: 25, f.t.)

As in private markets, rankings will be constructed and schools will be classified according to academic results (published in league tables), the economics of product specification and reputation which is expected to be defined according to multiple criteria, moral philosophy or conduct. In practice, reputations were associated with academic or social status, as well as, with passport conditions to employment or higher education. Most of the principles have a long tradition in being applied to economic relations and to their regulation by the state which is enacted through competition policies. What is new about these principles is the attempt to translate them into social policy and to transform the way in which the state regulates education. Rather than reducing the state regulation of education, reforms transform state regulation. In Portugal, Lima defines the process of change, where regulation was implemented through delegation, as 'remote control centralisation' or 're-centralisation' (1994a: 41).

The most important feature of reforms in Portugal and England was the introduction of competition as the main point of reference for regulation of public services. The challenge for analysis is to establish how the replacement of the democratic by the economic values of education makes its impact on the guarantees of schooling, work, political participation and freedom of all. Market-oriented reforms were highly contested in Portugal and in England. The terms in which they were contested were defined in the continuity with the divisions which underlie the consensus those reforms were breaking away from.

Notes

(1) In 1986, the Ministry of Finances launched a questionnaire to 'update existing information and to find out about the evolution of employment in the [Portuguese] Public Administration (PA)' (1989: 5). The results showed that 82.8% of all PA's staff (p. 7) were found at central level (CA) and 17.2% in local government (LA). Women represented 72.7% of administrative staff; 71.2% of ancillary staff; 70% of teachers (p. 19) in PA. Men represented 90.8% of manual workers and 72.1% of top grade decision-making posts (idem). The MoE had a 47.6% share (p. 8) of all PA staff. 31.4% of all CA staff were teachers (p. 11). Secondary teachers were the professional group which had the highest number of staff (18.1%) in PA, followed by administrative staff (10.7%) (p. 25). The percentage of teachers had also been on the increase since 1968 (17.5%). Out of the CA's 82.8%, 66.7% had been nominated and only 8.6% were on civil servants' contracts (p. 9). Of all LA staff 6.6% were nominated and 54.0% were on a contract (idem). LA employed 39.3% of manual workers and 36.8% of ancillary staff (p. 11). In 1997, the rate of female representation in all CA was 59.4% and as follows: top managers: 35.8%; teachers (HE): 6.1%, polytechnic: 42.0%, Years 5-12: 75.4%, primary: 99.1% (Viegas & Faria, 1999: 63).

(2) In Portugal, the critique of administration was easily accepted by the wider public due to the specific politico-administrative tradition of public services serving the dictatorial regime and keeping a wall between the citizens and the services. Any attempt to demolish that wall and reduce the amount of paperwork needed in the exchange between public services and citizens was readily embraced. Initiatives such as 'Citizen and Justice' (OECD, 1996: 48) and the creation of the 'Enterprise-Administration Commission' - *Comissão Empresas Administração* - (p. 49) were grasped as contributing to such attempt rather than for its stated 'managerial context of intervention', for 'targeting values/culture', (p. 21) 'establishing a special forum for dialogue between business associations and the administration'. (p. 49)

(3) [This ward] had a higher mortality rate for the age group 15 to 64 years than [the City] average. [...] The incidence of [...] asthma, diabetes, epilepsy, thyroid [...] significantly higher than [...] the national average. (Whiterock Under Fives Working Party, 1990: 15). [...] 55% of [Ward 1] tenants [were] in arrears [...] 15% higher than in [the City] (p. 28). 56% of families in council housing [were] receiving Housing Benefit. [...] The allowance made for food in the income support rate [was] insufficient to allow families to purchase the range of foods necessary for a healthy diet [as defined by the DHSS] [and the] DHSS's recommended calories required per day (p. 31).

Conservatism, Markets, and Managerial Prescription

Education policy, at all levels, displays a complex, fluctuating disarray of policy strategies, political projects and desires, which are popular and incoherent, totalising and individualising, homogenised and fragmenting [...] (Ball, 1996c: 2) Education is to play its part in the ideological narrative and organisational strategy of the 'enterprising culture', producing enterprising subjects and subjectivities. (p. 4)

[...] In practice the school (and the teacher) are now captured within a complex framework of calculation and judgment valorised by the incentives and self-interest [...] of the market. (p. 8)

Policy Formulation and the Politics of Regulation

This chapter examines the extent to and the way in which the three discourses on reform permeated the process of policy making; the type of continuity which is established with past policies and practices and the emerging (re)new(ed) issues and conflicts in the formulation and implementation of policy. The three discourses under analysis are the following:

- . *neo-liberal economics*: the 'freed' or 'deregulated' market which underlies government's changes in school management, financing and priority setting;
- . *new public management*: the 'scientific management' and the 'economic and public choice approach to bureaucracies' (Hood, 1990) as a strategy for implementation;
- . *civil society*: the increase in power of individual parents and the local community over the definition of priorities and purpose of education.

The three 'beliefs' - 'market forces, good administration management and system maintenance' - defined by Lawton and attributed to 'politicians, bureaucrats and professionals' (1984/1985: 17) in England were also visible in Portugal. The analysis of the early impact of the reforms of management and governance in the two countries is geared towards answering the question on what the reforms do to central-local government, local government-school and school-local community relations. Also more specifically, how changes to those relations transform the provision, financing, inspection, career development, teachers' and pupils' assessment, working and learning conditions in schools. The formulation and implementation of policy advanced at the intersection of three processes in both countries: (1) cuts in public spending; (2) incentives to private spending and to private involvement in education's provision and decision making; and (3) responses to implementation and to the challenges presented by the local practices in provision. The move towards the establishment of a minimal state with increased cuts in public spending and increased private financing and influence over schools and schooling contrasted with the growing and increasingly complex educational needs required by the democratisation of educational participation. In Portugal, the impact of cutting public spending affected the creation of a national educational welfare service, the provision of

medical and psychological services and the development and provision of individually tailored services for pupils. Cost containment prevented the expansion of recruitment of special needs teachers. The pressure to respond to specific needs was left with schools, mainly with the school-appointed individual class tutors.⁽¹⁾ The Ministry's spending strategy combined cuts in specific areas with the promotion of self-financing strategies. Spending went up in areas to which the Ministry was committed and in areas of basic need such as school buildings. The regulation of school autonomy provides a good example of the politics of spending. Here the government's discourse of regulation was different from the discourse on cost containment. Residual investment was combined with an appeal to schools to allocate staff and pupils time to the production of a School Educational Project and to the activities defined by the Project. Schools were encouraged to engage in external fundraising and to establish partnerships with private companies who were willing to supply new information technology equipment in exchange for the use of schools' facilities. Government's 'steering' (Ball, 1994) function was combined with the introduction of residual market forces and rationale. In both countries, the power of central services was increased to shift schooling towards the discipline of private markets and of business strategies. Government's combined strategy for financial management shaped the new form of regulation of schooling. A dominant characteristic of government reforms during this period was the transformation of the way in which power was exercised. The neo-liberal conservative-informed political philosophy and political economy mixes changed the framework for the exercise of public accountability and control. Accountability and control became defined according to business notions which were narrowly defined in terms of accountancy, *i.e.* financial criteria applied to private market exchanges.

The distinction between these notions and those defined according to the rules of political democracy became very clear in the process of policy formulation in Portugal. The 172/1991 Decree while drawing on and making an appeal to the principles of the 1986 Education Act and the Portuguese Constitution, began to show an orientation which was the expression of the political project being outlined by the government since 1987:

the experience accumulated during the past 15 years of democratic management recommends some changes to the present model (of school management) in order to make the democratic requirement compatible with the necessary demands of stability, efficiency and responsibility [...] The stability and the efficiency of management and administration are guaranteed by a uni-

personal body, the executive Director (ED) is appointed by the School Council through application and to whom he is accountable'. (DL. 172)

The transformation of governance was part of what is clearly 'one of the most striking features of the official discourse of the Portuguese State [which] is to be anti-state. [...] [as] the State has been considered [...] a bad manager and a bad producer, and that is where resides the claim to strengthen the civil Society and the privatisation of the economy [...]' (Santos, 1993: 40, f.t.). Decree 43/1989 was conceived with the aim of implementing

educational reform in a context of re-organisation of the educational administration with the purpose of changing a traditionally highly centralised form of management and transferring decision making powers to the local and regional levels. (DL No. 43)

The new political model of social organisation appropriated the notions rooted in the constitutional consensus and gave them new meanings. In Decree 43, pedagogical autonomy is defined both in terms of the 'management of the national curriculum and assessment' (article 8) and in terms of the requirement to 'plan and to manage' (article 9) the measures and the compensatory programmes related to special needs. While article 8 relates to the implementation of national policy, article 9 refers to schools being given autonomy in an area where national priorities had not been defined. The granting of autonomy was not accompanied by financial transfers from the centre. Thus, the references made in this Decree to the introduction of financial flexibility refer to the introduction of 'management by objectives', 'annual financial planning' and 'a private budget' (allowing for schools to raise money independently and for the autonomy to spend it). There was nevertheless clear guidance on how financial management (as it existed) should be interpreted: 'the schools which release staff or reduce staff expenses will be compensated with the increase in financial resources allocated to school maintenance' (article 23). Schools were given autonomy 'to raise money through the provision of services, selling of publications or [through] income derived from their own assets, interest from saving accounts' (article 24). Self-financing was seen as a very significant change by the MoE's Department of Financial Management and by government and as a move forward in implementing 'autonomy' as it was defined from within their programme of reform. This Decree also played an important role in introducing the discipline of development planning in schools through the prescription of School Educational Plans. The negotiation of the transfer of powers over financing, staff, curriculum and

assessment was at the centre of political testing of implementation of full (technical, financial, administrative, cultural and pedagogical) autonomy in schools. Decree 43/1989 is a diluted version of autonomy. In schools, the Decree was received both as an insignificant margin of autonomy - by those concerned with the need for political decentralisation - and as an opportunity for engaging in public/private partnerships and private income generation - by EDs eager to sell, rent or benefit from private sponsorship (mainly from information technology firms). The Decree presented a dilemma to schools. Even those who were sceptical about the value of this Decree, were compelled (given the circumstances related to the programme of cost-containment and the absence of a locally elected education authority) to respond to and to take advantage of it. The process of implementation of Decree 43 during the first part of the 1990s is revealing of the way in which the contradictions, multiplicity of levels of political discourse and internal conflicts were transferred to schools. Schools were not only faced with the requirements prescribed by this Decree and the contradictions of implementing the direct as well as parallel statutory demands put on them. Such implementation had another function: responding to what was understood by the government team as autonomy. However, this understanding did not, as it will be analysed in Chapter 5, reflect agreement. Therefore, what was transmitted from the MoE to schools was not consistent. The prescriptive nature of implementation was consistently present in the Ministry's mode of operation. The (experimental) implementation of Decree 43 was directly supervised by the Ministry through the Regional Education Services. At the same time, in what concerns the implementation of forms of autonomy in schools, what was prescribed as being 'autonomy' changed from year to year. This meant that schools were faced with renewed central discourses the outcome of which was to produce both added pressure on schools and lack of commitment to the process of educational reform. Such inconsistency did not reflect the position of a MoE which responded to difficulties of implementation or to schools demands and which adapted as a requirement of a relationship of partnership with schools. The implementation of Decree 43 was at the core of a process of disagreement, conflict and multiple political interpretation of the meaning of autonomy even within the Ministry. The prescription of how schools should interpret 'autonomy' found in *LAL*₍₂₎ between 1992-1994 illustrates the mix - faced by schools - of consistent prescription and inconsistency of what was prescribed by the Ministry to schools. In 1992, the guidelines produced by the Ministry ties autonomy to the 'deconcentration of functions and powers', defines 'the school as a decisive

entity in the structural network of the Educational System' and the 'cultural, pedagogic, administrative and financial areas of autonomy' (*LAL*, p. 1) without relating autonomy to changes in the regime of management and governance and to Decree 172/1991. This would only be done in 1993 (*GLAAE*, p. 72) when the guidelines on autonomy refer to

a new concept of schooling and a new **concept of school** (highlighted in original), as well as a new relationship with society. [...] The school [...] transforms itself in a centre of local community development. [...] School autonomy is materialised in the production of its own **educational project**. [...] The educational project will be translated into the formulation of priorities for pedagogic development, annual plans of educational activities and in the execution of internal rules for the main school sectors. (*GLAAE*, 1993: 71, f.t.)

At the same time, in practice, schools were presented with very basic, simple requirements (such as the requirement to exercise commitment to the 'educational project'). Amidst inconsistency, conflict and multiplicity of meanings, government managed to use the Ministry to achieve very specific purposes which would assist government's overall goal of shifting the direction of the practice of governance and management. By contrast, Decree 172/1991 had some far reaching implications for school autonomy. It replaced collegiate teachers' management with a structure where management was separated from governance and governance shared between staff (teachers and ancillary representatives), students (post-16), parents, community and economic representatives. This represented a very significant change as decision making in schools which were part of the experimental programme of implementation became shared with local interest groups, with individual parents and with representatives of local political parties. The local tensions and patterns of social interaction, privilege or exclusion were imported into the school's decision making process. In this way, these schools were less autonomous to pursue coordinated strategies of positive action having in mind the school as a community because, with such import, decision making became fragmented and polarised. In some cases, this resulted in open conflict within and between the school bodies.

Consumer choice, professional management and delegated financial management underlined the changes introduced. The 1987 PSD government continued a pattern of governance initiated in the first part of the 1980s. Until 1987, the history of local government was made of 'constant set backs and ambiguity in the legal relationship between the state and local

government [...] [and] translated, sometimes in the evolution in the production of legislation, other times, in its non-total application, and other times in the non-existence of fundamental legislation' (Mozzicafreddo *et. al.*, 1988:91). Ruivo and Veneza

find there is a strong contradiction between central state's official discourse on decentralisation and its ongoing practices [...] control, exercised by central power on local power, is not materialised in an immediate and explicit way, established in law. It is in an indirect way that, by invoking pragmatic reasons and financial opportunity, obstacles are materialised in municipal budgets [...] [and in] financial resources, the place where dependent decentralisation is institutionalised. (1988: 9, f.t.)

The structure for local government was at the centre of controversy at the time (Martins, 1987). This involved opposed versions of development (Figueiredo, 1987; Lage 1987a; RAS and CES's Seminar, 1992; Oliveira, 1996); opposed political versions (Lage, 1987b; Santos, 1987) and models for the creation of administrative regions (Chaby Vaz and Maltez, 1987). These derived not only from the advocacy of different forms of democracy but also reflected national historical developments (Mattoso, 1987). This government did not deviate from that pattern in order to strengthen local government. Regional government was not created, leaving not only the education but also social security and health services (Branco and Portas, 1989) centralised. Indeed, the purpose of introducing 'autonomy' policies was school-centred and was informed by the belief in the differential 'behaviour' of schools derived from the PC view of bureaucracies specifically, the division between 'complacent' and 'entrepreneurial' institutions or individuals.

This is the ambiguity which remains in the education system. There are in fact schools that take advantage of, capitalise to benefit from, all the autonomy created in legislation and [...], on the other hand, schools that, because of the reality of a centralising practice, exist by merely complying with the central guidelines and survive peacefully without questioning anything since they are complying with central guidelines and regulations [...] Both exist, I would say and it seems absurd, with the same legitimacy, because both have legal legitimacy in a framework which does not favour the practice of autonomy. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

The PC view is clearly presented in the ex-Secretary's book. The book puts forward the idea that provision should be defined locally, by individual parents rather than by central or local democratically elected institutions and bureaucrats.

[W]hat is in question is the model of administration of the education system and the place reserved to school organisations. These are, undoubtedly, the last links in a suffocating bureaucratic chain of normative prescription, distrust. Schools have, in principle, their responsibility for their local contexts taken away [...] it is not done by teachers, local councillors [...], its the model of administration itself [...] To escape the dominant culture, to build educational

projects in the school, to develop autonomous initiatives, to establish bridges with the [local] environment and other social sectors, all this, is [perceived as being] abnormal. (Azevedo, 1994: 198, f.t.)

The critique of the Ministry's bureaucracy had a mobilising purpose: to create policy networks and local allies in schools which would in turn facilitate the advancement of market-oriented reforms and their implementation.

Renewed networks of participation in Portugal

There are elements of continuity and ideological consistency in the 1987 programme of reform with initiatives of previous Right and Centre Right governments. In the case of financial delegation, policy lineage may even be traced back to the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. In this case, continuity runs through political regimes. This continuity was granted by the presence of policy makers who were involved in education policy and in public administration before the constitutional democratic state was established. The Director-General (DG) of the Department of Finance and Research in the MoE and the Education Minister (appointed by the 1987 government) were two of the members appointed by the Education Minister in the early 1970s Caetano government. These two men were key figures in the attempt to transform the governance and management of education in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1980s they continued to be influenced by a blend of human capital theories of education, rational planning of public institutions (of which the *Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento de Accao Educativa* - GPAI - and the 1968 *Plano Intercalar de Fomento* are examples) and international theories of economic modernisation. To them, financial delegation was a 'rational', 'neutral' administrative tool which they tried to implement in the early 1970s. In the late 1980s, those influences were combined with new management theories (which were produced mainly in the USA); with study visits to Coopers & Lybrand in London and with

meetings with key international promoters of the Local Management in Schools Initiative in order to promote the return of the financial delegation tool. In the 1980s, Sa Carneiro's government assembled a blend of political and ideological forces around which those advocating neo-conservative liberal

principles were aggregated. This continuity was guaranteed by another type of continuity, namely, continuity in access to key policy making positions being set against a formation of national elites characterised by a clear network of job appointments/nomination, academic and professional training. The pool of professional knowledge and expertise which was gathered to materialise the reform of education in 1988 was dominated by 'rational' planning which was formulated with the mixture of human capital theories for education and the experience of applied development economics advocated by international organisations in the 1960s and 1970s. Responsibilities over implementation at the national level were allocated to individuals recognized for their (entrepreneurial and moral) discourse and action on the ground. The allocation of key positions rewarded individuals according to their actions and positioning in relation to the government's programme of reform. In this case, commitment to the introduction of early vocational education, to managerial autonomy and operative styles of management were rewarded. The systematic use of political or policy entrepreneurs was a characteristic of governance from 1987. They played strategic roles both in formal and in informal settings. The experience of the (1987 government's) Education Minister in politics and in policy making, for example, could be traced to international models of planning and management of public institutions and as he explains, that was a very important influence on the way he positioned himself in Portuguese politics during the second half of the 1980s.

I have almost 30 years of intervention in the education sector as journalist, educational technician, as DG, as Manager, as an international specialist and during all those years I accumulated experience in education and developed a model, of what seemed more appropriate for education in Portugal, a project for education in Portugal [...] The political project has to do with the key ideas underlining my trajectory: decentralisation, the devolution of schools to local communities, the school is not a bureaucratic terminal but an institution of the civil society [...] business, parents, local government for curriculum reform, management and governance, the promotion of achievement delegated to local government. (1/9/1994)

The principles and model of governance and management embraced by the ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education in the 1987 government also established direct linkage to international experiments in the 1980s.

The state is not the only and main educator. [...] This idea of social participation is not unique to Portugal [...] It is obvious that both ideological

changes sought the political and technical support to their positioning in the international scene. The dynamic of participation is sought in countries which value it [...] and there is the other branch which gets influenced by the systems which have a headmaster (English language used in the original) a Rector. (1/9/1994)

This linkage does not only reflect what is traditionally pointed out in studies of Portuguese reforms as a kind of *development* delay complex *i.e.* the placement of Portugal in an international *development* ranking with the consequent comparison with 'higher' ranks of development in other countries. It also does not reflect a commitment to the straight import of solutions developed in other countries. While the whole process might include a mixture of those two, the political project, the policy solutions and the process of formulation and implementation of new systems of governance and management illustrate a new international phenomenon. There are substantial similarities in the process of policy formulation in Portugal and in England.

The changes which were formulated between 1988 and 1991 in Portugal were the product of an active involvement by national key politicians, civil servants and practitioners in the re-creation of systems of governance and management. The formulation of these changes was tightly rooted in national traditions, tensions and developments. This active involvement represented more than the attempt to copy international models. Hence, it needs to be analysed as the attempt to redirect, transform and recreate the governance and management of teaching and learning as it was regulated first, in the Constitution and second, in the 1986 Act. It is at this level that there is comparability between the reforms in England and in Portugal. The emerging international shift in public governance and management relied on the national processes of transformation.

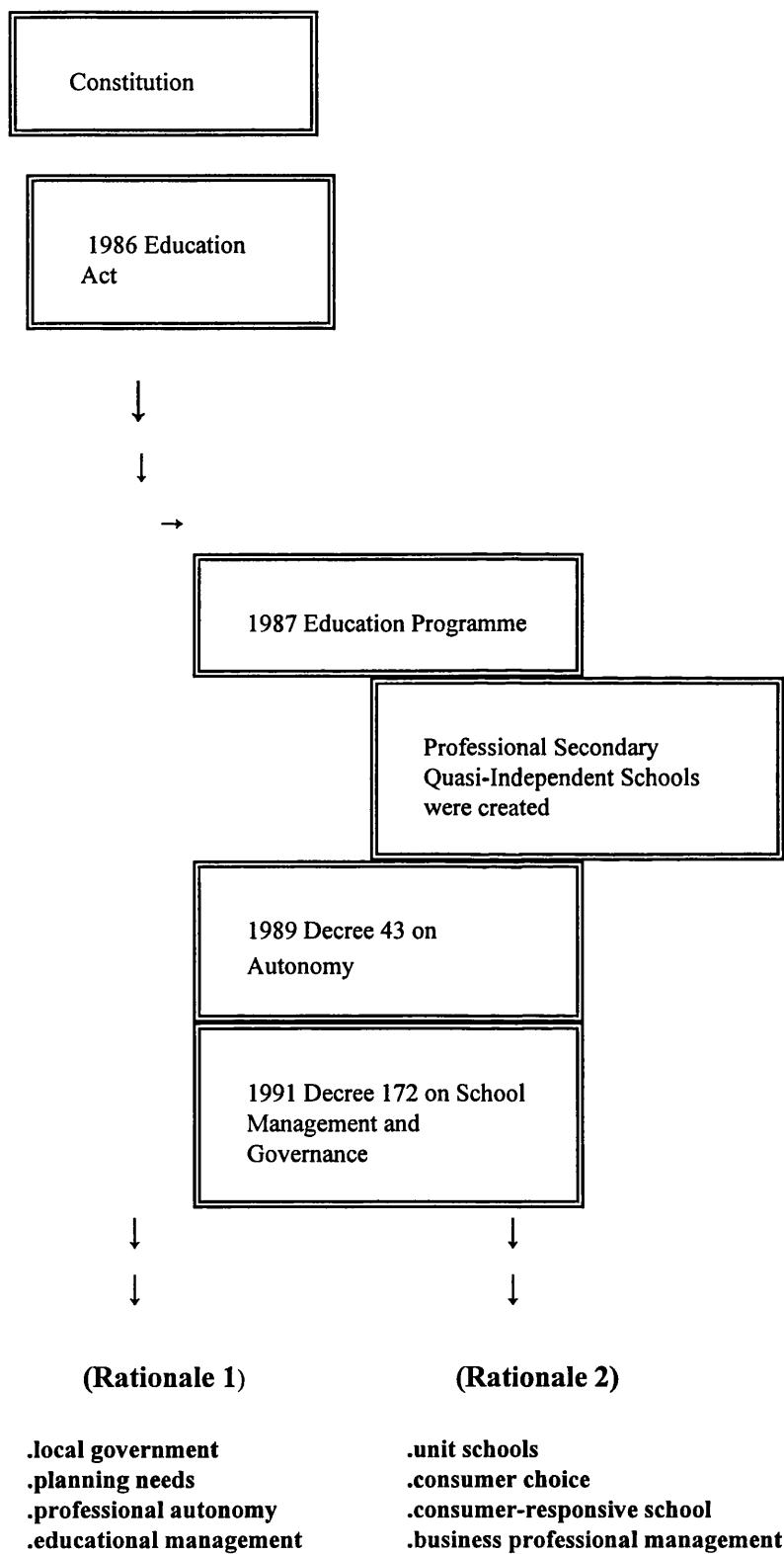
The intervention of the 1987 government continued to redefine the relationship between the

state, the market and the community. The state continued, however, to own, finance and provide most of the formal education. It sought, nevertheless, as in the nineteenth century, to recover the notion of civil society, voluntary public involvement in public policy and the governance of public institutions (such as schools) and to reinforce the market as a regulator of social and political relations. The programme of this government presented a comprehensive set of proposals and legislative measures as had never been presented before. Consequently, the trend of loose-coupled measures - which had been the feature of central governance before - was left behind and by 1989 government had managed to reshape the landscape where policy was produced and to shift the rationale for governance and management. The new rationale, as can be seen below, deviated from, while remaining constrained by, democratic (parliamentary) rules (the Constitution and the 1986 Act). The distinction between the two rationales was at the core of the tensions which emerged in the process of formulation and implementation of policy. This process illustrates how 'reforms can cut across legislation which embraces different arguments' (Plant, 1997). In 1994 the CNE (National Education Council) raised the following questions in relation to the existing legislation on school management and governance:

- . is there a generalised acknowledgement that the adoption of a new model of school administration is a real regime problem
- . would it not have been appropriate to make the principles held about the new model explicit?
- . will the one-person solution to school management not be too much of an abrupt cut with a recent tradition that nevertheless was generated in a context of spontaneous and passionate embracement?
- . In the first phase would it have been better to leave the choice between a uni personal body or another of collegiate composition? (p. 166)

Those questions point to the emerging tensions. The rationale for financial autonomy was, despite the struggles taking place at central level amongst the policy elite and within

Political Rationales for Educational Reform in Portugal



government, defined on a commonly shared background informed by the premises of business management.

Financial autonomy? I doubt it will happen before evaluation criteria is established to determine costs and spending patterns [...] The question for politicians is: are services being maximised? Studies about the management of resources will take place and criteria will be established [...] No organisation, no company can be managed without it [...] The new school management model does not prescribe a management philosophy, it is more about responsibilities and its distribution [...] There is space in the policy for school bodies to take up the new management philosophy [...] The problem is: how will this be done? We cannot work in a hierarchical chain: central level thinks, the region executes and the school executes what the region says. [...] In the Ministry we need to end the State's model of hierarchical management, the traditional forms of management in public administration and to change to non-hierarchical management, management by objectives, above all with a great level of autonomy. (DG of MoE's Finances Department/Chairman of CAA 4/5/1995)

The boundaries of school autonomy were defined accordingly. Development planning and the School Educational Project - *Projecto Educativo* - was to become an important instrument in the definition of schools' priorities (and 'mission'). The introduction of development planning in schools carved deeper the difference between educationally-motivated priorities of teachers in schools and managerial priorities advanced by the Ministry. Promoted by the Ministry as an instrument to facilitate schools' autonomy, development planning was at the origin of conflict in the definition of long-term educational priorities and in the practice of governance and management. Schools were expected by the Ministry to state their 'ethos' and targets of 'achievement'. Some schools used the project as a way of evaluating their needs for resources and to evaluate social and individual patterns of intake in order to plan provision. Development planning was understood in schools as being an instrument to define what the pupils' needs in each school were. The plan was used as an instrument to produce a diagnosis of local needs by many schools. A study of school projects (Afonso *et. al.*, 1998) reveals the strong emphasis schools had put, amongst other items, on 'local identity, social solidarity, family, community, social justice, innovation, citizens' rights and participation'.

The model for the transfer of responsibilities to schools in England was also set within a centrally defined framework of priorities.

[W]hile there has been a numerical redistribution in tipping the balance from

the 'bureau professionals' to the lay governors, the latter have not gained power over schooling in any real sense [...] Governors supposedly have power over the way that the schools' finances are allocated, but the amount of money a school receives is subjected to central regulation and so much is taken up by salaries that most governing bodies have very little financial discretion (p. 62-63) [...] [T]he volunteer citizens who make up the lay element of school governing bodies have also to have their performance inspected and appraised [...] (in relation to) the role of the governing body in the efficient and strategic management of the school [...] the fulfilment of legal responsibilities and associated policy formulation by governing bodies [...] the discharge by governors of responsibilities in connection with the national curriculum. (Deem *et. al.*, 1995: 161)

The margin of professional and of schools' freedom was specified in the confluence of direct central control with the emergent shift towards civil society's control of public policy. Governing practices in schools distanced themselves from a participatory model towards a managerial model of governance. Unlike the Portuguese case, in England, reforms removed powers which had been granted to local government and instead, granted them to individual governing bodies. In this way, reforms reversed the course of existing political decentralisation.

Few of the governors researched in our case study gave any evidence that what they were doing was connected in any way to this (participatory democracy) perspective [...] (Deem *et. al.*, 1995: 68) [...] The 'state volunteer' as governor steps well over the boundary of citizenship towards a servant of the state [...] much is disguised as community empowerment, parental power or 'stakeholder' involvement [...] It is certainly a positive step to ensure that heads and teachers are answerable to their local communities and that ordinary people are involved in some way in the work of schools, just as it is desirable if publicly funded schools don't have to wait weeks to fix a broken window or for someone else to pay their fuel bills. (p. 162)

This reversal was one of the most contentious aspects of reform. Levačić (1992) explains how schools were caught in a dilemma of having, on the one hand, local discretion to implement centrally prescribed policies and, on the other hand, of having to help establish allocation mechanisms, admission systems and organisational and individual forms of behaviour dictated by market and business rather than educational criteria. One of the strongest aspects of contention was the effect this reversal had in redirecting the aspects of educational criteria which aim at guaranteeing social justice (p. 190, 192, 195).

The shift in governance created dilemmas, conflict and constraints for schools. The

distribution of schools' internal power to make decisions was a major focus of divisions and of conflict in both countries. In England, both Conservative and Labour parties agreed on the principle that parental participation in schools' decision making needed to increase but they were divided about whether that increase should take place in a context of partnership between teachers and local government or if it should be implemented at the cost of professional autonomy and of the reduction in local government responsibilities and power. While changes in local government responsibilities were highly contested, there was also wide agreement on the benefits of local management of schools. There was, however, wide disagreement generated around the LMS initiative as it was introduced. There was disagreement on whether local management models should be used to create educational markets or to improve local conditions of educational provision in response to assessed needs. The increase of parents' numbers in governing bodies was a consensual political issue. The creation of a system of education provision commanded by market choice rather than by the principles of participatory democracy was a focal point of disagreement. LMS was linked to an 'emphasis on rational management processes' (Levačić, 1992: 26). Parents were expected to activate the mechanism of market choice by taking advantage of central government's incentives. Parents were expected to behave as customers and

the move from collectivised to privatised forms of the consumption of welfare services holds out the prospect of new and active forms of citizenship springing up as people become customers rather than clients of a paternalist state. (Saunders quoted in Deem *et. al.*, 1995: 45)

Participation defined in these terms was also linked to cost-containment strategies in the public sector. In the section on parental choice which can be found in Annex 1 of the DES Circular number 3, it is stressed under the General considerations against which the Secretary of State judges rationalisation proposals how

the Government is committed to giving the fullest possible effect to parental preferences for particular schools. This commitment does not however extend to circumstances where to meet it would prejudice the provision of efficient education or the efficient use of resources. A large volume of expressed parental commitment (original) to a particular school will be a consideration (sometimes a very telling one) which the Secretary of State takes into account in deciding proposals, but it will not of itself be conclusive if the educational and financial arguments point the other way. There are particular aspects of parental preference which the Secretary of State is anxious to preserve where the demand warrants it [...] selective schools, denominational schools and single sex schools. (DES, 1987: [298]2)

In Portugal, increasing the level of parental involvement in schooling and opening the school up to community representatives were not in dispute. The area of conflict rested on the move to transfer responsibilities to schools without creating structures for the local government of education and to maintain or increase prescription over curriculum provision, assessment, teaching methods and career development. Consensus about the need to increase parental participation, school autonomy and community involvement were consensual in England and Portugal, as well as, across the political spectrum. Conflict about their nature and purpose was the essential feature of politics of management and governance. In Portugal, the production of several versions which preceded Decree 172/1991 reflect this tension. The changes were made in order to account for the conflict relating to the definition of a balance of powers between teachers and lay governors and to avoid a policy deadlock. The Ministry's original proposal for parental majority in the governing body was changed in order to guarantee equal membership of teachers and parents. Membership of the governing body and the negotiation over whether the newly introduced figure of the school's ED had to be a teacher or not, were some of the areas where the ministerial team had to introduce alterations. The final version of the legislation guarantees that the ED must be a teacher. The previous versions of the Decree reflected how that requirement was seen as a restriction on the creation of a new framework of regulation by central government. The conflict which developed in both countries, related to changes in the mandate of management and in democratic central-local government relations. Changes in central-local relations had implications for the framework of autonomy to be developed at the local level, as well as, for local government-school relations, local democracy and citizens' participation.

Curriculum and School-Based Governance in England

The definition of autonomy over the curriculum was an area most affected by changes in the distribution of power and in the definition of a framework to exercise professional autonomy. The tension created by the changes in the direction of curriculum policy added to the conflict shaping reform. The transfer of the responsibility to produce a statement of a school's curriculum policy to the governing body and the duty of governing bodies to produce an annual

report for parents and to organise an annual parents' meeting were viewed by government as being essential to define what should be included in the curriculum (mainly in the areas of politics and sex education). School governance, in the first part of the 1980s, was viewed as an essential instrument to define social and individual life-style and behaviour, as Kenneth Baker's quote below demonstrates:

there is no place for political indoctrination in our schools [...] differences of a political character will arise in many areas of the curriculum and it is right that these should be dealt with responsibly and objectively so that our children are helped to be good citizens [...] it (politics of minority pressure groups and politics of protest) has no place in the operation of schools [...]
It is crucial to emphasise the moral dimension as well as the value of family life [...] reinforcing the institution of marriage as the foundation of a healthy family life and the very bedrock of our civilisation. (Hansard, 10 June 1986: c. 187-188)

This was one of the major areas of parliamentary disagreement. There was tension in agreeing an increase in the Secretary of State's power to prescribe what should be taught in schools across the whole curriculum. Specific subjects such as Social and Peace Studies, Mathematics, English and History were at the centre of highly polarised positions. There was also tension between agreeing, on the one hand, on the need for a partnership between LEAs, headteachers and governing bodies and, on the other hand, central government's stress on increasing schools' and parents' protagonism in policy making at the school level, in choosing schools and being instrumental in the establishment of market-based admissions systems. Changes in school governance reflected an articulated effort by central government to reduce local government intervention in education. The creation of grant-maintained schools was an initiative geared to achieve such aim. The purpose and philosophy of this type of schools varied. At Molly Girls City Technology College, the purpose was to create a vocational school for a majority of Muslim female pupils. In this case, the difference from local democratic (LEA) decision-making was very clear. The requirements for democratic accountability were overlooked and the rhetoric of parental participation was not translated into practice.

Becoming a Technology College was about shifting the whole ethos of the School and trying to make sure that our girls were fully equipped to deal with the real world [...] employable, multi-skilled in the sort of skills that industry were looking for around our area [...] So we immediately called a governing body meeting and passed the first resolution at the start of the summer holidays, passed the second right at the end of the summer. There was very little opposition, my parents are, they are a delightful bunch but it's terribly

hard to get a response at all from mine but as far as attending any of the consultation meetings, I think at most we had about 13 parents turning up. I mean, to be honest, in North Central you would have to really hide your head not to know [about grant-maintained ballots]. So I just took the view that probably they knew and the absence meant yes really, because I think if it meant no they would have responded. [...] Upset the staff immensely because they did not want to leave the LEA and they really felt that I had sold them down the river. (Molly Girls City Technology College, Headteacher, 9/3/1995)

In the case of sex education, government also responded to popular conservative demands, taking full advantage of and exploiting both popular opinion and the potential for conflict between headteachers and LEAs. The formulation of policy in those areas was at the core of disagreement in Parliament; Government's unwillingness to reach an agreement on the 1986 Education Bill being taken to a special Standing Committee (to allow for further consultation with LEAs, teachers and parents in order to take their experience into account) was perceived as a lack of commitment to consultation (Hansard Vol 99, 10 June 1986). The introduction of changes to make governing bodies responsible for curriculum policy was closely tied to the prescription of what type of sex education should be taught in schools and what emphasis should be given to individual sexual lifestyle and family patterns. Justifications were made in the name of parents' interests and debated at length. The aim was to prevent any deviation from a conservative moral position on sexuality and on family life.

Parents are angry. They feel concerned that a number of evil people have taken over the sex education industry. In particular, I name the Family Planning Association which has done everything in its power to promote some books which have done a lot to corrupt our children. It is clear that such organisations have lunched an evil war on marriage and family and what I and many other honourable Members value deeply. [...] it is essential that we support the family. It is essential that attitudes to sex are taught in a clearly moral framework. (Mr Bruinvels Hansard, 21 October 1986:c. 1066)

Curriculum and Vocational Schooling in Portugal

As stated by the Education Minister at the time, "equality of opportunities is not built from the egalitarian utopia of unification" (1/9/94). Therefore, reform implied a reverse in policy to return to the introduction of the division between vocational and 'academic' schooling. This

return was the most conflictual aspect of reform. It intersected not only existing polarised positions on vocational education but also the existing mixed system for the provision of vocational and professional education. This system was made of post-16 (secondary) professional schooling and of private and cooperative provision. The politics of curriculum and of the return to the segregation of pupils at the basic level of schooling reflected more than the opposition between government and teachers. Conflicting positions about the direction of curriculum reform were found both within state institutions and between those and teachers, university researchers and parents or organized groups with an interest in education. Those positions reflected two types of issues. First, the opposition between the state's long-term responsibilities for development (which are tied up in government's practice) and short-term interests of specific groups. Second, the opposition between two different versions of social and education provision, of the state, of democracy and also of individual and collective freedom and rights.

The debate between Azevedo & Imaginario (1991) and Correia (1990 and 1991) reflects those two issues. Azevedo and Imaginario's position in relation to the creation of (Post-Year 9) professional schools, illustrated how these schools were instrumental in implementing a neo-liberal version of schooling. Indirectly, those schools were also produced as a response to the constructed 'crisis' of education and to the common sense impression about the lethargy of state institutions (1991: 8). Short-term interests of governance (more school places, more job-related training) which meet specific groups' short-term interests were incorporated in long-term strategies for schooling. In 1989, Canario comments on how 'the advocacy of 'opening' the school to the local community takes, frequently, the form of an essentially normative and [prescriptive] discourse' (FENPROF: not numbered). The commitment to vocational training had been on centre right governments' agenda since the beginning of the 1980s. Individual politicians had a significant role in pursuing long-term strategies for schooling since then. Azevedo's position was expounded when he was Director in the MoE. He later became a member of the Commission for the Reform of Education and a Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary Education. He was also an OECD and World Bank consultant as well as a member of OECD's CERI (*Centre D'Etudes et Recherche sur l'Innovation*). He had also held a senior position in the regional department with responsibilities for the development of the northern region of Portugal (*Comissão de Coordenação da Região Norte - CCRN*). The

advancement of the partnership between public and private institutions in provision was visible in the work of the CCRN since the early 1980s. CCRN's agenda played a central role in advancing awareness about the need for the creation of a technical and professional branch of education and in producing evaluations of the industry's needs by sector and in linking these with national economic needs. This professional branch was presented as being an imperative for economic modernisation. The reintroduction of a division between general and vocational education in secondary education was depicted as an innovation. The distinction from the division which existed between 1974 was, as may be seen below, clearly made. In their report (C.C.R.N, 1984) they stressed how

the polytechnic as well as secondary (years 10 and 11) schooling will have to train a great number of electronic mechanics technicians and technicians in electronics as well as managers [to be] properly qualified. The improvement and the qualifications that the Centres for Professional Training will have to initiate focus on the professions of welders, car mechanics [...] (p. 54). The idea that it is important to reproduce today technical schooling that stopped existing in our education system must be abandoned. Today a new type of technical and professional education must be created [...] the school is only one amongst various entities that have a highlighted role in professional education. (p. 69) [...] the conclusion which points to [the need for] investment in the development of the enterprising and management capacity [...] of all sectors and activities [...] [for] the desired technological renovation appears [today] as being very evident. (p. 76)

The government's efforts to re-introduce the division between vocational and academic schooling in formal education had a role in responding to the politics of achievement. The conservative discourse on educational achievement sketched a portrait of crisis in the teaching/learning process. Teaching methods, curriculum and learning results were compared with those existing previous to the comprehensive reform of 1975. The educational expansion was represented as resulting in a decrease in teaching quality. This discourse implied a comparison between good (implicitly, pre-1975 teaching contents and methods) and bad (recent curriculum content, pro-progressive teaching and assessment methods). In most cases, those comparisons reflected a wide range of positions. In some cases, pre-1974 schooling was praised for selecting pupils 'according to ability'. This often implied a relationship between ability and social origins (family or geographical). Finally, in some other cases, the praise was based on the notion that curriculum content, assessment procedures and teaching methods were better before 1974. In other cases, that praise was linked to a nostalgic view of what was perceived as a 'stable' social and educational system. The influence of such praise in creating

an image of 'crisis' was very clear.

Social conservatives may or may not have embraced consumer-driven provision. They may have embraced some of its aspects, while rejecting others creating a pattern of provision with a mix of private and public influence, control, financing and ownership. The discourse of 'crisis' was not always dissimilar (despite the different national histories of provision) from Chubb and Moe's five-fits-all dimensions of appeals-to-all 'problems' in education: 'drop out', 'urban, poor, minority children', 'mathematics and science under-achievement', 'testing' and 'international under performance' (1990: ix). The discourse of 'crisis' had a function in legitimising political positions on educational reform, as well as in maintaining ongoing political conflict in formulation and implementation. I will not attempt here an in-depth analysis of discourses on teaching content, teaching methods and assessment procedures. It must, however, be stressed that those procedures resemble the complexity studied by Ball when analysing the politics of curriculum development represented in the struggles between the 'industrial trainers', the 'cultural restorationists', the 'reformist old humanists' and the 'new progressives' (1990a: 7). The conflict which shaped aspects of reform affecting vocational education established a continuity with the social/liberal traditional divide on schooling, work and democracy which in the 1980s was associated with the MoE's policy on curriculum and on training in Information Technology. Correia questions the return to the division between vocational and academic education in public schooling when highlighting the 'influence that the contact with computing exercises in the subjective perception that youngsters have of the labour market and of the mechanisms that condition their access to the computer' (Correia 1990: 47). He demonstrates how students' participation in vocational education reflects gender segregated (p. 50) and social (cultural capital/educational qualifications-based) perceptions (p. 50-52) of benefits of (computer) training for pupils. 'Youngsters from classes with different cultural capital build different relations with future employment' (p. 50). Correia, Stoleroff and Stoer stress the link between the return of the division (between vocational and 'academic' education) at compulsory level and link it with economic policy goals (1993: 31-2). Martins (1993) also found that

there is a strong relationship between pupils' social and cultural origin and attendance of ctp [Information Technology and Electronics] and cp [Mechanics and Building courses] [...]; the choice of these courses by pupils resulted from

the direct influence of institutionalized agents with a reduced role [being played by the] family; the relationship between failure [to achieve the targets to move on to the next Year] and enrolment in [those courses] is very significant [...]; there is a strong relationship between social and cultural origin and level of aspirations [... pupils] of higher strata refer, in greater number, to the wish to continue higher education and those of lower strata to find a job. (p. 379, f.t.)

The social stratification of students is also reflected in the income graduates of Professional Schools collect. The earnings of these graduates are located in the lower scale of income (D.E.P.G.E.F., 1995: 46-47). Unlike in earlier periods, the politics of vocational education in Portugal were not only shaped by this division in formal education. The existing mixed system for the provision of vocational and professional education presents other challenges for analysis. Correia notes, for example, that 'the process of production of professional schools is, however, more complex than the simple identification of their functional relationship with production would [suggest]' (1990: 46). Some professional schools were closely linked to the cooperative movement and to the post-1974 attempts by individuals and by groups to value traditional arts and crafts and to enhance individual and group freedom of expression in the world of alternative popular and contemporary art and its related professions. The cooperative movement reflects the process of democratisation and the transition from an authoritarian state. This was not a movement against the state or its institutions. Instead, it was a movement against any form of authoritarianism or centralised prescription and a response to restrictions to learning created by the nonexistent courses in specific professional areas. This movement was caught in the transition from an authoritarian towards a democratic state. The relationships of the cooperative movement with the state were intersected by the specific forms which the state took after 1974. Correia stresses this as being an important phenomena to take into account (*idem*).

The curriculum reform in the second part of the 1980s was one of the areas where contradictions, permanent change and the expression of strong centralisation were most evident. The contradictions of strong centralisation and discontinuities existing between the ministerial expert teams and school teachers were also reflected in the curriculum reform. The idealisation of curriculum reform within the Ministry in 1987 became caught between continued ministerial prescription of 'innovation' and the overriding demands of the national curriculum and assessment. The ideal 'innovation' and the contradictory nature of

implementation became translated into a system which pulled teachers in different directions: the implementation of the national curriculum and assessment and the implementation of cross-curriculum projects. The latter were seen by the Ministry as being a reflection of schools' capacity to 'innovate' and schools were judged on those projects. Being extra-curricula, those projects relied on the capacity of schools, teachers and pupils to raise extra finance and to find extra resources and time to produce them. This is not to say that schools did not take the opportunities to innovate presented by the legislation but, the idealisation of the curriculum was translated into a pattern of fragmented innovation and contradictory objectives and consequent demands on teachers. Curriculum reform was the visible face of what became known as 'the reform' amongst teachers. To them, 'the reform', represented centralised control, the introduction of policies not adjusted to the local context of schools and symbolic initiatives which blocked the implementation of the 1986 Act's requirements and objectives. In terms of curriculum, being unable to respond to the 1986 requirements meant schools being faced with the impossibility to plan provision according to their assessment of needs. At Roseira School, amongst others, there was a concern with changes in pupil's population and with a mismatch between the language of the curriculum and pupil's home language (President of Management Commission, 30/3/1995). The policy-making strategy followed by the government constrained the possibilities for the participation of teachers on-the-ground despite not being based on direct central control. This strategy evolved as claims about the reform being carried 'outside the Bureaucracy's offices' was made by politicians. Teodoro (1994) quotes the Secretary of State for Education (1989-91) to illustrate the way the reform of the curriculum was being carried out by central government.

"The operational dimension where the empirical effort manifests itself more clearly" [...], the empirical method, contrasts with the previous reform "carried out in the office and then applied to the whole country [...]: (instead, the new reform implies) the choice of a representative sample of [...] schools [...]; the clarification of the new programmes"; the supervised experimentation by "inspectors and technicians"; the evaluation, introduction of corrections and the production of the (teaching) manuals (which are followed by), "the proposed program to the whole country" being in the end generalised. (p. 150)

Curriculum policy implemented a new form of centralised control in delivery. Government defined the new conditions in which policy was to be produced while specifying the 'need for teachers to [...] possess the technical-pedagogical competencies for the new functions [...] (and) recruitment [to reflect the] reform's predispositions' (Teodoro, 1994: 151). Correia highlights

how the

1980s [...] tended to reinforce the links of dependency of teachers as practitioners in relation to the experts in education. [...] The projects of reform are formulated by teams of experts [...] teachers professional training tends to be managed by the employer and to focus, predominantly, on the 'needs of the system' identified by [the system] [...] in turn, pedagogic knowledge tends to dissociate itself into theoretical knowledge concentrated in the institutions of training, technological knowledge concentrated in the experts in and technicians of education and practical knowledge concentrated in teachers. (1991: 161, f.t)

Parents' participation in the process of formulation was less visible than teachers'. According to the ex-Minister of Education, their history of representation in stages of policy formulation and the presence of their voice in the politics of education were very recent and their level of representation low and fragmented (12/3/1995). Nevertheless, the Confederation of Parents Associations (CONFAP) had a role in exercising some pressure for equality of membership (with teachers and others) in the School Council. Parents' started claiming the right to participate in decision making in 1974₍₃₎ (26 of June) when parents of pupils in a group of Lycees in Lisbon asserted their positions (CONFAP, 1994). In 1975, the Associations of parents were producing clear proposals for the formulation of policy on school management (p. 104-112.2, expressing their position in relation to legislation (112.3-119) and writing to the DG of School Administration with their proposals for specific amendments to legislation (120-122). The Associations were active and together with governmental services, media and teachers organizations kept close relationships with the Catholic Church and the Catholic media sector, the Sa Carneiro - deceased Social Democrat Party leader - and the Amaro da Costa - deceased founder of the Centre Democrat Social Party (CDS) and militant member of *Opus Dei* (Ferreira, 1984: 52) - Institutes (p. 11-13).

In the second part of the 1980s, the students were mainly organized across the main political parties' youth delegations.₍₄₎ The idea of local embracement of autonomy, as defined by politicians and bureaucrats, would be caught in the realities of implementation. The initial appeals to the embracement of policies by the MoE turned into first, the request by the Ministry to redefine education according to the central dictate and second, the subsequent blaming of teachers for either 'not understanding' the nature of their task or refusing 'to collaborate'. The transfer of powers over curriculum development to the local level did not

materialise; in practice the Ministry of Education defined, initiated and supervised curriculum implementation. The Ministry had a clear vision about the direction in which the secondary curriculum should be reformed.

The fundamental values, Portuguese Language, Mathematics, etc. but with an opening up to Technology, Foreign Languages, Information Technology and the new views of the world and of life [...] Emphasis on project work with, if possible, less emphasis on the curriculum (class teaching), (ex-Minister of Education, 1/9/1994)

Despite the design and implementation not being the direct translation of those values, the values of the reform which were located between the maintenance of the cultural tradition, technological innovation and progressive teaching was the background against which curriculum reform took place. At the school level, the freedom to teach was constrained by three things: the national teaching objectives and assessment targets; the mechanisms of incentives (such as the reintroduction of technological and vocational studies before Year 10); the local network of professional allies and professional commitment to progressive education and teaching which is planned in response to local specificity.

The Politics of Management and Governance and in Portugal

In 1988 the MoE created a forum where teachers, government and ministerial officials, academics, parents and (post-Year 9) pupils' representatives met to discuss the proposals for a new system to govern and to manage schools. The emphasis put on the need for 'consensus' (between those representatives) by the MoE in order to help formulating and implementing reforms became known, amongst teachers negotiating the regulation of the 1986 Act, as one of government's fundamental strategies. In teachers' view, the use of public debate at the stage of policy formulation had two purposes. First, to facilitate the acceptance of a centralised reform by both the public and the teaching profession. Second, to bypass the conflict shaping the negotiation of teachers' salaries and working conditions.

The public meetings and the discussion of teachers' participation in policy formulation, revealed a balance of forces against teachers' participation and a reality of little parental participation. This, as explained by Teodoro (1994), made those implementing the reform in schools sceptical of the reforms being proposed by the Commission for the Reform of the Education System (CRSE). The impact of the legacy of concentrated governance and of the reversal of the 1986 Act's requirement for political decentralisation on schools reflected teachers' disappointment with the course of reform post-1986:

by the time the government produced legislation on school administration and management, the national spirit for educational reform was gone [...] the legislation is radically different from what we produced. (WGSA and CAA Member, 6/9/94)

Reflecting on the conditions for a generalised implementation of the experimental model of management and governance in 1994, the same member explained that:

about its [1991 reform of management and governance] implementation? I only have interpretations. The political signals have been contradictory, the discourses of autonomy [...] are instrumental, there is a parallel with company management, autonomy means political delegation, to delegate what is complex, problematic for political management [...] The paradox is the existence of political re-centralisation, higher political and administrative control in many spheres coexist with a discourse and appearance of decentralisation and autonomy [...] It is the market, liberal economic theory: the client, the appeal to contingency and adaptation to the environment, the environment is the market and selective competition [...] The political power

[government] might be interested that the model being experimented does not go well so it will be demonstrated that civil society is not prepared and interested in such a model and in participating and therefore it will be explained to the public that we [Ministry] have to go in the direction of something more modern and rational, efficient [...] These are the magic words. As for the Council evaluating the experience of school organisation and management, there are guarantees, from the political power, that the legislation as it is will not be widely applied without our report. If there is anything not clear at any time I will ask for my resignation. (6/9/94)

The form of regulation embraced by the Ministry in 1987, as Teodoro (1994) explains below, was part of the wider process of reform and government's position on governance:

The production of multiple documents about the reform, by commissions and working groups created by the Ministry of Education and the organisation of a public debate [...] were the privileged means [...] to which the so called national consensus [...] (public debate) [...] has a legitimisation function in trying to make those participating in the debate believe that government policy is the result of public permission, making them more easily acceptable than through a process where they would be imposed or the use of formal authority would be made. The production of documents of education policy and its public debate [...] has as one of its main objectives to create the illusion that there is an absence of specific political aims in government's objectives, which entertains a notion of a universal public interest. (1994: 143-4) [...] Under the appearance of rationality, impartiality and a scientific attitude, the educational reforms seek, generally, to reinforce State's tutelage of teachers which is normally extended through another one, the curriculum-scientific tutelage, where research works as a discourse of control. (p. 153)

CRSE was given the task of producing the regulatory instruments to implement the 1986 Education Act. However, the final version of Decree 172/1991 was not produced by CRSE.

The Role of National Policy Networks in the Internationalisation of Reforms

Between 1988 and 1991, as the period of 'public' debate ended, policy was produced by a private network of individuals informally nominated by the MoE. Amongst others, were the Education Minister, one Union leader from FNE_(S), Pedro D'Orey da Cunha - ex-Secretary of State for Educational Reform who advocated reducing public and expanding private schooling (1989) - and the ED of Campo School who revealed the process of formulation which was at the origin of Decree 172.

I was involved in this model (172 Decree) since the beginning. I have been involved with it since 1989 [...] The Decree comes out on May 10, 1991 and

the [Campo] School was involved in it from 1992. When I mention 1989, I do so because I worked with Dr. Pedro Cunha, when he was the Secretary of State. So I have been involved since then. I must tell you that this model was subjected to several alterations since its first version because there wasn't, really, enough courage to put it out as it was conceived (by the Education Ministry's team). (4/5/1995)

The membership of those forums was very similar to the way in which the production and evaluation of LMS was carried out in England where a structure made of a coordinating cluster, of appointed organisations assigned to complete specific tasks, of advisory panels and study groups developed (Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte and the NFER, 1992: foreword). The formulation of what became Local Management in Schools in England was being prepared in Portugal during the same period *i.e.* between 1988-1991. There are differences in each national process of formulation and in what was achieved in each country for reasons already mentioned. These relate to the contrast between constitutional guarantees, the Education Acts, the place of discussions on the role of local government and of teachers in the governance of education and between the conceptions and traditions of democracy and social development existing in both countries. There are also differences in the extent to which the formulation and implementation of changes permeated popular or even public debate. In Portugal, for example, the absence of visibility of the changes which were being proposed in the areas of governance and management contrasted with the wider coverage of curriculum reforms in the media which were extensively debated in schools. FENPROF's leader explains this event in the following way.

Subjects and timetables were of more direct concern to teachers. Management is a more distant issue. FENPROF tried to promote debate but with much less success, while [the debate on the curriculum] was more significant. Management was of smaller importance because it was not a close threat to teachers. (30/3/95)

However, the changes which the two governments were trying to advance were the same and they would have a very significant impact on teachers and on teaching. As illustrated above, there is a similar set of assumptions and systems which were embraced by the key networks where policy was formulated. These assumptions do not only represent the attempt to establish educational markets within which parents play a central (consumer) role. They also reflect the introduction of market relations between the various institutions ruled by the requirements of democratic accountability as is illustrated by the following premises produced in England.

Schools are no longer administrative sub-units of the local authority with little influence over the services they receive. Rather, they are increasingly buyers of services and will act as discerning customers [...].

LMS, like compulsory competitive tendering, is causing many local authorities to consider different types of organisations for service delivery. The emerging trend is to divide the Education Department into separate units, each with a greater degree of autonomy than has previously been the case [...] Whatever approach is adopted, it is clear that the future size and shape of Education Departments will be determined by client demand, with schools as one of the major clients.

The new relationship between schools and central departments will be mediated by the service agreement (or service contract) in which the local authority offers a menu of services from which schools can choose [...].

Local authorities will increasingly set up their inspection services as separate bodies, at "arm's length" from the authority, to compete for the inspections which schools will commission from enhanced school budgets. The proposal to repeal parts of the 1944 Education Act will mean that local authorities will not have the right to enter their schools without a good reason. They will be dependent on the implicit rights of entry contained in other legislation related to the statutory functions of local authorities. (Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte and the NFER, 1992, Executive Summary: entries 3, 4, 5, 23, 24)

These premises represented fundamental changes to the role of and the relationships between public services' institutions but, most importantly, they created a division between those institutions and moved away from a unitary towards a fragmented national system where social cohesion and the notion of community were to be partitioned. Compulsory Competitive Tendering also had a very significant impact on the ability of local government to affect pay and working conditions. The 1988 Local Government Act ruled that 'authorities will not be able to use their own workforce unless the work has been won in competition with the private sector' (Audit Commission, 1989:3).

Consultation, 'expert' advice and prescription

Despite their public claims to working within the framework of the 1986 Act, CRSE did not have the full trust of teachers. The members of WGSA found themselves caught between the roles of producing the regulatory framework for the Act and the demands emerging from the government's proposals for reform. The role of some of this Group's members was perceived as being located in a grey area between expert consultation and political bargaining by teachers' representatives. This reinforced internal dissent and external distrust in the Group. The

definition of membership of the School Pedagogic Council was, for example, one of the cases illustrating internal dissent. In WGSA's first proposal, pedagogical autonomy would be exercised in this Council exclusively by teachers. In the final CRSE's report, which followed a phase where some members of the WGSA had been involved in political bargaining, membership of the Council was to be shared with parents' representatives. Until 1986 the School Pedagogic Council had one representative of parents. CRSE's final report was made of a patchwork of proposals (ranging from curriculum to educational welfare) which were not framed under a coherent set of principles. Each working group produced documents based on distinct principles, which did not give the final report a coherent and consistent framework. There was more than one political rationale informing the working groups. There were differences between the coordinators of working groups, as well as between the coordinator and the groups' members. These were shaped by differences in the conception of democracy, rights and public administration which each embraced. The internal conflict which characterised the work of the WGSA was grounded in two of their proposals: the one related to the management structure (one manager, employed/dismissed by the School Council and two deputy managers who would have operational responsibility to run the school) and the other referring to representative governance (each School Council member/members would be elected according to the principles of political competition *i.e.* they would be elected on the basis of a political manifesto. This is what the WGSA called a school project). The latter was thought, by CRSE, to be very difficult to implement. CRSE politics shaped discussions during the initial period of its work and at public meetings. CRSE's final report was the third version of the initial proposals presented by the area Working Groups which had been privately debated by CRSE. CRSE's work was marked by tension. This tension reflected the conflict relating to the version of management structure, governance's autonomy and distribution of authority. The composition of the School Council for example, was a matter for disagreement (see Teodoro, 1994: 132, Parliamentary Journal 8/5/86). CRSE's final report reflected the divided positions within the Commission. The members of the WGSA made the distinction between 'school regions' and 'administrative regions' (regional government) clear and stressed the need for the shift to school-based management and governance to take place only in such context (Lima, 1987). They also emphasised, even if only later, there were 'distinct political reasoning and principles [which were] difficult to reconcile' (Lima & Afonso, 1995: 167) at the time. There were problems in defining 'participation as a management technique' (Lima,

1994a: 130-131). Government's 'managerial logic' (1994b: 44) and 'conception of "autonomy" as mere management technique' (p. 47) presented problems to local democratic control of schools and to the meaning and role of the School Educational Project associated with the framework of school and professional autonomy (1994c: 4). CRSE's working life and the negotiation with professionals, parents and students was essentially marked by conflict over the distribution of governing powers and the nature of management. The replacement of educational management by business management was at the origin of professional concern as it was feared that the 'predominance of educational over technical criteria' - as guaranteed in the 1986 Education Act - would be overruled and reversed.

Given that the Ministry's model of policy making was contested from the beginning by teachers, the Commission was never well accepted by FENPROF and the political opposition in Parliament. FENPROF was very active in promoting general teachers meetings across the country and in disseminating information amongst school teachers about the government's proposals for reform since the proposals began being discussed in 1987. To this teachers' federation, it was very important that teachers discussed the proposals for change and that they understood their long-term impact on schools, teaching and learning, as well as on professional autonomy. The participation of teachers representatives in the 1988 national debates promoted by the Ministry was well informed and rooted in the practice and views of school teachers. FENPROF had also been active outside participants who followed parliamentary discussions actively (by producing a parallel set of proposals to the 1986 Bill through direct lobbying) without being called by government for direct involvement. Despite their significant role in policy, they were pushed into being a Parliamentary lobby group (see Teodoro, 1994: 150-1554 for details of this process). Teachers' representatives were sceptical of existing proposals. They viewed the new model of management and governance as continuing the tradition of top-down reform, with little regard for professional autonomy or the consolidation of existing professional and school autonomy. But they were also concerned that the proposed new model of management and governance would not guarantee the 'principles on which the democratic management of schools should be grounded' (*Jornal da FENPROF, Suplemento*, 1990: 3). Namely the guarantee of the eight following requirements:

1. pedagogical and scientific criteria are paramount and take precedence over administrative

- criteria;
2. democratic nature of management (election and collegiality);
 3. participation of all teachers;
 4. participation of others;
 5. establishment of local links;
 6. interlinkage between all the structures involved in the educational process;
 7. responsive to the needs of Continuing Teacher Training;
 8. responsive to assessment and career progression. (p. 3-7)

To FENPROF (1995), 'decentralization' and 'autonomy' were tied to the three conditions necessary for the practice of democracy: 'elections', 'participation' and 'collegiality' (p. 2). The institutional framework for their implementation would be guaranteed by the creation of a Local Council for Education (*idem*) (with representatives of schools, the Municipality, parents associations, students associations, Regional Education Departments, economic, cultural and social interests, unions and education welfare services) and four school councils (Governing, Pedagogics, Management, Administrative) (p. 3).

The way in which debate developed was an outcome of the way in which policy was being formulated and the day-to-day parallel (Santos, 1995) practices of government which developed until 1989. The continued proliferation of neo-liberal government strategies and policy initiatives reinforced the existing distrust of teachers' representatives in the CRSE. This resulted in the polarisation of positions between teachers' representatives and the Commission's proposals during the occasional days allocated by the MoE for public debate. This context provides the basis upon which to understand the reaction of teachers to the Commission's proposals. The professionalisation of school management was viewed as the opposite of professional autonomy since it reduced both the teachers' direct and their represented influence in the management of their schools and allocated it to specially trained (not necessarily school-based or classroom practitioners) experts in management. This would exclude the body of teachers from the dilemmas, contradictions and tensions of implementation and would confine them to classroom practice.

We always said teachers should have their power reinforced, the community should have their powers reinforced but at the cost of central administration's powers: education welfare, planning, school places, decisions on professional education [...] scholarships. Who decides on education welfare criteria? National or local criteria? (FENPROF's former leader, 30/3/1995)

According to teachers' representatives, the discourse of government defined the new conditions in which policy was to be formulated and implemented while producing detailed regulations about the 'need for teachers to [...] possess the technical-pedagogical competencies for the new functions' (Teodoro, 1994: 151). What teachers opposed in the 1988 public meetings was the deviation from the 1986 Act's principles and requirements. The position of teachers was a reaction to the context of implementation which existed in 1987. Opposition to the Commission did not derive only from teachers. Given that the proposals of the WGSA were grounded on participatory democracy and political decentralisation principles, they were also opposed by the MoE's political team. One of WGSA's members reflected on this process and explained how he thought conflict in 1988, between teachers and the working groups, on school administration was reduced to the difference between the proposals of WGSA and the government's project which he saw as not having been identified at the time by teachers.

It was very difficult to explain what we were aiming at. People did not have any training in this area, they did not understand the language, they thought our ideas were perfectly strange, today teachers evolved a lot and have discussed these questions. Even some of the elites which were at the forefront of the attack of our proposals have very different ideas now, I have discussed this with them [...] Today there are many people, even at Fenprof, accepting that there might have been some mistakes at the time in what concerns having let some of our proposals fall. Today they are trying to fight things that seem to us to be much worse, much less congruent with the ideological principles that these organisations hold [...] For example the strength given by us to a body with democratic representativeness and political diversity, the *Conselho de Direccao*. This (proposal) was let down, the present 172 School Council is a faded image of what we understood the School Council to be. (6/9/94)

There was tension in relation to the implementation of a system of governance based on the division of decision making power.

There was a difficulty in getting parents and teachers together, contrary to what happens in other countries, parents and teachers [in Portugal] are seen as competitors [...] At the time, parents were seen as a conservative force in schools, that was one of the most controversial aspects of our project, teachers didn't accept it [...] It was argued (by teachers unions, mainly FENPROF) that parents' participation was not legitimate [because] 'parents are not professionals, they don't understand a thing about education' [...] The possibility of teachers from other schools, or graduates in education, being employed as school managers was very badly received and the Commission itself understood that there was a need to propose, in the consultation document which was sent to schools, the creation of a Management Commission to become the management structure on an identical (level of responsibility) with the School Council. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

Again, this tension reflected the conflict between the two models of democracy. Teachers were opposed, not to parents, but to neo-liberal solutions and to managerial systems for the governance and management of education. The reason why the Commission's proposals were not approved in the initial stages of consultation (1988) was not solely influenced by the strong opposition of teachers' representatives. The notions of consumer choice and consumer rights to participate in the decision making process of schools did not get the support of parents or others at the time. If, as in England, the consumer-based individualistic approach to educational reform had captured public opinion, or if the debate had taken place in the mid 1990s, the outcome might have been different as the patterns of private consumption and consumer awareness of rights changed in the meantime. In such a case, the polar distinction between a social and a neo-liberal model would have been more visible and conflict would not be perceived as resulting from positions adopted by teachers. Teachers' opposition reflected the initial stages in the development of the above distinction.

The commitment, of the majority of teachers and of some parliamentary representatives, to the principles of the 1986 Act was in the above context translated into a strong opposition to the Commission's proposals. Their opposition was also an opposition to the 1987 government's agenda on decentralisation. WGSA had the 1986 Education Act as its main reference and designed their proposals based on the assumption that political decentralisation and the creation of regional government structures would be implemented. This would imply the implementation of democratic regional and, therefore, politically autonomous education services, rather than the creation of ministerial regional delegations as were later implemented.

There was a fight for decentralisation and for autonomy, for school governance, a democratic and representative form of governance. There was a political background and logic of community power in all of our proposals. For example the educational project was political in the sense that it would legitimise school's autonomy [...] we said things like: from now on no central administration service can send direct orders or circulars to schools [...] This was a revolution in the relationship between schools and central administration.
(WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

WGSA started by arguing that until 1986 school management had not been democratic because self-managing practices, initiated in 1974, had been stopped by government in 1976. They proposed the transfer of decision making powers and the establishment of autonomy from the

existing central administration's governance. In this way, school autonomy would be translated into the capacity of schools to have some say in areas of curriculum and assessment policies.

Curriculum, assessment and values, it was our understanding that the curriculum project could not carry on being defined by central administration at 100%, it could be defined centrally at 80 or 85% [...] Curriculum, disciplinary procedures, [...] regulations, teachers time management [...] the educational project should establish guidelines, values to implement in areas of curriculum, classroom and extra classroom activities [...] staff recruitment. We accepted savings could be achieved, for example, a school wants to pursue a specific project, (then) it could sacrifice staff to pursue such project [...] if the (school's) educational project is everything but the curriculum (for example) it is not the essential instrument of autonomy. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

However, and despite having the 1986 Act principles rather than the government's project as the main reference for their proposals, WGSA's critique of democratic management, as it had evolved between 1976-1986, was at the centre of one of the major aspects of contention during the debate with teachers' representatives. The latter advocated that school management should remain faithful to the principles and the form of collegiate educational management and to the election of managing bodies of teachers in the schools. The critique of management and the solutions proposed by WGSA established a blurred distinction with PC critiques. Teachers feared that if WGSA proposals were adopted as policy by the MoE, this would further open the possibilities for the argument to transfer powers to govern schools away from the Ministry and to create autonomous, quasi-private schools. There was a fear that implementation would become vulnerable to further liberalisation of public education. Under the conditions of formulation, as explained below, this was however, not picked up by WGSA at the time.

We lived in a situation where teachers elected teachers to run schools but this was a misconception because these representatives, these teachers were seen as representatives of teachers who had elected them but simultaneously and above all as delegates of central administration. So teachers elected teachers who would be made to execute Ministry's policy [...] Political projects on education policy do not get inside the school in Portugal, there is no debate of ideas, there are no opposing forces and that is what we wanted to introduce in schools, [...] competing projects and this is what the school will be and it will legitimise what it wants for education, its school political project. That notion appeared at the time (not the technical notion of an educational project, which operationalises, as it is being done now, Ministry's orders) [...] Teachers never understood this, they have great difficulty in understanding this [...] Portuguese schools were governed externally, governance was not in schools. [...] To state this [in 1988] was a complicated idea, people asked but is it not the Teachers Council who run the School? [...] Our language, proposals and

propositions, never mind how much we explained it, were very difficult to be accepted, very difficult. It (the distinction between management and governance) was essential but, from another point of view it was problematic [...], this distinction was very complicated. (WGSA Member , 6/9/94)

On reflection, when interviewed in the 1990s, the same member acknowledged this failure was a problem. In the context of debate which took place in the 1988 public meetings, the proposed introduction of a school-based educational project (which from WGSA's point of view was a tool to establish areas of school autonomy and local provision) reinforced the resemblance with managerialist development planning. The same member explains how, despite similar structural features, their proposal was different from the Ministry's rationale.

We put a lot of stress in the distinction between school management and governance [...] A very important move was to give governance back to schools so each school would have its own governing body. We understand governance to mean the organisational and political level where policies were formulated not only execution of policy because that's what Teachers Councils always had. The transfer of powers from central administration to schools needed to be legitimised, therefore, the decentralisation of power (that is it, if governance was to be located in each school) this transfer needed to be legitimised. We stated that decentralisation could never be made in teachers favour, teachers had no political legitimacy to concentrate all governance powers given that democratic general rules were at stake here, and democracy was definitely incompatible with technocratic or even professional perspectives. I kept giving examples at the time, for example if there was a referendum tomorrow on whether we are to build nuclear power stations in Portugal or not, are we all going to vote or is it just a vote for nuclear physicists? If it is a democratic referendum, we are all going to vote, all citizens. There will be lots of arguing, one hopes that there is information. But if it is only those who know about it that are going to vote, those who have a deep understanding, then only nuclear physicists will vote. This is the biggest problem of democracy. This is also the problem in schools. [...] governance was needed in schools and it had to be democratic and representative because (in that way) it can remove powers from central administration. The governing body would govern schools not independently from the Ministry but autonomously. There are national policies, a national curriculum with regional and local components, general financial rules, because they are public schools and there is also policy formulation at the school level. We advocated teachers participation was important but so would be the participation of parents, students, local authorities, cultural, etc. associations [...] and there is another important thing: [the aim was] to introduce the political dimension in schools. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

The separation between management and governance was however also being proposed at the time as a solution by PC critiques of educational and of collegiate management. Most significantly, these two critiques targeted what was perceived by all as being a centralised

system. FNE's Vice President, for example, resurrected the old political attack on (1974-1976) forms of direct democracy and on what was, from his point of view, perceived as the need for the state to re-define its role and to regain direct control of schools rather than to maintain a national system of education based on decentralisation and direct participation in schooling and education provision as required by the 1976 Constitution.

Immediately after the 25th of April, there is an attempt for self-managerialism where the Extreme Left advocates that teachers are the ones that know. Therefore, they are the ones who must manage the school and teachers take control of the school. So the Extreme Left, with a strong anarchic tendency, convinces teachers that that is good. Well, teachers who defended centrally planned economies, to be more accurate, the Communists. (This [1976 law regulating school management] is not the Communists' model). Given that this view of the school is defined (by the Communists) for teachers and they don't have any other option but to ride on that idea. It was Sottomayor Cardia [Education Minister at the time]⁽⁶⁾ who imposed order in all this and who publishes this (1976) model [...] which reestablished that the Ministry was the one who commanded schools [...] The principal competencies of the President (of the Teachers Council) was to follow regulations. It has less of management and much more of obedience to the real power which is the one located outside the school, in the Ministry of Education. Its a centralising measure [...] against the self-managed school which couldn't also be supported by us as the school doesn't belong to teachers but to society. (13/5/1995)

In his 1976 speech, Sotomayor Cardia addressed two issues which, despite the different national contexts and the different functions which they served, were common to issues which were visible in England in the same period: the politics of transition to participatory forms of democracy and the implementation of decentralised systems of public administration. In Portugal, as in England, the critique of participatory democracy was the core issue. 'A plenary democracy fails, as is obvious, because people are not [...] motivated for direct intervention' (Sotomayor Cardia, 1976:3, f.t.). His critique was also applied to the specific conditions in which public administration was being practised in 1976.

We all feel bad about following bureaucratic procedures. It is part of our way of being and has reasons that are connected to the traditional bad functioning of services. We have difficulties dealing with the administration in an impersonal way and of following what is established for all. We are taken to believe that formal processes must be applied only to others and not to ourselves. We have the tendency to put human sympathy above the general prescriptions of the law. For a long time public life worked around the commitment and requests of some friend. Nowadays, one still goes to the Cabinets of those Governing hoping to solve a special case. In all truth, a democratic Government can not solve personal cases at the margin of the law

or of the services of the State. [...]

In democracy, organisation does not collide with decentralisation. On the contrary, it requests the latter. In educational policy, regions and municipalities must in future take on a more relevant role. [...] the tasks which require centralisation will continue to be executed in Lisbon. However, there are many things in the management of education and of the means of pedagogical support that must be the object of decentralisation. (p. 28, 29)

In England, participatory democracy, socialism or communism and 'inefficient' public administration were the three focal points of government's critique of specifically different processes taking place in 1976. In some cases those processes were not related to any of the three aspects above. In Portugal, Cardia's speech took place at a time of transition from an authoritarian regime which was supported by feudal forms of relationships between citizens also by authoritarian and pre-democratic forms of relationships between citizens and public services and between citizens inside private institutions and commercial enterprises.

On reflection, the role of WGSA in legitimising government policy was acknowledged. There was an acceptance of the part that role played in not being able to get teachers' support for WGSA's proposals at the time. However, the clear distinction between the points of reference which were held by government and WGSA were emphasised.

The distinction between governance and management was not understood [...] from this point of view this distinction was interesting, from another point of view it needed, and we didn't do it, it needed to be better theorised and conceptualised in order to avoid, in order to legitimise it from the political point of view. In this sense, we make the distinction to strengthen the political component of governance from the participatory, democratic and autonomous point of view. In this case, unfortunately the tradition of this distinction was bad. The fordist tradition from the beginning of the century which separated execution and conception. I accept that, from the point of view of passing these proposals, this distinction [...] could have scared some people [...] There was some difficulty in replying to attacks which were directed at us [...] in newspapers, political insinuations that we were this or that, that we were earning lots of money with that work. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

Given that the conditions for representative governance were not in place in 1988, the working group's basic premises for management were emptied of their purpose. The management structure proposed by the group reinforced the resemblance between the proposal and the managerialist trend already implemented in other areas of public administration, consumer-driven models and Public Choice's model of professional autonomy. This resemblance was

the basis on which most of the splits developing during private and public debates were based.

It also allowed for confusion with the Ministry's rationale to arise.

Professional management, that is, the school is too much of a complex organisation to have amateur management [...] Now, management is the execution and implementation of policies produced by the School Council which is democratic and representative. Managers will be subordinated, we never had any anxieties because he was subordinated, he didn't have any power, he didn't represent the school, that was for the School Council's President, he didn't open the post, he didn't have disciplinary powers [...] those belonged to the Council [...] He was subordinated to democratic power, had technical competencies to implement policies [...] It was our understanding (at the time) that the Pedagogic Council didn't have democratic legitimacy to define important things [...] it had technical legitimacy [...] it was a consultation body to help the School Council [...] The Commission understood the school manager should be even further subordinated. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

The unclear distinction between WGSA's proposals and those of the Ministry was further reinforced by the internal conflict development inside WGSA. Changes to the structure of management which concentrated responsibility on one manager were problematic, and fiercely debated. Changes raised doubts amongst teachers about bringing management closer to the pre-democratic education system of centrally appointed school directors. Therefore, the changes proposed by WGSA were seen by teachers' representatives as being a setback in collegiate management established in 1974 as a condition for the development of a democratic system of education. FENPROF was then and would continue to be strongly opposed to such set back .

We want to enforce scientific and pedagogical over administrative criteria [...] therefore we will not accept that teachers [...] become placed in minority in any governing body or management structure. We want to see democratic principles respected in the creation of governing and management bodies [...] We want to see the right every teacher has to participate in the different structures of management [...] as well as of other participants (parents, students, non-teaching staff) [...] We want the new model of management to make allowances for better and for more adequate answers to assessment and career progression [...] We want a school open to the community, allowing for the participation of different parties interested in schooling. (Declaration Approved by FENPROF's Forum on Democratic Management, *Jornal da FENPROF*, 1990)

WGSA was caught in the middle of the contradictions produced by the existence of, as in England, a 'multiplicity' of discourses (Ball, 1990: 8) on reform produced by government. FENPROF reacted, at the time, to a form of national governance which was very similar to

the one followed in England where there was, as pointed out by Ball: *congruity* in the strategy for reform: 'there is more than a little contradiction between the centralising tendencies of the National Curriculum and the decentralising of school budgets and organisational control [...] [There] may be no real contradiction after all' (1994: 10).

The basis for the resemblance of WGSAs proposals to PC models of professional autonomy was further emphasised as it confined professional autonomy to technical expertise removed from participation in policy formulation and decision making. This would be the basis of later conflict over the best strategy to follow in order to produce a decree which, although compromising ideological positions, had to, as explained by FNE's Vice-President, take account of politics of participation.

An equal number of teachers and lay governors, membership of the School Council was agreed (with the Ministry) but we also said the Pedagogic Council should only have teachers because those are the technicians. However, this was not possible because the Parents Confederation, given that the Pedagogic Council produced proposals, never accepted not being represented in the Pedagogics Council. Therefore, there was a compromise [within the restricted circle of policy makers post-1988 debates] in accepting parents could become represented in the Council but not present in all meetings but we continue to defend parents shouldn't be in the Pedagogic Council, their place is in the School Council which is the political body, the body establishing school policies (politica). (13/5/1995)

WGSAs proposals would, under the political circumstances at the time, create a system based on the confinement of teachers to a technical/ operational role. This role would derive from the combination of the concentration of operational decision making in the hands of an ED, of policy making in a lay School Council and of operational management of pedagogical issues in the teachers-only Pedagogic Council. This was strongly opposed by FENPROF. But, for the different reasons already mentioned, WGSAs faced generalised opposition.

Teachers, Presidents of School Councils, Secretaries of State, Directors-General [...] the feeling was that we were presenting proposals to 600 people which were against them. Teachers, unions, colleagues from other universities were against, Directors-General were very much against it, Secretaries of State [...] Effectively, all sectors were against our proposals. (WGSAs Member, 6/9/94)

The same member explains how Decree 172/1991 moved school administration away from educational criteria and from local democracy.

172 [Decree] is technocratic [...] (and related) to liberal policy making in education, market ideology in education, deregulation [...] The school's central force is the ED, the School Council is there to legitimise the ED's actions. Why is government interested in autonomy and what type of autonomy is this one? It is instrumental, procedures-based and managerialist. It claims school-based self regulation, school-based management, based solely on management but (where) power is kept (by central administration). What is essential remains centrally decided [...] There is no doubt that schools can solve many problems much better than the Ministry or central services [...] In what concerns the decree on autonomy, it is void. It does not explain who are the beneficiaries of autonomy [...] It is a paradox that a decree regulating autonomy is produced before school's organisational autonomy being in place.
[...] The time lap (between 1988 and 1991) doesn't make sense. The only sense it makes is in terms of management of the political [government] agenda [...] There would be no need for a [43/1989] decree on [school] autonomy if our proposals had passed [...] It is instrumental autonomy, it parallels company management. It is consumer-oriented, related to market ideology. The market is based on a spontaneous order regulated locally and that is [politically] important for education [in Portugal]. This is what Peter Drucker, Michael Porter [...] say [...] Therefore, autonomy is important as long as it serves the implementation of political projects [...] It is related to contingency theory, the idea that the school has to adapt to its environment, to the situation, it has to survive, to be responsive to its environment [...] There are some mistakes (in these assumptions) [...] The majority of economic and profit-making organisations are not limited to adaptation but they also intervene in the environment [...] There is a mystification [...] of organisational ideology. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

In this context, autonomy was an illusion as schools were instructed on how to be autonomous and about the conditions in which that autonomy was to be exercised.

[Government's] definition of autonomy is political delegation: government delegates what is complex and creates difficult problems for political management and legitimises it with a discourse of school autonomy. It is basically political delegation. It is paradoxical when there is political recentralisation in many areas together with a (political) discourse of centralisation and even autonomy [...] Schools are basic deconcentrated units. They are expected to implement guidelines according to specific political values. It is not expected that they make their own policies [...] Decentralisation is the transfer of powers. (Member of the WGSA, 6/9/94)

Decree 43/89 became a decree of compromise which confused not only professionals but also insiders to the policy process. The definition of schools as independent organizations accountable to an idealised civil society was formal and distanced from effective freedom to decide on priorities and to make provision accordingly. Independence was defined, as in England, in managerialist terms and through the constraints of 'remote control centralisation' (Lima, 1994b).

The implementation of the new model [172/91] implied the existence of territorial management units with a specific model of administration, governance and management and the present territorial distribution of primary schools is not compatible with the new model which requires the distribution of primary schools into areas/territorial units [...] I believe that it is possible to develop a model where (the simultaneous non-existence of Regions, of administrative decentralisation). A model can exist where greater autonomy is given to each school to be managed as a central administrative unit, where the centre is each school and, let's say, Central Administration. At the same time it keeps its administrative tutelage, it is pushed into reducing intervention. This was the strategy [with this decree]: to give the maximum autonomy to schools, namely over management of the school's budget, of teachers' recruitment. But it, of course, gets to such limits where it clashes with the national set up, it gets into conflict and then it becomes a political question. At the time, autonomy stopped there [...] there were limits and, the Finances (Ministry), of course imposed them; not necessarily the Prime Minister but the Finances Minister [which had the following position at the time]: teachers recruitment? No; delegated budget? No; teachers recruitment by the school? No, because the Unions were always against this. (ex-Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

As in England, implementation would be strongly shaped by government's influence. In the 1980s, reform and its implementation started being much more influenced by DfE.

I think the one thing they had in common was that they regarded themselves as being in charge. They were, none of them, the type of Minister that we have had in the past in this country, and no doubt may have again, of a Minister so feeble and so irresolute, or so limited in his or her interests that policy vacuums occur and officials run around and in the end finish up by either making policy or allowing events to make policy. I mean Carlisle was not [...] if you like, as thrusting a person as Keith Joseph and Baker, [...] he was [...] he came [...] to a greater extent, than the other two, if you like, from the consensus tradition, though, by 1980, even when he came in, Conservative ministers had very different ideas from their predecessors, there's no question of that [...]. [...] Conservative ministers all actually had a picture of what a school should teach, I mean, I think Carlisle did, Joseph did and I think Baker does [...] they would all say, if nobody else can tell you what ought to be taught in the schools, I think I can. (Former Deputy Secretary of Education interviewed by Stephen J. Ball April 24, 1988)

Due to the specific national historical background and the nature of reform, the work of CRSE's working groups differed significantly from the work of restricted groups of policy designers on which the English Conservative party based their strategy for policy formulation. There are however similarities between the two national strategies. As in Portugal, consultation was a symbolic exercise. The strategies which were used in Portugal at a later stage of formulation (between 1988 and 1991), when government moved away from Commission's recommendations, were however closer to restricted-groups policy formulation.

As stated by WGSAs former member "the Ministry's team never asked us anything (after 1988) people didn't believe this [...] no one knows who produced the 172 [Decree]" (6/9/1994). As the role given to the Commission by government and the scope of influence over policy formulation remained highly centralised, decision making was confined to government teams who set the terms and conditions for participation. This left some members of WGSAs 'let down' as the regulatory rationale of the 1986 Act was only partially implemented and its core feature - political decentralisation - was not materialised.

I said [...] at the time [...] I am going to do it, I am aware that what can legitimise this proposal is not the technical aspect, it is the political aspect but my work ends [...] when I present the proposal I was asked for and, after that, it is for the political power to discuss with the (teachers) unions. This must be discussed [...] so a distinction is established between what the Commission did. The Working Groups did not have political power, the Commission adopted some things and not others. In what concerns our proposals the Commission let down some of our proposals [...] Government takes those proposals at a time when the cycle was not of reform, some have said that a counter-reform was predicted. [...] The reforms presented by the reform Commission were used in many cases to legitimise what is now in the 172 in terms of language and of overall project. Reforms seem the same but are radically different. I do not recognize the essence of our work, proposals in the 172, I do not recognize it, I said it in public, it shocks many people but I do not recognize it. [...] I am a critic of the 172 (Decree) today, I am very much against what's happening today [...] government didn't implement our proposals, it used some of our language, some of the organisational structure but with a distinct background political settlement which is completely different from the one proposed [...] The distinction between governance and management is [now] prescribed. (6/9/94)

By not implementing political decentralisation, government's power, delegated by Parliament, to regulate the Education Act was used in a way which overruled democratic institutions such as the Constitution and Parliament. The process of policy making, despite the Portuguese proportional representation basis and the written Constitution, resembled, if not in content, at least in its power base the majority government existing in England. Government had extensive powers over formulation and implementation. "The Ministry's team has an enormous weight [...] it will be those four or three people which will decide" (ex-Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995). The consultative role of CRSE, for example, was officially accepted but the final draft of Decree 172 was never discussed with representatives of teachers or in public.

The Commission made proposals, the execution of policy belonged to

Government [...] what happened is that, the decision taken by the Government was not exactly or, it was not a solution very much identical to the one proposed by the Commission, the final model incorporated the process of discussion and public debate which occurred during the life of the Commission [...] When government regulated, did so taking part of the Commission's proposal into account [...] then, it made its own interpretation; because the initiative had to be fathered by government. A Commission makes proposals; regardless of how well grounded and legitimised they are, the Government is the one who has to decide. (WGSA Member, 6/9/94)

Opposition to and Support of Government

Opposition to and support for the government's proposals was not a simple matter of political conflict existing between teachers and government. Teacher-government relations also rested upon a struggle about the role of education. The disparity between the two models of (liberal and social) democracy which underlie the reform of the public services cannot be explained by relying on arguments stressing the existence of a straight opposition between government and parents or teachers. The pattern of influence over decision making was transformed. The new pattern of relations which developed in the 1980s between governments and teaching unions altered the structure of influence over decision making and the distribution of power over education. Such pattern facilitated government's control of the reform process and sections of the state and state services committed to the goal of furthering social democratic goals. New groups of influence assembled in response to government's incentives and the politics of education developed in a reshaped arena of influence which extended beyond the rift between government and teachers. Such was the case with business and specific education lobby groups as well as with political party lobbies. The arena of influence over education was broadened to include private groups whose interests were not educational. The structure of power was changed so as to be made of the traditional groups with greater power in the central services of the state and with regional and local agencies and agents. The notion of 'power elite' was also transformed. PC arguments which reduce the dynamics of policy formulation to a conflict of interests between governments (who are interested in implementing rational instruments of reform aimed at increasing policy efficiency) and teachers (who are guided by self-interest) contrasted sharply with the reality of the formulation process. The criteria guiding the way teachers negotiated changes went beyond professional self-interest.

Furthermore, the process of negotiation between government and teachers was not a dialogue with a monolithic group. Government's preference for the nomination of school managers for example, was locally grounded and supported by teachers holding positions of Primary School Area Coordination and sections of the teachers' Union movement which supported the PSD. This reinforces the weakness of PC's claims about 'professionals' self-interest'. Conflict appeared to be bilateral but hid a political shift: reform represented a transformation which was not to be solely explained by the formal shifting of powers in public education but rather by the transformation of public education itself, by the cultural metamorphosis of the social project of education.

Teachers' representatives placed themselves at the 'negotiating table' not according to their membership of the teaching profession but according to their support/opposition to the transformation of education's social function. Not all teachers were on the opposing side to government and nor did those which were on the government's side always respond to direct control by government. Government's legitimacy relied on sections supporting their project and they were not only represented in the major economic groups. Teachers supporting the 'consumer-driven' model of education provision and the introduction of 'professional management' in schools exerted influence in order to transform public education as much as teachers opposing the above two changes tried to secure the role defined for education in the Constitution and by some of the principles guaranteed in the 1986 Education Act. Teachers either supported or obstructed policy formulation. FNE exerted considerable influence on formulation between 1988 and 1991. At times, FNE's opposition threatened the otherwise close relations with government. During the period of formulation which followed the 1988 public meetings, FNE threatened the Ministry with strikes if the changes proposed by them in relation to the governing body's composition were not observed by MoE. This added to the constraints of the Minister for Education on implementing the system idealised by him which had put a strong emphasis on consumer choice and control.

The two teachers federations were divided on the issue of school management and governance. FNE supported professional management and the end of elected Teachers Councils. However, the 172 Decree represents, as explained by FNE's Vice President, a compromise in this area because the experimental basis of management would allow for later policy adjustment and for

a more radical change in the direction of professionalised management which was not possible then.

There were some reservations about school managers trained in management and administration, a manager who was not a teacher. Therefore, we produced a Decree where the manager was a professional teacher, who could have some attributes such as x years in the profession, management training [...] There would be a period of time where training in business management and administration wouldn't be required, this is training in school management and administration [...] Teachers would never accept it, furthermore, there was the experience of health managers. Nevertheless its implementation in education is not put aside because there are civil servants in the Ministry who continue to work on that. That situation of a manager, who goes (from the outside) inside the Hospital, which was so much disputed by doctors, we didn't want to see it transferred to schools. Therefore, it [was decided it] must be a teacher that has experienced the school's day-to-day, experienced the classroom for a significant time and that becomes trained in school management to take that job rather than a manager regardless of having been very good in managing a company. (13/5/1995)

Teachers' participation in management had been an essential feature of democratic management after 1974 and very important to continue help rebuilding teachers' professional status. This had to be strengthened in order to move away from the features resulting from four decades of service to the dictatorship. Hence the reinforcement of their autonomy and professional value promoted by FENPROF. Although teachers' representatives emphasised the need to strengthen teachers' sense of professional value, they were divided about the meaning such a value should take and about the way it should be achieved through management and governance. While FENPROF's position on professional autonomy was based on shared control over management and governance, FNE's position stressed its individual dimension: namely teachers' role in responding to pupils' individualised needs, teachers' individual competencies in classroom management and individual responsibility for pupils' achievement. This interpretation of professional status was also based on a distinct definition of teachers' direct participation. While both teachers' federations advocated the importance of teachers being active and direct participants in schools, the meaning and scope of participation were distinct. This explains FNE's active and direct involvement in preparing the 172 Decree between 1988-1991 and FENPROF's exclusion from the network of formulation. FNE's version of active involvement was based on individual responsibility and initiative/entrepreneurship in implementation and execution of governors'/managers' guidelines and policies, linked to overall response to civil society's needs. This differed from teachers

having active roles in policy formulation and in evaluation.

[Teachers'] careers should be dignified not only in salary terms but also in the sense that teachers would have the possibility to become more competent (in classroom terms) [...] [Therefore,] reform should stress training and mechanisms to praise (those pursuing degrees) which enabled them to understand low achievement and the, still existing, schools' bad atmosphere [...] We were interested in having teachers reflecting on and researching their own practice [...] which would benefit every teacher, pupils and the community. (FNE's Vice-President 13/5/1995)

FNE also supported MoE's proposal for parental majority in the School Councils and for schools being governed by parents. In FNE's view, governance was the basis for lay control of schools. FNE promoted the view that professional autonomy should be subordinated to parents (consumers) and to MoE. Therefore, delegated power to make decisions should be transferred from the Ministry to a lay School Council (to which management and teachers would be subordinated).

The Ministry cannot transfer powers, unless it does so to the community. It cannot transfer them to teachers because those that must be in charge are the owners, the proprietors. Who is the proprietor? Teachers? No, the school doesn't belong to teachers, the school is society's (property) [...] and who are society's representatives? That's the problem: to define who's going to have authority over the school? Who's society's speaker? The Minister of Education? No, if it isn't government, because of centralism and government is not able to perceive regional differences, then it's the educational community. Who are the education community representatives? Parents associations, local authorities (the Municipality), local economic interests. Those are the civil society. (FNE's Vice-President, 13/5/1995)

The increase in parental power was proposed at the cost of reducing local government and teachers' influence. The motivation of reforms was to establish alternative systems to local governance.

Nowadays citizens have the sense that representative democracy is exhausted, people don't want to vote on MPs, Parties [...] People don't accept that, people want to vote but to make those in whom they voted closely responsible and (they want) to be able to remove the mandate when voting pledges are not kept and want to participate in the formulation of legislation regulating their working conditions. Today the shift is towards participatory rather than representative democracy [...] in the end we were reasonably, not completely satisfied with (172 Decree) [...] but there were doubts it could be better, for example, the School Council President's competencies are not defined [...] I am sure that with another, not this Lady, Education Minister (of a PSD government) the (School) Council's proposals will be taken into account and social partners will be heard. (idem)

Despite the use of the notion of participatory democracy, the parents' participation was envisaged outside the structures of political control. FENPROF's position on local governance was different. It reflected the awareness of the potential shift towards a performance-related definition of pay and working conditions. For example, in 1990, it required that

without prejudice to the possibility to appeal to other levels, it should belong to the pedagogic structures of each school/group of schools, the assessment of teachers, as well as, when needed, the finding of solutions in order to, in agreement with the one assessed, find ways of overcoming and of improving deficiencies in their pedagogical activity. (*Jornal da FENPROF, Suplemento*, 1990: 7)

FENPROF, as explained below, was also concerned about how parents' participation in governance would vary across social groups. From her direct experience of work with local authorities within schools FENPROF's Coordinator for School Management and Governance found that:

parents don't have time off work to go to School Council meetings so the ED ends up managing/governing [...] We must ask who are those parents who attend meetings? Those who participate are not working, middle class mothers, self-employed professionals. Not the majority of parents. The situation varies across the country. For example parents that work in Lisbon but live outside the city cannot participate in meetings at their children's schools in Lisbon. Parents who live in the suburbs and work in Lisbon cannot participate in the schools where they live [...] Approving the school's educational project, the annual plan of activities and producing the budget report requires direct forums of discussion, therefore parents in the School Council represent themselves [as individuals] (, 30/3/1995)

The above opposition and support of government and of its intentions to redefine the meaning and practice of decentralisation, autonomy and participation was visible in the process of making policy.

Notes

(1) In her study of the role of class tutors, Castro found that ten of the twenty interviewees saw themselves fulfilling, on the top of their legal functions, the role required of a Psychologist, eight of a Social Worker and six of a personal/family counsellor (1995: 189). When asked about constraints to their job, fifteen mentioned the insufficient time allocated by the school to perform their functions, thirteen referred to oversubscription, twelve to the high number of pupils per class, eleven referred to lack of adequate training and also eleven to inadequate working conditions (p. 195).

(2) *L.A.L (Lançamento do Ano Lectivo)* stands for Launching of the School Year. This is a document which was produced by the MoE (Direcção-Geral dos Ensinos Básico e Secundário, Direcção-Geral de Extensão Educativa, Gabinete de Educação Tecnológica, Artística e Profissional, Direcções Regionais de Educação, Instituto de Inovação Educacional, Inspeção Geral de Educação, Direcção-Geral de Administração Escolar, Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento, Instituto dos Assuntos Sociais da Educação, Secretaria Geral, Gabinete de Gestão Financeira).

(3) Parents Associations existed in private schools before 1974. Between 1974 and 1985, the Association of Parents organized 10 National Conferences. Parents took an interest in policy since 1976 (first conference), specifically in assessment, school security and discipline, teachers recruitment, sexual education, school health, buildings and equipment (CONFAP, 1976/1994: 26-33). In 1977, their participation in policy is recognised by Law 7. In 1979, the form their participation is to take is regulated (D.N. 122). In 1985 is created CONFAP. In 1975, the Associations were stating their commitment to the 'natural right of the family to educate their children according to their religious and philosophical view', the existence of private schooling and demanding that Marxism was not imposed to pupils' (p. 136). By the second conference (1977), the associations emphasise 'families natural right to educate their children' and 'that [one school system] limits such [right] and that private initiative [...] has to be cuddled and supported [...]' (p. 35) asking for 'tax relief' (p. 36). The emphasis on the role of the family in controlling the education of their children, on individualism and on the creation of incentives to private education were consistent aspects emerging in all the Conferences (1986/1994: 80). By 1985, the 10th Conference concluded that 'schooling's three major problems were: bad quality, expensive books and insufficient buildings' (p. 77). Appendix 6 lists the positions taken by parents and the issues of concern from 1975 to 1986. The issues varied from curriculum to abortion.

(4) 83% of the 'Portuguese youth *elites*' were male, single (85%), living with their parents (78%) and Catholic (61%) - in Braga da Cruz (1990: 229, 231) -. '[...] the presence of [females] is higher than in the political Parties, being higher amongst Communists (35.5%) and Social Democrats' (21.5%) (p. 229).

(5) Federation of Teachers representing less members than FENPROF and values closer to PSD.

(6) It was SottoMayor Cardia's view at the time that

[...] finally, a Government decided to take on its responsibilities [...] to free and to democratise the school, to work towards the objectivity of schooling's content, to guarantee the best possible criteria of quality in teachers' recruitment, to put education at the service of a new society, to create a coordinated scientific policy, to moralise administration of services and monies trusted to the tutelage of the Ministry. (1976:3)

The Transformation of Local Democracy: from Political Towards Market Decentralisation

We operate through a decentralised school system; and I believe in such a diffusion of power. It is right to devolve responsibilities even in a national service such as education [...] If more is bound at the rim of the wheel and less at the hub [...] beyond the level of the local education authority to the level of the school and the community served by each school. (Kenneth Baker Hansard, 10 June 1986: c.182)

Nations as large as India and as tiny as Burkina Faso are doing it. Decentralisation has been fostered by democratic governments in Australia and Spain and by an autocratic military regime in Argentina. It takes forms ranging from elected school boards in Chicago to school clusters in Cambodia to vouchers in Chile (Fiske with Lockheed and O'Rourke, 1996: preface)

Changing Rationales for Decentralisation, Participation and Autonomy

This chapter examines the distinctions between political and managerial decentralisation and between decentralisation and competition-oriented choice and the politics of management and governance of education. The distinction between political and managerial decentralisation and between decentralisation and competition-oriented choice is important since political decentralisation is a condition of participatory democracy and for democratic accountability. The discourse of key government representatives; Cabinet politics in policy formulation in Portugal and the general changes in the role of local government and educational governance in England provide the material to study these distinctions and their relationship with the emergence of new meanings and forms of decentralisation, participation and autonomy. Discourse is here understood to be the set of 'statements about practice - the way things could or should be - which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world - about the way things are' (Ball, 1990a: 22). As these statements 'speak with authority' (idem), they are effective in introducing change. The transformation of management and governance is analysed as being made of a constellation of 'events [which] are of special discursive significance' (idem). The importance of these events emerges from the impact they have on transforming schooling and relationships of power between institutions and between these and some individuals or groups. Governments nurtured this process of transformation through the strengthening of selected alliances which were secured in networks of people or groups formed outside institutional arrangements. Although these networks were strongly embedded in doctrines on social, political and economic organisation, on moral and education, they were presented as being 'spontaneous' expressions of individualised will or initiative. The purpose of the examination of the issues emerging from the transition from political towards managerial frameworks - where decentralisation, autonomy and participation were defined - is to analyse the framework within which the transfer of powers and responsibilities over management and governance took place during the period analysed in this thesis. Such analysis requires a brief review of how the term decentralisation has been used to describe patterns of governance and regulation.

In many cases, studies of governance do not account for the way in which reforms also redefine the meaning and role of decentralisation, participation or autonomy. Motta (1995) highlights

how the concept [of decentralization] is vague [...] used in different ways and contexts (p. 28). Stevens questions the usefulness of the concept of decentralisation from the point of view of political science and proposes that its use 'may reveal considerable information about the mindset of practitioners and academics analysing the system; but it is not a useful concept in itself' (1995: 47). He demonstrates how decentralisation reveals, according to the discipline studying it, a partial view of what is happening in complex systems of policy making and how it gives little attention to the 'political dynamics of decentralisation' and about the way 'the decentralisation process alters the way power is exercised'. He stresses how the notion may point to a disguised process of centralisation.

When organisations or the Government consciously decentralise [...] the process of decentralisation appears to be in operation. This would indeed be the case if decentralisation were about constitutional structures and about specific delegations of authority. But it is not. Decentralisation is about the conferring of power. And power is a multifaceted [...] it involves not merely the exercise of direct power but also the mobilisation of bias in favour of specific outcomes and an ability to shape the 'rules of the game' through which decisions are taken [...] some apparent decentralisation, such as the Local Management of Schools may, in fact, be centralisation as school heads and governors become more dependent on the central bodies. (idem)

The distinction established by Stevens (1995) between the different accounts of decentralisation and its various forms and aspects allows for the realisation that any transformation does not start nor end with formal administrative transfers. Similarly, Lauglo argues that the use of the term decentralisation is so ambiguous that it should be replaced by 'decentralism' in order to denote a structural condition as distinct from a process (1995: 5). He contrasts 'decentralisation, a highly imprecise notion' with 'the reasonably unambiguous concept of centralised authority'. He puts the emphasis on the 'variety of organisational forms (of decentralisation) which differ in their rationales and in their implications for the distribution of authority' and the 'primacy they give to intermediate and local political authorities, State officials at regional or local levels, institutional managers, the teaching profession, the larger group of 'inside' members of educational organisations, parents and non-government providers of education'. Lauglo (1995) differentiates decentralisation according to different political rationales. He classifies these in two ways: according to the political concerns involved ('liberalism', 'populist localism', 'participatory democracy') and according to quality/efficiency concerns ('pedagogical professionalism', 'management by objectives', 'market mechanisms' and 'deconcentration'). He

demonstrates how political rationales matter for the policy making process and emphasises how they determine outcomes. The principles and aims of political rationales are the starting point in understanding the transformation generated by changes in the management and governance of schools since they set the aims to which policy instruments are to respond. Decentralisation, in market terms, implies changes which are distinct from the democratic definition of decentralisation.

Within the context of English and Portuguese reforms, the idea of schools' organisational, managerial and financial autonomy was proposed to resemble the workings of a franchise (Mendelsohn & Bynoe, 1995: 5-6)⁽¹⁾. In practice, several ideal varieties of definitions for and institutional forms of decentralisation were visible throughout the policy making process. The patterns of autonomy and dominance in relation to what was to change were defined in the practice of central and local governments, schools and in the relationships of authority and power defined between them. The new forms of decentralisation, participation and autonomy were to reflect the emerging central-local government relations, local government-school relations and government-parents relations. Teaching and learning were confined by the new parameters within which those relations developed.

In both countries, the embracement of managerial and market-oriented goals for social change by national governments were 'intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems' (Ball, 1990a: 22). This opposition between 'existing threat' and 'ideal solution' underlined governments strategies promoting reforms. This type of opposition was at the core of the politics of reform and shaped the process of policy formulation. The stress put on opposition was based on the '[belief] that economic growth, cherished traditional values, established beliefs and national pride had been undermined by the insidious spread and docile acceptance of socialist ideas during the post-war era' (Midgley, 1991: ix). In England, the

direct criticism of comprehensive and progressive education [emphasised that] academic standards [were] in decline [...] dangerous, politically motivated teachers [preached] revolution, socialism, egalitarianism, feminism and sexual deviation [...] [and that] comprehensive and open-plan primary classrooms were [...] unruly and ill-disciplined. (Ball, 1990a: 26)

The portrait of educational expansion (the democratisation of educational participation) as a

threat to the provision of 'good' schooling was frequently used in political speeches, debates, written statements, media or other writings. Such portrait was used by governments to appeal for popular political support to their reforms. One of the Portuguese Secretaries of State for Basic and Secondary Education, makes this clear.

The greatest challenge [...] is to keep the dynamic of permanent reform and continuous adjustment alive, managing the instability which originates from it social and politically, that is, by conquering society's participation in the processes of change. There are people who do not want to reply to this challenge and that choose [...] [to] reduce those adjustments to the minimum of the minimum and to guarantee political stability in the sector. This is the worst solution [...] it is in this way that one promotes the deterioration of the quality of education and of schooling more and in the best way. Unless some measures, that attack more directly and seriously some of the serious qualitative problems are continuously applied, [by the Ministry], we run the risk of keeping a permanent collision between an honourable and gigantic growth [in pupils' numbers] and the reduced capacity [of the Ministry] to make the structures, methods and agents [of schooling] evolve. (Azevedo, 1994: 31-33, f.t.)

As in England, the 'threat' was tied to concrete issues, practices and institutions. Azevedo presents and contrasts (below) two schools - one good (Carrezedo), the other bad (Courel). Each school is presented as having teachers committed to different ethos and practices. (Carrezedo) is described as having promoted 'a good school-community [relationship where] children obtained good educational and school results; in the case of Courel, a conflict between teachers and parents (which the media enlarged and reconstructed in their own way) developed' (p. 197). Idealisation and acceptance of existing social conditions (in Carrazedo) are opposed to the reporting of those conditions which teachers see as preventing children from learning (in Courel). The process of reporting is described by Azevedo as being at the origin of the creation of a 'bad' atmosphere for learning. In England, the texts which preceded the debate of the proposals to reform education (Ball, 1990a: 43) also emphasised 'simple divisions and polarities' between 'reason against madness and commonsense against dogma'; 'interest groups stand for 'mediocrity in the name of "social justice" ' and against 'merit, standards and achievement' (p. 44-45).

Portuguese reforms reflect, as highlighted by Lauglo (1995), how political rationales matter for the policy making process and how they determine outcomes. There were four frameworks of reference for decentralisation in Portugal.

Institutional Opposition

Carrezedo School

Courel School

[From the Educational Project]

. The colourful smell of well matured fruits is felt in the air and each minute is tasted in a mix of contentment and longing. How beautiful it is to see the sky through each hill as if it was embroidery [...] the chestnut tree of my land that reproduces itself at this time into the miracle of fruits. And chestnuts fall [...] [the fall] which each one accepts as a blessing [...] If nothing else was possessed by us, we would have the caress of the land [...] And life fulfils itself in this doing of small things.

There is much love to the land on which one steps, to the men and women, illiterate and literate, poor and wealthy in these words. [...] There is a strategy of involvement [...] a relationship of mutual respect is sought [...] the local reality is brought to the school and the community is, above all, valued as it is.' (p. 193, 194, 197)

. We work with a rural community with a 50% illiteracy rate, [...] alcoholism, neglect, child labour, social machismo with traditional habits of treatment and cure of illnesses [...] They do not know the basic notions of rational eating. Potatoes, fat and pig meat, wine [...] They do not use family planning consultations. They do not take children to the doctor (not even when contacted by the teacher). They have not acquired basic notions of [personal] hygiene [...] The village has no water distribution system and the great majority of the houses do not have bathrooms [...] They do not brush their teeth, they do not take care of their nails and of changing underwear. Children are [...] subjected to various types of violence. Sex is still TABOO and contraceptive methods are unknown as well as those to prevent A.I.D.S.. The Church has a significant role in the awareness of the population in relation to the acceptance of change in habits [...]

'[There] is a distancing position [...] an attitude of cultural superiority and a vertical relationship [...] the negative aspects are highlighted, difficulties and more or less profound backwardness of a community are highlighted.' (p. 197)

Decentralisation was defined

- . as a process resulting from the creation of local democratically elected education authorities where schools are managed and governed according to a political project produced by a democratically elected governing body;
- . schools as independent units with locally elected governing bodies and without locally elected education authorities;
- . a system of deconcentrated Education Departments with schools informed by market-type independence where the head of the school is nominated by the MoE and finally,
- . as reflecting the creation of locally elected education authorities with schools as business-like units.

The Portuguese Minister for Education understood decentralisation as being the governance of schools by governors locally elected within each representative group. Responsibilities were to be shared between the state and 'the civil society' and the design of the system was to be guided by the principle of 'maximum freedom' (from state 'interference'). Decentralisation, in this context, had a role in shifting policy away from affirmative governance *i.e.* informed by the framework of positive rights. Market choice was to inform planning and accountability. Provision was to become reliant on private initiative, the demands of individual choice and the market framework of school's admissions. School responsiveness was to be prompted by the criteria of individual choice and by competition. The transfer of powers away from the MoE was based on the view that the mandate for provision is the outcome of a 'natural' consensus between conflicting groups of self-interested individuals and that, consequently, conflicting interests should naturally result in consensus. The practice of democracy in this context is defined in the following terms.

Local planning must include wide spaces of autonomous decision making by the actors directly involved or their bodies of democratic representation. From the appropriate location of the school to the organisation of its canteen, the conditions to make the community interested in maintenance, management of sports facilities in order to open them to local groups, the consideration of priorities and sacrifices to be considered in the school's annual budget, the system will be strongly decentralised and therefore prone to the constant need to adapt to the clients and to their own perceptions for evolution. Good local planning distances itself from the multiple and usually draining interventions of the heavy and centralised bureaucracy and is able to accommodate solutions which were generated by a consensus and matured by the most direct actors. (Carneiro, 1994: 26, ft.)

In Carneiro's definition, decentralisation is different from central-local political power sharing. Schools have local managers and governors but the provision is dictated by the ensemble of

parental choice, per pupil funding and performance evaluation. By choosing schools, parents dictate provision. Schools are to adapt according to the preferences of individuals who exercise choice. As in a shop, the school will be under the obligation to guarantee the perfect delivery of a product or to risk losing the customer or being sued. This representation of choice relies on the ideal choosers who are active, assertive and possess the 'perfect' level of information to exercise choice and the financial resources to reach the school they want. Such a form of provision, it is claimed, is the only way to attend to the individual needs of pupils and to achieve innovation:

a learning organisation where the client can 'negotiate' and intervene in the program of studies rather than behaving like a mere policy agent of the pedagogical process [...] by detecting the common clients' needs and the general pattern of teaching contents one finds there the ideal school organisation appropriate to each community. (Carneiro, 1994: 22, f.t.)

Individual power is represented within the boundaries set by market mechanisms. This is the context which was proposed as fulfilling the conditions for the exercise of local democracy. Carneiro points to the strategic role of school management in achieving decentralisation. He makes this clear to promote the idea that market-oriented decentralisation allows for the increase in individual participation: 'management methods seek to adapt themselves to [move away from] the system [which] is managed by experts and professional producers, to another one where the emergent participation of direct users is embraced' (p. 14). The language used here borrows concepts such as 'participation' and 'users' from the democratic lexicon and applies them within a framework of market relations. There are, however, many problems derived from associating democracy with market mechanisms since these are not bound by democratic rules. Market mechanisms develop in response to the maximisation of profit and of competition. Furthermore, the meaning of decentralisation is constrained by principles imported from management theories. In turn, these are informed by business administration theories which put the emphasis on the separation between policy and the execution of any task. In Portugal, this separation was embodied in the School Council (SC) and the Executive directorship. The role of the ED is presented as being important insofar as it is believed to be that of an entrepreneur and a leader. The ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education explains the type of context in which professional management was understood.

Professional management by teachers, teachers with post-graduate degrees, specialised in school administration. We have now, in Portugal, hundreds of teachers with post-graduations and Master courses in that area [...] The appointment of Rectors will not replace professional management and that is the essential factor for change. The school is a very complex organisation and only a high degree of professionalisation will be able to manage that complexity [...] [The ED] can, via the Pedagogics Council (PsC), teachers, the Subject Council and the School Departments, take proposals to the SC. He can take to the Council much of the school's dynamic as long as he is dynamic and there are dynamic bodies in the School. And there he will have a more active role, if he wants to exercise it but this doesn't mean that he will overrule the SC in the governance of the school. Governing lays with the SC, in terms of targets, guidelines, programmes, the wide objectives. (12/3/1995)

Since professional management was defined as the solution to specific problems and the ideal form to provide quality education, participation was required at the school level in order to make the system work. It is this process of widening participation which, it is argued, will allow for decentralisation. But, as explained below, decentralisation is to reflect a specific kind of teacher participation, one which is more operational, detailed and administrative in nature and which is, above all, prescribed.

One needs to know what a school is. We have teachers elected to management bodies who don't know what a school is, how the education system works. If you go through the whole country and ask them they don't know how to explain the system to you, how it works today, how it will work after the reform. They don't know, they don't know which are central administration bodies, the structure of competencies, what is decided in the regional and the central levels, the competencies of the regional and central bodies, the CAEs (educational area centres). They don't know what is the underlying administration model and the different administration and management models. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 12/3/1995)

This representation of teachers disregards the concrete process of informed participation by teachers which took place during the stage of policy formulation in 1988, for example.

Despite being at the centre of confrontation and tension in the process of policy making, the variation in the notion and the ends of decentralisation did not penetrate public debate. However, this tension was present in several, some progressive social, other liberal, critiques of public education. Novoa (1992) illustrates the former, however not without the resemblance with PC critiques of education being established:

the modernisation of the education system demands its decentralisation [...]

schools will have to acquire a degree of flexibility which is incompatible with the bureaucratic and administrative complacency [...] the efficient school (makes use of) concepts such as autonomy, ethos, identity, image, shared values, cohesion, project [...] the school apparatus was built against families and communities which were marginalised either by using the political or the professional arguments [...] therefore it is fundamental to make radical change allowing families and communities to decide and to have powers over schools. Given the bureaucratic and centralised nature of the educational system, the need to create mechanisms to evaluate schools was never felt. (p. 18, f.t.)

Writing on centralisation and decentralisation, Barreto (1995a) departs from the proposition that the constitutional right to education is enough to guarantee education. He criticises not centralisation in itself but the role of the state in public provision. His attack on centralisation is an attack on central government which is described as being inefficient and exceedingly interventionist. Such criticism emphasises professional self-interest as being contrary to the general interest and adverse to the establishment of local government. In his critique he appeals to specific national characteristics to justify the attack on the bureaucratic state and on self-interested civil servants and hence pursues the argument in favour of the 'minimal state' and PC's rationale (p. 165-6). In this case, centralisation and teachers' professional control of schooling are seen as being two sides of the same phenomena: (teachers and civil servants' self-interest). From this critique follows the argument in favour of changing professional autonomy.

One of the most significant features of PC's critique of public services is not its local 'evidence'-based arguments but rather the use made of those by the government to guarantee that idealised generalisations became popular beliefs and permeated public debate on education. The way in which this happened was different in Portugal and in England but in both cases, these idealised generalisations were not publicly challenged. In both cases, there was not an articulated response which challenged the lack of evidence to support those generalisations. The distinction between the liberal and the social critiques of the state was not followed by an attempt to confront the neo-liberal conservative programme of reform with the programme of reform on which the social critique of the state was rooted. In Portugal, opposition was strongly based on the appeal to produce the secondary regulations required by the 1986 Act according to its main principles (mainly those relating to political decentralisation). This is probably one of the major factors explaining the residual (because experimental) impact of changes mainly in the areas of financing and admissions. The

regulatory framework and the dominant principles of the Act represented a barrier to more generalised changes. The residual impact contrasts, however, with the extended impact of changes to the culture of teaching and learning. It also contrasts with concrete specific changes.⁽²⁾ The lack of evidence on which PC generalisations were based in both countries did not prevent the arguments which were produced in such a framework permeating (in varying national degrees) the public and professional conscience. It did not also prevent the creation of the conditions for ambiguity and confusion about the validity of neo-liberal conservative claims against public services, teachers and public schooling. The way in which concepts were appropriated by those claims produced a new stage for politics to develop, as well as 'the impossibility of reply' (Ball, 1990a: 58). 'Decentralisation', 'efficiency', 'autonomy', 'diversity', 'choice', 'freedom', 'participation', 'quality', 'achievement' and other concepts became used in absolute terms as if the distinction between political philosophies of public governance did not exist. They became defined by resorting to 'displacements and exclusions' (idem) of those or of what was being criticised. 'Policy as rationality' was to recreate teachers, teaching and learning while it dispersed concerns with social justice (p. 59). Libertarian individualism and monetary market-oriented social organisation colonised public debate, formulation and implementation of measures to restructure public services through a process of replacement of innovation generated in schools by *prescribed innovation*. The latter was defined to become 'more subordinated to and less autonomous from' (p. 81) each national government's programme of economic, political and social change.

Government-Professionals Relations: Educational Autonomy and Lay Governance

PC claims penetrated national policy discourses in various forms. The emphasis on professional self-interest which was associated with the 'growth of sectional interest [...] regulation (Dunleavy, 1991: 37) and the 'bureaucratic oversupply fuelling the growth of the state' (p. 172) was consistently put forward to emphasise that public provision of education only benefits bureaucrats/teachers, that teachers are an obstacle to change, are complacent, incompetent and lack initiative to innovate in order to highlight that in such conditions their professional autonomy is adverse to any improvement in education. Keith Joseph had a prominent role in advancing this view.

So I'm very distressed by this country's [...] complacency about state education. I'm even further distressed by the apparent complacency of HMI who are meant to be the guardians of standards. [...] what an inert, sluggish, perverse mass there is in education. The teacher unions were [...] perverse, perverse except for one or two of them, they didn't concern themselves with quality. (In Ribbins and Sherratt, 1996: 80)

Although effective in shifting the ground for the politics of education to develop, these claims also showed contradictions. For example, teachers were presented as both self-interested, active players negotiating their salaries and education budgets (which are dominated by staff salaries) or as pawns, victims of an 'ungovernable bureaucracy'. Teachers are abstracted from their role as parents and educators and re-conceived as entities solely guided by patterns of self-gratifying behaviour. Here, neo-conservative liberalism relies on PC work, on interest groups and on rational actor-type arguments emphasising behaviourist views (Dunleavy, 1991: 3,148). In this view of public services shaped by the struggle between the 'big and all powerful' bureaucracy and the 'weak' teacher struggling against it to secure its 'self interest', bureaucracy is portrayed as serving the teachers and the teachers as serving the bureaucracy in their own interest.

The opposition between two versions of democracy shaped the views of Portuguese policy makers.

Insofar as the school is managed by teachers and all others are [only] consulted - and this is very funny: they [all the others] are heard when and how teachers want and decide to. That's what democratic management is [for teachers representatives]. I don't believe, this has anything to do with democracy, it is a corporatist and authoritarian process. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 12/3/1995)

The word democracy is appropriated here to present civil society (which is ideally conceived as being representative of parents and private economic, cultural and other social groups) against the formal entity of public services where professionals play a central role in provision. This reconstruction of democracy was used by various government representatives to emphasise how the association between the 'monopolistic' control of education provision, teachers' interests and the self-replicating net of state regulations, when combined, do not allow for individual freedom and entrepreneurship to flourish. Teachers are represented not only as an obstacle to change but also as being responsible for the excesses of state control over schooling. Teachers are 'offered for sacrifice' to the different sections of the public who perceive schooling in three different ways: as being a way of imposing curriculum programmes which parents perceive as moving away from traditionally established dominant cultural, religious or political doctrines and practices; as not providing the guarantee of employment or as promoting educational routes where individuals will be allowed to get support and to follow the career of their choice since it will threaten the needs of the economy. This portrait focused on the possibility to be effective in unifying the general public against an identifiable adversary who in this case was the teaching profession and public administration.

It is they [teachers] that, under the orders of spry local bureaucratic leaders, guarantee the implementation of abundant pedagogical, technical and administrative regulations which discipline the normative systems. Teachers are then trained for the production and reproduction of the educational format conceived in the laboratory. The teaching strategies are then defined in great detail by the manuals and instructions produced by the national bureaus, the curriculum and programme-makers [...] Insofar teachers fulfil the programmes and the corresponding pedagogical norms and schools organise their resources according to central directives, pupils will [...] complete their courses successfully and attain the professional roles desired by the economy. (Carneiro, 1994: 10, f.t.)

From 1987 onwards, what was understood from within the neo-conservative liberal movement as control was embodied in a particular historical time. The proposition that teachers dominated the decision-making process at all policy levels in their own interest referred specifically to Union representation.

[T]he march of the education mega system is guaranteed by the teachers' legion which are spread over the four corners of the education system and interpret, in a more or less docile way, bureaucratic guidelines [...] the system generates a kind of intellectual proletariat, fierce and homogeneous capable of organising itself at various levels and exerting very intense pressure. Unionism and militancy of teachers is not only known but feared by the authorities. It will, therefore, be absolutely logical that a system obsessively marked by production will see itself influenced by producers [...] the Ministry, producer [...] is administered by teachers or by their allies which allows for it being manipulated by a game of interests where the teachers' perspective dominates. (1994: 12)

This view implied that teachers were not parents themselves and that, since they were self-interested, they did not consider children's interests as being paramount. Consequently, parents were expected to become the main participants in schools' decision making process and they were to be involved right from the stage of formulation. Following from the proposition that innovation is not likely to be introduced by teachers, parents and private groups were presented as being the only guarantors of innovation. They were expected

to make the main decisions [...] by participating in the evaluation of the experimental phase [in the implementation of Decree 172/1991] [...] what courses to offer, to produce the School Educational Project and to implement it, curriculum activities [...] the prescribed curriculum but also other areas such as the organisation of clubs, free time activities [...] the school atmosphere, the relationship teacher/pupil, the link to the local environment, study visits, informal parental participation with open days, cultural activities [...] Partners can bring this richness and dynamism to the school [...] I advocated, but know that it was not feasible then, that we must come to the point where decisions are made about the budget *i.e.* to know what the budget is and to apply it according to the school's decisions. (Portuguese ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 12/3/1995)

The 'orientation of policy making towards the consumers of education' (Ball, 1990a: 8) was a means to achieve, in both countries, the redefinition of educational priorities, education's role in democratisation (as defined in the Portuguese Constitution) and the democratisation of governance as it was previously accepted by political consensus on central-local relations (and defined by the 1944 Education Act in England). It was in this context, that teachers' awareness - about the issue that the Ministry's move to increase the participation of parents and private groups would be implemented at the cost of the subordination of teachers - began to grow.

The representation of teachers as self-interested professionals associated the diagnosis about the lack of quality in school education with the absence of market-oriented mechanisms in

order to make teachers (directly) accountable for quality. Such arguments united neo-conservative liberal reformers and those who, although not committed to liberal projects, shared the view that the scope for lay participation in school decision making at the local level should be increased. The critique of teachers' professional autonomy united otherwise divergent discourses and created a public appearance of a legitimate need for change since change, as it was argued by neo-conservative liberals, was only opposed by self-interested professionals or by those representing them. This critique contrasted with concrete developments of education provision whereby teachers had, in practice, been

subjected to [...] political or administrative bodies, which were seen as the interpreters of the common interest', they [teachers] were 'agents, not actors' (Teodoro, 1994: 154, f.t.), teaching a national curriculum, implementing national tests, managing and administering nationally defined budgets and being trained by 'scientists in Pedagogics'. (p. 153)

The assumption underlying the neo-liberal critique of professional autonomy proposed that existing systems were unable to deliver quality education, 'efficient' services and to attend to pupils' individual needs. Quality appeared defined specifically in relation to teacher training in Portugal. In this way, the reforms being advanced became legitimised as being the ideal solution to the historical problem of the lack of a national system of teachers' certification, in-service training, and induction training. Furthermore, any proposed change was advanced by the Ministry as a matter of 'necessity' and presented as a time of 'teleological inevitability' (Harvey, 2000: 13). Changes to the curriculum were presented as carrying the conditions to improve quality in schools.

From the technical point of view of quality, where did one think it should be targeted? Teacher training. [...] the professional certification of teachers, this country has a history of decades of teachers who taught without professional certification. [...] To do what? To establish in-service training [...] and one thing that I always fought for was the induction training, those two years post-qualification. The other area was the curriculum, to have a curriculum which was not from the last century or from 20 years ago but one oriented to the future and the most modern tendencies, values, personal and social training, civic education, Area Escola, project work which is something that I think schools did not yet understand; they continue wanting to value their individual subject, history, mathematics, it is easier than working on a project. (ex-Education Minister, 1/9/94)

In this context, in order for these changes to take place, schools needed to have their influence increased. In the evolutionary view which informed reforms, educational management and

educationally-oriented provision are to be 'naturally' replaced by lay participation and professional management. The former implies the separation between the state and civil society and civil society's control over decision making. Professional management is associated with the idea of efficiency and decentralisation responsive to the consumer, to the parents.

Efficiency reasons will frequently lead to the awareness that an excessive gridlock of the command model might reveal itself damaging to its responsive capacity given the increasing expectations of the consumer [...] the mindful perception of the trends in the consumers' opinion might lead to strategies of fragmentation of the bureaucratic monster. (Carneiro, 1994: 15/16, f.t.)

This critique of the teaching profession associated the need to reform the system with the reduction of teachers' participation in policy making and with the move towards parents and pupils-based provision. 'Self-interest' provided the tolls to justify, on the one hand, the need to discipline professionals, to reduce their autonomy and, on the other hand, the conditions under which the new system was to function: self-interested parents choose schools taking into account the type of curriculum taught, the teaching staff, the type of pupils and the image of the school conveyed by the headteacher, open days, the existing sports facilities and science laboratories. Self-interested parents will make demands on public spending and claiming per capita funding because individual parents are the ones that should be in control of their (individual) child's education. Self-interested leaders will respond to incentives. There was an expectation that parents' awareness about the need to reform the system would also have an immediate consequence on public spending priorities.

It is only when the 6,5 to 7% of the GDP is reached with expenses in education that the community starts asking itself about the ways to reform education and also about the limits of the welfare state [...] Public expenditure and coercive taxation rise until an equilibrium point is reached where citizens no longer believe in the illusion that further enlargement of the state budget will deliver benefits to them, net of its tax costs'. (Carneiro, 1994: 15, 42, f.t.)

The definition of public services as self-interested bureaucracies justified also the belief in the financial crisis of the public services and the faith in the private individual initiative as a motor for change. Fundamentally, parents were to become quality auditors in a system which breaks away from comprehensive principles, social redistribution and the notion of education as a social guarantee of citizenship and which moves towards a system organized according to

market choice. Clearly, the relationship between the state and education was the target of reforms: "we have a bloody state system, I wish we hadn't got. I wish we'd taken a different route in 1870. We got the ruddy state involved. I don't want it" (Keith Joseph quoted in Ball, 1990a: 62). In a system informed by market relations, as Keith Joseph argues, 'Poverty is no Unfreedom', 'equality of opportunity is understood solely in terms of freedom from coercion [...] (and) inequality is not only a fact of life and a consequence of individual liberties but is both necessary and desirable in order to ensure competition, the creation of wealth and progress' (cf. Hayek 1960; Friedman 1962: 9, quoted in Heelas and Morris, 1992: 18).

As education moved away from the notion of social rights towards the notion of individually responsible participation and performance evaluation, so the meanings of participation, citizenship and democracy changed. Government's appeal to teachers and parents to embrace the new reform programmes was underlined by the emphasis on the need for their individual initiative in claiming and exercising autonomy locally. Innovation was meant to be easily achieved by everyone just as it was embraced in the exercise of entrepreneurship and leadership.

Nowadays such is the complexity of managing a school, the interface of school and other organisations, the partnerships, all that, that specialised training and experience is necessary [...] In my experience this was what allowed building a new school. The school was in an old mansion, it rained in there [...] The establishment of links with the local community allowed for the solution of two greatly dramatic situations: dropping-out in year 4, it was 40% and in 5 years it was reduced to 11% [...] The school was located in an area of furniture industry, where almost each house has a family unit of furniture making. Specialised woodworking workshops [...] not initiated by the school but by the School in partnership with the community. All informal dynamics that I promoted, that was very important for me, I had the proof that it works before the existence of the [1991] model. (Portuguese ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 12/3/1995)

Autonomy was presented not as a matter to be regulated and imposed on schools but, despite being initiated and prescribed by the Ministry, to be embraced by parents and teachers.

Autonomy is a process of conquest which is to be done locally [...] there are schools that did it, took advantage of it (Decree 49/1989), the majority of schools did not take advantage of it [...] A school is not autonomous by decree, it is autonomous if it has projects, targets, yes that's it, short, medium and long term. [...] autonomy has to be also strongly linked to other areas of education, informal, family and new technologies [...] life long education. (idem)

The promotion of entrepreneurship was the main aim of the version of autonomy which was supported by MoE. This version implied a number of requisites to be materialised. One of them was the production of (business) plans. The new schools, those which will survive market competition, are expected to have new characteristics which will guarantee innovation. Entrepreneurship was associated with the promotion of consensus in a time of change and therefore, of potential conflict. Initiative was glorified in order to build up opposition to attempts by teachers to examine the nature of change and ultimately to dissent. Each school was to have an active role in building up this 'consensus'.

The organisation [...] manages change rather than simply suffering it [...] institutional intelligence [...] is the marking trait of winning organisations [...] with the characteristics of [...] organisational culture [...] internal cohesion; leadership [...] shared values; the capacity to think strategically; a vision. Intelligence does not appear simultaneously. It is cultivated, cared for [...] the School ends up being located amongst a myriad of influences and other institutions that interact with it permanently receiving and sending messages that make each moment and each experience unique. (Carneiro, 1994: 27, f.t.)

Schools became classified in two groups: those committed to 'innovation' and those that were complacent. It was in this context that schools were presented as being free to provide education according to pupils' needs. The notion of need also changed. In this context, it became the schools' duty to take the initiative to match provision to need and therefore to embrace market criteria. The culture of accountability was also redefined and schools were to be penalised and solely responsible when not achieving the targets centrally set. This definition of freedom was at odds, as seen in the following chapters, with the increased regulation of schooling. The use of the notion of decentralisation in this context refers to two types of transfer:

. transfer of responsibilities to schools without powers and, of authority to implement parallel responsibilities *i.e.* areas of change which are outside political consensus (such is the case with the introduction of vocational education in compulsory education, selection and streaming);

. transfer of public authority and power previously incorporated in the social function of the state to the market (special educational needs is the best example).

These transfers replace the requirements which guarantee political decentralisation. Accountability practised within the above transfers takes the place of the mechanisms which

secure democratic relations because it is responsive to market mechanisms and imperatives. The above transfers were also presented as being the guarantors for administrative efficiency. Overall, there was a tendency not to make this distinction in the process of policy making. Consequently, market- and democracy-oriented notions such as accountability, efficiency or decentralisation were misappropriated. This process produced a paradox. Democracy-oriented notions were used to refer to outcomes of policies which were influenced by market-oriented goals and the latter were presented as aims which would produce democracy-oriented outcomes. In practice, reforms were shaped by the conflict existing between the ideal of freedom and the practice of official regulation which also changed. Ball has established the distinction between 'coercive/prescriptive control' and 'steering at a distance' (1994) in order to distinguish between the traditional forms of centralisation which are characterised by direct control and the new system of governance where control is delegated to units located away from the centre. The goals set by governments not only carried the conditions for the establishment of the new form of centralisation, but they also intersected the tension of everyday institutional life. Ball explains the nature of this tension and its implications for the study of educational reforms:

schools, schools management, school cultures are not 'of a piece'. Schools are complex, contradictory, sometimes incoherent organisations [...] they are changed, influenced and interfered with regularly and increasingly. They drift, decay and re-generate [...] clearly no institution is all good, institutions like schools are diverse and complex. No school is of a piece either in terms of efficacy or ideology. Education is value laden and prone to dispute and conflict [...] goodness is also, of course, dependent upon the evaluator's standpoint, values and priorities. Furthermore, schools, like other institutions, may be admirable and flawed, productive and oppressive, liberating and inefficient, purposeful and unfair. (Ball, 1996b: 9)

Key actors and government departments had an important role in advancing the notions and mechanisms informed by consumer choice and new public management, as well as, professional management principles in order to displace educational expertise and teachers' autonomy.

I reflected a lot and came to the conclusion that much of what they were doing regarding company management would be applicable to the school. Not that I compare the school with a company, that's nonsense but because of aspects related to the Theory Of Organisations, which are applicable to any organisation, whether it is a company or a hospital [...] my conclusion was that

the problematic about organisational management at the MoE was non-existent. The schools were not managing themselves like organisations but as mere public services' offices which provided a service which was to teach children but not as an organisation with a project [...]

We need to question the basic principles of school management and organisation. It is not a question of policy, it is a question of modern budget/management principles [...] that can be done with or without the policy. (DG of MoE's Finance Department /CAA's Chairman, 13/1/1994)

The decentralisation of authority and power which was to be achieved through the creation of autonomous units (schools) had two main objectives: first, the transfer of power to representatives of parents, local business and local government and second, the decrease of professionals' area of influence in school decisions. The aim was to promote "the delegation or devolution of powers to independent institutions, not dependent of central government with democratic legitimacy as is the case with elected local governments" (ex-Education Minister, 7/2/1995). This would

increase social participation. School education does not only concern teachers, teachers are only one [of the parts] [...] That's how things will have to be seen by [central] Administration [...] That is why other social partners, who have an important role, if not more important than teachers, should participate in governance and that's why we separated management from governance. Parents in the first place [...] the main educators continue to be parents, it is not the teachers, it is not the state, so parents have here things to say and that is very important [...] The local organised economic, social, cultural interests, I do not see them necessarily intervening in the governing body because sometimes that prevents the functioning of that body because there isn't, participation [in the sense of active involvement], mainly in urban centres, it is very difficult [...] For example, a school in this city sent 300 letters out inviting organisations in its area and did not receive a reply from any of them. The final [post-experimental] model, to apply to all schools will have to make allowance for the variation in participation across the country. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

In practice, the form that power would take was constrained by the existing local social and institutional relations. Ultimately, the type of participation which was encouraged was shaped by these relations. The emerging forms of participation reflected those relations without positive measures having been created to target existing obstacles to democratisation, *i.e.* participation by all. The differentiation in parental participation (as well as, in the exercise of choice) were not of concern to this government.

The inclusion of parents and the community (of private organisations) in governing bodies underlies the emphasis government put on the need to increase the participation of lay people in school governance and the establishment of partnerships between schools and voluntary or business institutions (mainly in the area of 'professional' education). The decrease in the level of teachers' participation in the schools' decision making process was then set against the advantages of having representatives from private businesses participating in the definition of education priorities, programmes, strategies and financing.

The partnership [...] is not only the result of a targeted interest in sharing the costs dictated by the failure of the traditional models of public financing [...] enterprises are a very special client of education activities [...] bringing enterprises close to schools goes beyond the strict financial collaboration, it will be reflected in the design of the curriculum, the definition of programmes, assessment models, as well as the research into graduates' participation in the job market [...] companies can and must be called to fulfil a much more active role in [...] the development of learning models, training and modernisation of the methods and techniques of school management [...] decentralisation means essentially a clear power sharing between the State and the civil society [...] a substantial change in the role of the State as sole administrator occurs [...] the Welfare State is substituted by a new order based in the philosophical assumption of maximum social liberty in the implementation of the institutional, cultural, educational pluralism. (Carneiro, 1994: 21-22, f.t.)

The balance of power between professional and lay participation was central to changes in school governance. Parents were not only to be encouraged to participate in the destiny of their local school but also to become the main decision makers and the ultimate holders of responsibility.

The SC is accountable to itself [...] it answers to those elected: parents respond to parents, pupils to pupils, teachers to teachers. The SC is externally accountable [...] is not answerable to the Administration [...] The ED responds to [central] administration, he is the manager, the SC is accountable to [central] Administration if it has, for example, tasks over budget management. The person who has the main, direct relationship with Administration, from the management point of view, is the ED. Who represents the School? [...] The president of the SC [...] because it is the highest body in the School, it is not the management body. As a natural consequence [...] [there is] clear separation between those two bodies [...] The ED [...] is] a manager. (Portuguese ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Schools, 5/4/1995)

Increasing the role of private businesses in education implied the transfer of business expertise to schools, to replace educational expertise in school organisation, management and the

organisation of teaching and learning. The establishment of partnerships between schools and businesses had a role in defining schools' priorities and financing.

What I believe is that [if] parents, local councillors and students have the possibility to intervene in the governance of the school, to make decisions about the school, with others rather than just being heard, [...] this will bring about more interest in participation because today parents go to schools, they are heard and then teachers [go away and] do what they want. That is the question and, if parents are present in a body where they can vote [...] It is fundamental that they have effective power to decide. These are the principles: that the state is not the only and main educator. (idem)

In the more radical versions of neo-liberal conservative thinking, parents and private businesses were to finance education according to the principle of private consumption, means-testing and the belief in a public system organized according to safety-net principles. In this version, parents are to pay fees and businesses to finance vocational and adult education.

the client [...] will take on a part of the education costs, sharing the general expenses and accepting the payment of taxes proportional to the quantity and quality of the service received. That is what is usually known as fees and that is nothing more than a tax in the classical sense of the concept which represents a private financing of the education system [...] its origins derive from the acceptance that education [...] generates public as well as private benefits [...] and that the private are slightly higher than social benefits [...] the social justice rationale compels the contribution of those who can must do it [pay, according to their personal income] and that keeps those that don't have the financial capacity to contribute towards the private financing of the system from doing it [...] [The existence of] companies as main contributors to the financing of vocational education [...] is a good sign of institutional maturity. (Carneiro, 1994: 23, f.t.)

Changes were contested and the process of policy formulation was shaped by conflict, opposition, compromises and control at different political sites and levels of national governance. Control and resistance were exercised at different points of the system where policy was formulated but never in a straightforward way. As explained above, there were a set of themes around which the process of formulation was advanced or contested. One of them is what Ball identifies as 'the 'ownership' of schooling. Who shall define and control the meaning of the school, of education?' (1990a: 43). The tensions emerged from the attempt to enhance private individual influence over provision in the two countries. These tensions were expressed in the process of redefining the institutional frameworks which regulated professional autonomy and the role of educational criteria in formulation and implementation

of policy. However, these specific tensions also reflected wider 'polarities' (p. 45) existing in the neo-liberal conservative ideology and Party alliances. These 'polarities' explain the co-existence between the coherence and the contradictions of reform programmes. This was very clear in both countries. In Portugal, party competition at the local level and the maintenance of PSD's sphere of influence in local government through the control of local investment (in primary school education, for example) shaped the direction in which MoE was trying to go in relation to school closures, amalgamation, planning and changing the arrangements for pupils' admissions.

Cabinet Politics in Portugal

The tension existing within the Portuguese neo-conservative liberal coalition was visible during the stage of policy formulation. The interests of the local sections of the PSD - which were motivated by political competition - constrained the activity of MoE through direct influence and pressure on the government team. This pressure had an impact on the design of the new model of management and governance, on the definition of the framework where professional and school autonomy were to be practised, on the redefinition of school relations and on the transformation of local democracy. In the case of primary schools, central-local (PSD) party relations were more significant in redirecting policy (as was the case in other policy areas) than were the tensions amongst members of the government team. The political agenda of the Education Minister fitted the Prime Minister's wider political agenda. Specifically, in what concerns the following objectives:

- 'to win over the vested interests of the teaching unions' in order to carry out the political reform in the following areas:
 - . transfer of powers to the 'civil society'
 - . curriculum development
 - . teaching aims, methods, pay and working conditions
 - . financing
 - . vocational education
 - . multicultural education
- to redefine the meaning of 'education for all' in order to create a mix of public, private, public-private vocational, private and public network of schools
- public-private partnerships for the creation of first jobs

On the other hand, the agenda for decentralisation was at the centre of disagreement between the ministers. The government's redistribution of power stopped with deconcentration *i.e.* the creation of Regional Education Departments. The guiding principles of 'decentralisation' which were defined by Decree 43/1989 regulated and prescribed in detail the areas of autonomy and its implementation within the Portuguese model of deconcentration (with Regional Departments of Education). This was one of the areas of contention amongst government ministers. The Education Minister saw these arrangements as being transitional. The final aim anticipated by him was the shift away from public provision and nationally planned education priorities towards a transfer of responsibilities and power to individuals organized in a free market structure.

[D]econcentration to the periphery [the Regional Departments model] does not mean any [government's] intention to share power but rather its preservation at the centre. Deconcentration is the greater enemy of an effective decentralisation of power [...] of proximity [...] to the customer [...] without change in the democratic balance of the national governance style [...] Effective centralisation [...] powers detained at the top of the pyramid [...] with correspondent spacial diffusion of execution competencies [...] [to] powers of the periphery [...] [who] are not to execute [their] own competencies [...] They are only delegated [...] But rather than [the centre] practising them directly, [they] transfer that across the hierarchical chain [...] Those are precarious powers likely to be modified at any time [...] Peripheral authority is allocated to an "agent of the central state" locally based and nominated by them [...] There is no democratic principle where the agent responds to local communities'. (Carneiro, 1994: 15-16, f.t.)

This was one of the central points of the internal tensions of the neo-conservative liberal agenda for implementation. The discourse on civil society (presented by the Education Minister) suited the aims presented by the (Prime Minister's) discourse on a minimal state but was at odds with continued state regulation. The transfer of responsibilities to the civil society was an idealisation to be implemented in the framework of educational markets. There was agreement, in principle, about the shift to a market structure of provision. But the discourse on civil society also included the advancement of provision of education in independent Catholic schools. At this level, initiatives were, as in England, 'subtle and piecemeal' (Ball, 1990a: 84); financial transfers (the creation of scholarships by the Ministry of Education to attend private universities such as the Catholic University, for example) advanced wider goals of privatisation of provision. In practice, the policy initiatives to establish such markets were fragmented and the transfer took place in a framework of highly centralised reform. However,

absence of provision (in the area of special educational needs) secured the growth of the emerging private market of educational psychology and related services. Increased reliance on parental contributions and the absence of policies aimed at correcting differentiated access to new technologies, for example; school-private partnerships in provision of vocational training; private tendering of school meals (by Regional Departments of Education); commercial and industrial sponsorships were the characteristics identified as elements of *privatisation* in England which were also present in Portugal.

In order to advance the case for the replacement of the state in its functions of provision of free universal education, the appeal to parental power was used to stimulate parental membership of school governing bodies and involvement in fund-raising activities. Carneiro emphasises the transitional status of the type of deconcentration which was implemented: 'peripheral planning (deconcentration), in a stage of mass consumption (educational expansion), appears as a national outcome of the administrative perfecting of the system geared towards a gradual sophistication of responses (p. 19, f.t.). At the core of policy formulation was the internal clash between deconcentration and decentralisation. The government's project did not have a commitment to political decentralisation. The transfer of political authority to the civil society on the scale proposed by the Education Minister was not part of the government's agenda. The implementation of full market conditions, as had happened in England, was never carried through. Rather, the government's objective was to retain power and to transfer responsibilities but, despite the encouragement of school/business partnerships, not to transfer power to professionals or to parents. This feature was very important in the creation of what was perceived locally, but also amongst previous participants in the initial stage of formulation, as being contradictory and ambiguous: "because the [172/1991] model is very ambiguous [...] whenever I went to schools the question always came up. Who represents the school; Who is the boss? Who is accountable to whom? That was the question which constantly kept coming up" (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995). Until 1991, policy in Portugal was also influenced by what Ball described as happening in England: 'the realities of influence, pressure, dogma, expediency, conflict, compromise, intransigence, resistance, error, opposition and pragmatism in the policy process' (1990a: 9). Policy making and policy texts (Decrees) were the result of compromises required after fractions in alliances and in initial political agreements developed. The internal politics of government reflected

Party politics and shaped developments in formulation and in implementation directly. The similarity with the existing 'tensions' and 'contradictions' (p. 43) in England produced a similar impact on formulation and on implementation despite the different extent of changes in the areas of market-oriented mechanisms of funding and admissions. As the transfer of responsibilities to local government and to schools and the creation, through residual financial delegation, of areas of local autonomy (as was the case with school buildings and the school's private budget) was a process marked by tension, the regulation of professionals was to be achieved through direct government control. This control was not mediated by market or civil society's regulation as was the case in England. Here the mechanisms of 'quality' control and performance-related assessment and individual choice had a very significant influence on teaching and learning. The pattern of fragmented, short-lived ministerial initiatives had, nevertheless an impact in shifting schools' governing and management culture and practices in Portugal. Even if the five 'elements of [the English] market' (Ball, 1990a: 61) were not translated into mechanisms and procedures, changes in school organisation were advanced, attempted and, in some cases successful in preparing the creation of a system where the four other elements (*choice, competition, diversity and funding*) would (should the PSD win the next election) play a future role in the redefinition of public provision and social goals. Full (including financial) school autonomy also did not gain the support of the government team.

Financial delegation was advocated as being a very important management instrument by the Portuguese Education Minister. If school governors were to be assigned the role of creating systems whereby management teams would be accountable to governing bodies rather than to local authorities and, if the shift towards operative management and government-defined efficiency targets were to be successful initiatives, the delegation of budgets to schools was, it was argued, an unavoidable measure. Traditionally, the influence schools had had over the definition of financial priorities and allocations was limited to executive functions. Schools produced a budget estimate for the following year which was calculated according to the previous year's expenses on utility bills, staff salaries and curriculum resources. In practice, the budget (80% of a school's estimate) continued to be transferred to schools by the Ministry. Financial delegation was confined to the replacement of 'proportional' allocation to the 'twice yearly' allowance. The definition of financing priorities were at the centre of disagreement within government. The politics of Cabinet were dominated by the agenda of the Ministry of

Finance and by its savings/cuts strategy which was combined with support for continuity with direct control of local institutions.

That 'jump' was not possible because [...] this was seen by the Ministry of Finances as a cataclysm, that was not accepted [...] The local management of the budget was tried but wasn't accepted [...] Administration obstructed the model, its organisational and administrative component [...] and this was done with very clear political local, national and government consent because of the political division which played a part in the non-implementation [of financial delegation]. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

The investment required by the Education Minister to materialise the educational agenda proposed, clashed with the Finance Ministry's cost-containment strategy: 'the Ministry of Education has 750 millions to spend but is not free to manage them' (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995). Financial delegation also required wider comprehensive changes in the direction of new public management, namely changes in the national accounts system which were never implemented.

The fact that Public Administration was not reformed in other domains, not only specifically education; not having decentralised. This creates clearly a configuration which is in itself an obstacle to the implementation of participatory and democratic, yes this [172/1991] is the democratic model of school administration, which has clear democratic and autonomy principles. There is [at the end of the 1980s] a background of public administration which is not favourable to the implementation of this model (of financial delegation) [...] There was an innovation that had a technical base in the Reform Commission's studies, that had political legitimation. The Government could have taken it as his, they had the legitimacy as the Party with more votes and the majority to carry it through but not even that was sufficient because, as I said before, there was an (internal) ideological division [...] which functioned as the main recess. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

If financial delegation was not implemented, the creation of schools' private budgets and the self-financing agenda permeated school management. Decree 43/1989 had a significant role in mediating changes. Its main function was to regulate school autonomy given the constraints to the implementation of 'Local Management in Schools' and to the establishment of an educational market.

The format which the delegation of responsibilities to the civil society should take was also

a major point of disagreement. The goal of (economic and public administration's) 'modernisation' was shared by all but the transfer of powers over governance to the institutions of 'civil society' was intersected by two discourses. These discourses shaped the context of policy formation where the tension between the coherence and the contradictions of the neo-liberal conservative programme of reform was reflected in policy and influenced the reconstruction of the relationship market-state-civil society. Despite the public agreement between the Portuguese government ministers about the introduction of the new model of management and governance and about the purpose of replacing the electoral system to choose which teachers should run the school, there was private disagreement about the re-distribution of authority and control within the school. The decrease in the influence of the PsC and the consequent increase in the control of the SC over policy, united the reformers but the re-definition of the locus of authority over the day-to-day management of the school reflected the contradictions of neo-conservative liberalism. The transfer of powers and authority to schools reflected the increase in central non-direct control over school management: the ED of each school was to concentrate the authority which was previously shared in the Teachers' (governing) Council. Finally, the Council's role was re-defined according to what the government defined as being the needs of the national curriculum and assessment, partial self-financing, the implementation of new organisational systems and school development planning. The ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education explained the divisions which underlined formulation and the distinction between political divisions and government's internal divisions.

There were two political problems; there was always a political issue of disagreement between government and the Opposition; government was clearly in favour of the new (Decree 172/91) model or at least against the democratic management model (Teachers Council) and Opposition defending the democratic management mode [...] These have been the terms of the discussion in Portugal on whether one is in favour or against democratic management and the discussion did not go beyond that [...] to discuss what is this issue of education about: is it a social issue or a teachers' issue? And this is then related to management being closed to outside participants [...]

The other political issue is [...] an internal division about this new model; [...] There is a division between those that defend this new model should be more open and those that acknowledge the need for this model to be more closed and centred in the ED, the re-edition of the school Rector [...] The nomination of Rectors can just become a trade of influences and traffic of honours and decorations. (5/4/1995)

Where government ministers agreed, the goals for reform were grouped to form a coherent programme. Government's strategy for the establishment of management units in primary schooling, for example, was defined according to the following criteria:

- . 'financial management' and 'cost analysis';
- . primary schools closure (demographic trends were used to justify the implementation of the 'new' model of management) and
- . the creation of geographical Area Centres to provide primary education.

Cost analysis is defined in the legislation regulating the structure and functions of MoE: 'article 9, competencies of the coordination centre [...] [are] to follow up and to control the financial management of public schools [...] to produce studies about the administrative and financial management of schools, as well as, the cost analysis of buildings and equipment defining rules for its control' (D/L 133/1993: 2032). The analysis of costs was at the core of governments' initiatives as explained below.

We made very accurate studies about the costs of both the new and the existing model [...] The new model was always cheaper [...] it was not more expensive, it would not make educational administration more expensive [...] The management units would go down to 2 500 instead of 11 000. There are extraordinary savings here although since primary schools did not have management structures, this would increase costs but it also decreased others. This was linked to the 're-sizing' of the existing network of schools [...] We have 3 000 schools with less than 10 pupils [...] - it was done in Europe many years ago and not yet in Portugal - and we have schools with three, two or one pupils [...] That was the reason why accurate studies were made so the non-believers which existed, as I used to say, amongst the politicians would not raise obstacles based on this argument. (ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, 5/4/1995)

Moving Away from Democratic Local Government in England

The reduction in LEA's influence was purposefully planned by central government. Therefore, the composition of school governing bodies proposed by the 1986 Act aimed at replacing LEA's services, advice and expertise with private, lay expertise. These changes were at the centre of political conflict as was reflected in parliamentary debate:

what does the Bill do? It shifts the emphasis in the management of schools from the Local Education Authorities which have been democratically elected and which have a partnership with parents, teachers and governors, to the governing bodies in partnership with government. [...] it is a continuation of the attack on the teaching force [...] downgrades the importance of the professional input of teachers into the good management of schools. (Hansard, 1986, vol 99: c 218-219)

Changes to the local government of education fitted in with the notion that the new education system should be established and secured by the alliance between a strong central government, which dictated what should be taught in schools, and the market, as the essential mechanism of reference for financing and provision. Some of the arguments put forward in the parliamentary discussion of the 1986 Bill below illustrate the tension between the need to change school governance advocated by different political forces, the shift towards the creation of market conditions and the reduction of local democratic influence on schools. Parental choice, changes to the membership of governing bodies' and headteachers' autonomy were defined as being the conditions for the establishment of educational markets. Again, local democratic influence was defined according to public choice theory on bureaucracies: LEAs were presented as being self-interested and LEAs' officials as not being concerned with ('good' or 'quality') education. The introduction of changes in school governance aimed at replacing local government's influence on education by a system of market provision which was fully regulated in 1988. Strengthening the power of governing bodies and increasing parental participation and choice was a means to facilitate the creation of educational markets and to establish an alliance between central government and fragmented school governing bodies.

The children must, according to the local education authority, go to the nearest suitable school and what is suitable is decided not by ability or aptitude or choice but by the local bureaucracy [...] in the politically controlled system that we have, the bureaucrat is King. (Mr Roy Galley, Hansard, 21 October 1986: c 980)

We must concentrate on making the state sector responsive to their (parents) choices and bringing choice within that sector [...] every state school could be given the right, should the board of governors so decide, to opt for funding centrally and that every state school could be given the responsibility for hiring his headteacher [...] I have yet to meet a headteacher who would not welcome the opportunity to have some say in the running of his school. At the moment, headteachers are limited to discretion on the spending of a few thousand and can, as we have seen, where the Socialists have control of the education authority, headteachers are hounded and subjected to unacceptable political pressure about the staff that they hire and what they teach in the classrooms (Mr Michael Forsyth, idem: c 1040)

schools should be directly accountable to parents, in the sense that if they do not perform they should receive less resources. (idem: c 1041)

The right honourable Member for Stirling wished to take the responsibility of managing and funding schools away from the local education authorities and ultimately away from parents. He wishes to vest that power in the Department of Education and Science. (Mr Fatchett: c 1047)

As in Portugal, changes to the composition of school governing bodies were embedded in political tensions and divisions as those changes extended beyond administrative reforms to affect schooling and the condition in which teaching and learning was to take place.

Professional Autonomy, Parental Participation and Local Government

Given that they implied the shift away from the partnership between parents, teachers and LEAs, the implications of the 1986 Education (no. 2) Act on the distribution of power over decision making were at the core of political conflict. The increase in parental power which this Act emphasised, was proposed at the cost of reducing LEAs' and teachers' influence in decision making. Changes to governing bodies' composition were underlined by conflict about reducing the share of local government of education. LEAs' authority over schools was

presented by central government at the time as being undesirable. The case of William Tyndale School (Dale, 1989/1990), the teaching of sex education, multicultural subjects and school activities were at the centre of the discussion about changing governing bodies' composition. The notion guiding changes in local government-school relations derived from PA's belief, as in Portugal, in 'ever expanding self-interested' (local) bureaucracies and professionals. This conception of change in the composition of governing bodies works from a very different set of premises to those of participatory democracy. As noted by Deem *et. al.* with reference to co-opted governors: 'while the interests that are to be represented are dictated by power holders through the provisions of the 1986 [...] Act, who the individual representatives are is decided by those with power among the already existing governors' (1995: 68). Democratic principles of representation implemented and practised by LEAs were deemed unsuitable to pursue central government's national curriculum agenda. If changes to what was being taught in schools were to be made, they would have to be implemented in a system which valued individual lay moral attitudes, leadership and entrepreneurship. Support for the reduction of LEAs' participation was, as documented by Deem *et. al.*, granted on the basis it would represent transferring power from self-interested political representatives towards morally sound lay people.

A vehicle of the belief in apolitical governance was expressed in the 1986 [...] Act [...] which sought to reduce the number of politicians represented on governing bodies by increasing the number of parent and co-opted governors relative to LEA-nominated governors. (p. 133)

However, the combination of future possibilities for market provision, national curriculum and testing, school management structures and technologies such as LMS and Total Quality Management framed the conditions under which school governance would be exercised. Power to govern became power to manage. Furthermore, the conflict over the reduction of local government's influence anticipated problems deriving from the substitution of publicly accountable structures of policy making by a fragmented system of individuals appointed with, in some cases, little or no experience or knowledge of the civil service code of practice nor of related notions of accountability. Teachers were no longer the main actors on which central

government relied or with whom it wanted to establish partnerships. Deem *et. al.* compare notions of participation implied by the 1986 Act and nineteenth century governing bodies (p. 43). They demonstrate how participation is dependent on different notions of citizenship, how these change overtime and how they vary according to notions of political participation and the state (p. 44-55). They stress the difference between notions of citizenship grounded on participatory democracy and those informing the 1986 (as well as the 1988) Act which rely on 'the need for voluntary service to fill up the gaps left by a retreating State' (p. 46, 54). In this way, decentralisation was redefined with an emphasis put on pre-democratic systems, *i.e.* philanthropy. Power sharing between central and local government was no longer to be the feature defining the system in England. Parents were to be empowered as consumers. This transformation was, as seen in parliamentary discussions relating to the 1986 Education Bill below, at the centre of political tension:

the diffusion of power no longer works properly. [...] the Bill gives a new vitality and a new clarity to our decentralised system. [...] the Bill therefore radically changes the composition of those governing bodies [...] ends the dominance of the LEA [...] Gives equal representation to elected parent governors and to governors appointed by the LEA [...] it will no longer be possible for an LEA to foist upon a governing body the headteacher which the LEA may particularly want. (Hansard, 10 June 1986: c 182-185)

Changes in the composition of governing bodies illustrated the shift away from political representation towards individual lay governance. Each governing body making decisions in isolation and in competition with other schools would be the future pattern of school governance. .

The lack of 'personal experience of attendance at state schools' referred to by Deem *et. al.* (1995) in relation to nineteenth century social philanthropists and policy makers, became a recurrent theme in the 1980s. When established comprehensive schooling was challenged, the basis on which this challenge was sustained was made by reference to private, independent selective schooling. None of the Secretaries of State had direct experience of maintained education; their own schooling took place in the private or grammar school system as seen in

Table 11 below. In each case, their own experience of schooling appears to have had an impact on their position in relation to comprehensive schooling and school organisation and accountability and finally on the creation of Grant-Maintained Schools. Nevertheless, their positioning reflects wider political (present, as well as past) divisions. The opposition between progressive social and conservative liberal critiques of education which emerged in the 1960s, in England, is of great importance to understand first, the origins of the 1980s politics of reform and the main themes and issues at the core of its formulation and implementation and second, the subsequent reorientation of educational provision and schooling which took place in the 1980s.⁽³⁾ These divisions shape the policy process in both countries. The next two chapters explore the similarities between the various aspects derived from the tensions generated by the move towards the creation of neo-conservative liberal schools.

Education History of British Secretaries of Education

Table 11

<p>Mark Carlisle</p>	<p>I had no direct personal knowledge of the state sector either as a pupil of a parent - my daughter attended a private school and I had been to University and to an independent school [...] it had a strong Christian ethos and background. The Chapel was quite a central part of the school [...] there was quite a strong church connection, there is no doubt about that [...] it was a purely boarding school and was located right near Oxford in very lovely grounds [...] I certainly remember one or two teachers (at primary school) [...] a men [...] he used to teach Latin. (Ribbins and Sherratt, 1997: 55-56)</p>
<p>Kenneth Baker</p>	<p>all politicians have gone through the educational process [...]. One's own education, I think, is very important. I went to Holy Trinity, a state church of England primary school which was in Southport. It was located in an old Victorian building with a yard [...] it was a conventional education of a rather old fashioned sort which was really effective [...] I took two 11 + exams [...] on the strength of my results, I went to King George V Grammar School [...] it was a good, traditional grammar School. While I was there I started to learn Latin and French [...] Returned to Twickenham where we lived. Went to Hampton Grammar School. Hampton was also an excellent Grammar School. I remember reading Shakespeare for the first time. But after I had been there for two years my father suddenly said to me "do you want to go to Saint Paul's? " [...] Went to Saint Paul's. It was a very good school, a very academic school [...] we had an outstanding history teacher [...] and also an outstanding English master [...] Saint Paul's was very demanding [...] lots of home work [...] long days and there was Saturday morning School [...] with the support of P. D. Whiting (history master), I was accepted to study history at Magdalen College, Oxford. (p. 87-89)</p>
<p>Kenneth Clarke</p>	<p>My views on education policy were not determined by my own experience of education; but my own experience of education, for what it's worth, was State infant and junior school, followed by 11+ sending me to an independent day School [...] from there I went to Cambridge and from there I was called to the Bar by the Inns of Court. (p. 148)</p>
<p>John Patten</p>	<p>my education was formal, old-fashioned to the extent of being soundly anchored in the 1950s, in two tough - both intellectually and in terms of discipline, behaviour and ethos - voluntary aided Roman Catholic schools [...]. I then moved on to Wimbledon College, which was then a Jesuit Grammar School [...] it was a very formal education with the classes [...] Figures [...] Rudiments [...] Lower Grammar [...] Grammar [...] Syntax [...] Poetry [...] Rhetoric [...] then duly proceeded [...] to Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge [...] did my doctorate and moved on to Oxford. (p. 168-169)</p>
<p>Gillian Sheppard</p>	<p>I attended a very small rural primary School and then a rather small girls' Grammar School also in a rural area. After that I went to Oxford [...]. many of my teachers at secondary School I recall with great affection and gratitude because they put so much time and effort into all of us. French teachers, the Latin teacher who also taught as music, English, history teachers. You couldn't have had a more dedicated set of teachers and it does give me a certain view of the potential role of teachers in the way they influence children. (p. 200-201)</p>

Notes

- (1) More specifically the five out of seven 'ingredients of a franchise' defined by Mendelsohn & Bynoe: 'contract'; 'business format/name'; 'franchiser's [duty to] train franchisee'; 'maintenance of continuous business relationship'; 'franchisee's [permission] to operate under branding of franchiser' (1995: 1.3)
- (2) In 1990, the MoE created 'Value and Excellence Tables' (*Despacho Normativo* 102/90 of 9-12). These were described as being 'mechanisms to produce educational and school success [...] to stimulate the pupil [...] as well as to recognize, to value and to reward cultural personal and social aptitudes and attitudes. [...] The Table of Excellence recognizes [...] excellent results [...] academic work or [...] activities of excellent quality in the [...] area of the curriculum or complement to the curriculum. It lays with the Regional Departments of Education the decision about the opportunity to organize the Tables.' (G.L.A.A.E., 1993: 130)
- (3) In her study of the role of '*choice* in reproducing and restructuring the discourse of *Thatcherism* in different sociopolitical domains' in Britain, Louise Phillips (1996:209) points to Hall's emphasis on the need to make a distinction between the principles and mandates for any policy being informed by '*choice*'. He '*proposed that a challenge to Thatcherism could be mounted on the basis of the theme of choice applied in relation to concepts which had not been defined in terms of Thatcherism. He gave as examples democratisation, rights and the expansion of social citizenship. Choice, he stated, could be redefined in relation to the themes of widening access or the empowerment of ordinary people through their right to choose, with respect, for instance, to choice of doctor, the right to a wider range of community support services or health services or the right to see one's own medical records (1988:278) (p.216). The notion of choice is one of the best examples to analyse the opposition between the definition of choice in the context of rights and its definition in market terms.*

The Supremacy of Market Criteria in Schools's Decision Making Process

At times schools are run as though they were participative and democratic: there are staff meetings, committees and discussion days in which teachers are invited to make policy decisions [...] At other times they are bureaucratic and oligarchic, decisions being made with little or no teacher involvement or consultation, by the head and/or senior management team. (Ball, 1987: 8-9)

The Neo-Conservative Liberal School

This chapter describes the changes to which local government and urban schools in two Portuguese and two English cities were exposed via the reform of their systems and cultures of management and governance. Emphasis will be put on the analysis of the way in which school-based management and school managers mediated the introduction of market criteria and private business methods in schools' decision making process in the two countries at an early stage of implementation. School managers had an important role not only in mediating changes in policy but also in securing alliances with government bodies to carry those changes through. The aim is to explore the themes and the issues which emerged at the local level as a consequence of the early impact of and the reaction to the new knowledge foundations of management and the new procedures which were aimed at redefining teachers' work, school relations and the scope of teachers' participation and representation in decision making. Emphasis will also be given to the analysis of what school managers, governors and professionals defined as being 'the best' practices and 'the best' reforms but also to existing school politics from the point of view of teachers who had management roles and governing responsibilities. The issues and the themes which were analysed are explored given their likely role in shaping implementation and the direction of schooling in future. This analysis does not claim to be conclusive about any form of direct translation of reforms into permanent, finalised features of the system. The views of managers and chairs of governing bodies are shaped by the different national histories and traditions in management and governance of education but also by the different levels of penetration of financial delegation, of schools' autonomy over recruitment, pay and working conditions, career development and of market conditions for financing and admissions. Nevertheless, these differences did not prevent a common culture of individual entrepreneurship and leadership being applied to the management of those differences.

Emerging Issues for Schools

The pilot study which was conducted in one Portuguese and in one English city⁽¹⁾ revealed the emerging issues and themes which were beginning to shape the direction of changes to management and governance. At the school level, this change of direction had a significant impact on the definition of priorities for action and on teachers' autonomy in the implementation of policy initiatives prescribed by central government. Table 12 summarises the issues which were of immediate concern for school managers and governors at the time.⁽²⁾ In both countries, managers and governors had their day-to-day activity framed by the three demands which exist in every school:

- assessment of pupils' needs;
- implementation of central government policy and
- definition of educational strategies which take into account the articulation of the previous two aspects.

In the English pilot study, schools' geographical location and pupils' social make-up were systematically raised by headteachers in connection to parental choice and financing. At King's School, the headteacher expressed concerns about having to rely on what Bullock and Thomas call 'supplementing the budget' (1997: 70): "they [parents] do not have the capacity to fund it. The Parent's Association in this school managed to raise £2,000 in one year and where I live the PA raised £2,000 in one event" (18/1/1994). Differences in parents' income were often raised as being a strong force in allowing for children in urban schools to take full advantage of the reforms introduced in 1988. As the headteacher at City Park explained "parents choose [between schools] if they can pay the transport to schools in the suburbs out of the three LEA miles [...]. Its about the market [...] [This is becoming] a comprehensive system not a comprehensive school [system]" (20/1/1994). There were two types of pressures which were often referred to by headteachers as constraining educational management: social differentiation between parents and central government regulations. Despite delegation of budget management, financial autonomy remained constrained by the major component of staff costs in the school budget and uncertainties related to parental choice. Autonomy in spending and autonomy related to operational requests of minor building maintenance needs were generally welcomed. Schools' educational autonomy remained further constrained by national

curriculum programmes and testing. Central government regulations were not only a constraint

Areas of Concern for Schools

Table 12

<p><u>England</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">. losing pupils as parents choose 'leafy suburbs' and schools with 6th Form. 'more academically able' pupils leave. low achievement. social conditions impact on achievement significantly (lower motivation to learn and lower concentration). pressure to select and to stream pupils in response to league table results and production of image to attract parents. school's reputation
<p><u>Portugal</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">. schools under-staffed and ancillary staff in need of training. uncertainty about continuity of professional welfare provision. expanding pressure on city schools against insufficient provision outside the city. change in social composition of pupils (away from middle and upper income parents and from 'good' reputation). insufficient space, finances and material resources. unemployment, illiteracy, family-related problems, impact on learning. regulation overload. symbolic autonomy. teachers' low morale. fixed-term management team and low motivation. school's reputation ('type' of pupils and their 'behaviour'). insufficient non teaching and teaching staff specialised in learning difficulties. jobs as second source of income (as great number of teachers have second, higher paid jobs in private sector). dealing with expansion (<i>i.e.</i> consequences of transfer of Year 12 pupils to evening classes). change in pupil's composition (away from homogeneous high income predominantly detached residences local population). 30/1 pupils per class average in Year 10 which makes delivery of the new Secondary Curriculum difficult.

by themselves but the whole pattern of national governance of education had a powerful effect on teachers' morale. It had a powerful effect mainly in relation to the constraints put on their autonomy to respond to the needs of their pupils and to the general treatment of teachers by the

DfE. Such treatment questioned teachers' competence and performance consistently over a long period of time. Headteachers were generally receptive to the management of schools being school-based. This view was not always an endorsement of the Local Management of Schools Initiative. Nor of the market and business framework which informed the Initiative and affected teachers' autonomy to teach and local autonomy to judge teachers performance, to evaluate teachers' competence and to define their working conditions. The view of headteachers on financial management and managerial autonomy tended to vary according to their position on enrolment. The schools which were not losing pupils or that did not have extra places embraced LMS more readily. The headteacher of Belleview School, for example, stressed how headteachers had become more able to manage the school more directly and effectively post-LMS. Direct and effective management was associated with autonomy in recruitment and freedom from LEA guarantees on regulated pupil:teacher ratios. He supported the national curriculum as, he argued, it created more standardisation, more national consistency and children could be more mobile across the country. Despite differences related to the existence of various Examining Boards, he pointed to the fact that important areas of the curriculum were less likely to be left out. He was aware of social inequality in educational achievement. However, his predominant focus was on management. His style was, as was the Portuguese ED of Campo School, closer to Ball's 'managerial style' imported from industry (1987: 96). He advocated the view that management is a strong factor in producing quality in teaching and learning.

Support for LMS was not associated with support for Open Enrolment by all headteachers. At City Park, for example, the headteacher expressed specific concerns about the higher concentration of social deprivation not being acknowledged in the DFE (financing) Formula. He pointed to the fact that the assumptions on which the formula was based anticipated schools being run as businesses and to the paradox of existing parallel central regulations which "inhibit schools from being run like businesses" (20/1/1994). The new financial framework did not allow for provision to match the level of educational needs existing in the city. In his experience, the possibility of addressing the diversity of educational needs existing in his school was under increased constraints. These constraints were derived from the emphasis of government initiatives on moving away from the comprehensive principle of schooling on which his school was operating and to which those working directly with children (*i.e.*

teachers) were committed. Furthermore, in the case of City Park School, financial delegation was not translated into a transfer of more money but rather into the delegation of more responsibilities to the school while the levels of financing remained similar to the period pre-LMS. In this school, the paradox of the government's prescription of incentives to run schools like businesses was very clear, particularly in the area of financial management. In this case, as in many other schools, the pressure to raise private income to match existing basic educational needs was forcing the management team to concentrate more on financial and less on educational management. It was also requiring them to move further into the direction of business management and strategies without being necessarily able to respond to educational demands and needs. In other cases, headteachers began to move more in the direction of private business management of human resources. The headteacher at Ashfield Common School, for example, referred to having teachers on high salaries as being a constraint on 'effective' management which he argued required being proactive in choosing between 'good' and 'bad' teachers. In his case, there was a commitment to comprehensive schooling. Unlike the headteacher at Belleview school, who embraced business management principles and business notions of 'improvement' and 'quality', Ashfield's headteacher embraced LMS in order to secure comprehensive schooling, to change the school's image and to create the conditions to achieve its main goal: to provide education to the local community and to retain 'middle class' children whose parents had chosen other schools, sometimes away from the local community.

The data collected during this period indicated that two different uses of LMS began to emerge. One which was underlined by the commitment to comprehensive schooling and the other which embraced the new conditions of the quasi- educational markets. In the case of Belleview School, LMS was embraced to push management closer to business conditions and to market mechanisms. At Ashfield, LMS was a constraint which management tried to use as a last resource to keep a comprehensive school attractive to local parents and to avoid the exit of parents exercising choice to other schools. Ashfield's headteacher was very aware of the costs of employing teachers taking the biggest share of the school's budget and this being a constraint which he actively wanted to avoid. For him, this would imply having to make choices about employing experienced (on the top of the paying scale) or inexperienced (at the bottom of the paying scale) teachers. Even if only reluctantly he was aware of the pressure of

having to make choices according to this division even though he was committed to comprehensive education:

I do not have a problem having highly paid teachers if they are delivering the goods, if they are good teachers and it is harder in city schools, also younger teachers in a city school, doing the same job as a teacher on a high salary should be better paid. There is a trend to prefer younger teachers because of saving money that could go into painting or books. What I would like to have was the possibility to deal with highly paid teachers not delivering the goods - highly paid complacent teachers - but it is difficult to prove what is a highly paid complacent teacher that is not performing well (City Park School, 9/11/1994)

The language of private business applied to teachers' performance infiltrated educational management and began to describe teachers' behaviour. Rather than reflecting individual behaviour, this description revealed the paradoxes and contradictions of recent reforms. However, it was individual behaviour that began to be targeted by assessments of competency. Within this attempt to combine business principles and strategies with the commitment to comprehensive schooling, Ashfield's headteacher also recognized the inadequacy of using the above assessments. This inadequacy is emphasised by Wragg *et. al.*'s study on 'Teaching Competence'.

There are examples of teachers who did badly in one school but well in another, or who taught one subject well but another subject badly. All parties were emotionally seared by the experiences, and in some individual cases the health of the teacher, the headteacher or others appeared to suffer. (1999: 38-39)

The increased reference to 'good' and 'bad' teachers also suggested references to, as it is implied in City Park's quote above, performance evaluation which later became widespread practice in schools' inspections through the production of 'Profiles of the Quality of Teaching' (PQT) in the form of 'Individual Records'. These were produced by inspectors to reflect 'a profile of the quality of teaching in the lessons seen taught by the individual teacher' according to three categories: 'Excellent or very good'; 'Satisfactory or good' and 'Less than satisfactory' (PQT, Thorsheep School, 9/2/98). On the issue of 'good' or 'bad' schools, Ball stresses the need to be aware of straightforward, simple labels for practice because

schools, through the data which stand for them, refuse to submit to comprehensive, closed or totalising forms of analysis [...]. Put simply, schools, school managements, school cultures are [...] complex, contradictory,

sometimes incoherent organisations like many others. They are assembled over time to form a bricolage of memories, commitments, routines, bright ideas and policy effects. They are changed, influenced and interfered with regularly and increasingly. They drift, decay and re-generate [...]. they interweave effective, ideological and instrumental engagement - although a good deal of this is conveniently ignored or set aside in much of the contemporary work on school organisations. (1996b:1)

Regardless of the contradictions of assessments of individual performance and behaviour, the pilot study indicated that its use by headteachers and governors was becoming increasingly mainstream. In some cases awareness of those contradictions did not prevent the increased use of individual performance assessment. Its infiltration in the culture of classroom teaching and wider school relations seemed to begin to underlie most references to school and to teachers' autonomy. In Portugal, references to school and to teachers' autonomy by teachers in management positions were in certain cases also presented as being closely linked to schools' reputation. The level of school autonomy was assessed in relation to existing perceptions about an increased division between 'good' schools and 'bad' schools. This level of autonomy was presented in pilot interviews as being strongly constrained by social conditions. These conditions usually referred to pupils' behaviour not fitting school's expected pattern of engagement with classroom teaching, with playground violence and with social origin-related constraints on learning such as unemployment, bad housing conditions, adult illiteracy and associated issues such as domestic stress and physical and mental health status.

There were two positions on the exercise of autonomy by schools and by teachers when faced with a set of social conditions with which the reputation of being a 'bad' school was associated. The first position emphasised how mental health and inadequate diet of pupils who were exposed to the above conditions presented difficulties to schools. The interface between these difficulties and the demands of learning combined with insufficient or non-existent specialised staff and timetable space to address the issues produced by such interface represented the most serious constraint on the management and governance of teaching and learning. Issues of basic educational expansion-related needs were strongly mentioned as being the major difficulty schools faced. Insufficient school places and non-compliance with health and safety in derelict residential buildings providing long-term temporary accommodation for schools or specific school branches were the aspects often mentioned. The absence of basic curriculum material, school libraries or sports facilities were - together with the excess of prescriptive

regulations across the different areas of regulated autonomy - the other issues frequently mentioned as constraints on providing quality learning and on school-classroom-based innovation. The second position emphasised the need for teachers and for schools to assess those pupils whose social and health conditions presented a constraint to learning from an early stage. The referral of those pupils to vocational courses should, according to the second position, be made as early as possible in their secondary school career. That is, before year nine of general education. Early referrals were viewed as being good practice in terms of the exercise of both individual teachers' autonomy and school autonomy.

The increased tendency to return to the pre-1974 division between schools and the associated growing support for selection and segregation from Year 8 onwards emerged very strongly in the material collected. Support for segregation surfaced as a response to the difficulties derived from the interface between pupils' social conditions and their learning demands which were presented to schools. Once again, there were two types of response: active and constrained. In the case of the former, the above division was advocated as being the ideal and the 'most adequate' form of demonstrating that teachers and schools were making the best use of their 'autonomy'. In the case of the latter, teachers in management positions acknowledged that the selection of pupils was an informal current practice which was exercised both at the point of school transition via the use of feeder school reports on individual pupils and within schools. However, in the case of constrained responses, this practice was not embraced. It was rather the product of existing constraints. The exercise of autonomy in this case was identified with the participation of the school in collaborative initiatives to promote local development and to address the educational and the social conditions which were hindering pupils' learning. Autonomy was also identified with the possibility of teachers in each school participating in the definition of a school-wide strategy to promote learning. This view derived from the realisation that being constrained to use teaching time to implement the national curriculum and tests, detailed programmes and guidelines, reduced autonomy and responded to pupils' individual learning needs inadequately.

The pilot study also revealed three types of school responses to Decree 172/91:

- insufficient knowledge of the model and of the changes it would

- involve;
- opposition based on concerns that management based on executive directorship would recreate school relations that would foster conflict amongst colleagues and would concentrate authority in one individual with the danger of alienating colleagues and reducing teachers participation in the school's process of decision making and in the schoolwide educational project;
- unconditional support for new principles, culture and instruments of management and governance.

The ED of Mar School, the president of the Management Commission at Prado School and the president of the Teachers Council at Realeza School were active supporters of the new model. They tended to apply aspects of the Public Choice critique of public services and to put the emphasis on three aspects: teachers' lack of commitment to change as being the cause of 'all' school problems; the benefits of producing tight internal rules, annual activities plans; and supplementary budgeting and on self-financing as being the conditions for 'good' schooling or for 'quality' education. To Realeza's president, these were the conditions which would reflect whether teachers are 'committed' to their school. She also saw the new model of management as an individual career opportunity. She was confident (despite provisions for the recruitment of executive directors by the School Council), given the history of teachers' low interest in standing for election in that school, that she would be the executive director when the (172/1991) model became generalised at national level. The ED of Mar School produced a detailed distinction between 'professional' and 'non-professional' teachers and related that classification to the success and requirements of school-based management. The emerging school reputations and classifications of pupils and teachers mentioned above were not presented, as in England, in the context of parental choice of schools as the latter had not been regulated. Admissions were still based on residential or employment catchment area. However, this did not mean that parental choice was not exercised. There were cases where choice was exercised. In Nova city, the independent French and the German Schools together with some Catholic schools represented a well sought after destination. Parental choice has a strong tradition in Portugal and is embedded in process of social segregation of children which has been historically exercised by political, economic and military elites and professional groups (Vieira, 1993).⁽³⁾

Changing School-Local Government Relations

The pilot study also revealed that within the English New West County, despite the pressure on LEAs which followed from the 1988 Education Reform Act to decrease support and advice to schools, the level of support (welfare and psychology) services provided to schools by the LEA had not decreased. This LEA maintained its commitment to keep the level of historical social provision. Their strategic principle was that 'policies should seek to reduce inequality and to this end take account of both their direct and indirect effects [...] policies should encourage direction of resources to areas with high concentrations of social deprivation' (New West Education Committee Minutes, 1988). The LEA preserved the links between schools and the LEA Welfare Services. The Education Committee reached consensus that grant-maintained schools would not be supported by the LEA services because 'the proposed legislation made a mockery of LEAs' ability to plan and review school provision'. (idem) The LEA also continued to advise schools in matters relating to personnel, admissions or curriculum and to schools' positions by reference to the new legislative framework of Local Management of Schools. In New West County, the transition towards the framework of Local Management of Schools, took place as the commitment to informing financial decision making by educational criteria remained a high priority. Amidst the requirement for reorganisation - a highly contested government requirement (Leach *et. al.*, 1994) - and to prepare for the division of its services between three new LEAs, the County remained highly committed to addressing issues related to social inequality, special educational needs and to continue public consultation and discussion related to the introduction of LMS which had taken place in the Education Committee since 1988 (Committee Minutes, 1988-1994). All LEAs were 'allowed to retain responsibility only for the small number of children with the most severe special needs [...] Schools are expected to meet the needs of that much larger group of children whose special needs are deemed not serious enough to warrant a statement' (Vincent *et. al.*, 1994: 275). This was the case in New West County. The County's response took place amidst several competing pressures in a period following - and of - major structural reform. The LEA adapted to the new framework regulating its intervention by committing itself to the implementation of required procedures and to the continuity with the principles of comprehensive education which had informed its relationships with schools in the past. The County remained strongly committed to its role in planning the provision for children with

special educational needs who are subjects of Statements and in 1994 produced a Special Provision Matrix. This matrix was made of 6 Bands and provided detailed guidance for schools in eight areas: curriculum (academic), curriculum (social), special resources, therapy, physical requirements, assessment and review, type and level of adult contact, situation and transport (p. 5-10). New West was also one of the few LEAs which had a strategy to deal with small schools built in their funding formula. In 1996, the Audit Commission found that '[f]ew LEAs [had] comprehensive strategies and systems for tackling the problems of small schools, small six forms and schools in difficulty' (p. 25).

Different LEAs responded differently to reforms (Radnor *et. al.*, 1996). Lee found that the 'greatest diversity of all formulae components arises to do with special needs' (1990: 21). On her research on 'LMS and Resourcing Educational Needs', Sammons (1992) also found there were differences between the five LEAs studied.⁽⁴⁾ Ranson (1992) found that responses varied between 'cooperation', 'customer-oriented' practice, 'focus on under achievement and development of radical equal opportunities policies' or 'shared values and basic assumptions to strengthen LEA's role'. Vincent *et. al.*'s conclusion is that 'LEAs respond at different rates and in different ways to central government policy [...] [and] they can use the legislation positively to develop new roles' (1994: 275). At the same time, LEAs were put 'increasingly in a position where they have little choice but to accommodate to a more market-oriented culture' (p. 261). Thomas and Bullock found evidence of the 'framework for local management [being] prescriptive and restrictive [...] [together with] LEAs' [...] diversity in local policies (1994: 48) [and] distinctive approaches to funding and that these have diverse consequences for pupils' (p. 51). In Kent, 'contracting-out reduced both spending on and standards of school cleaning [...] [with] the consequent deterioration of the pay and conditions of employment, hurt of workers already lowly [paid and] [...] women in part-time work' (1995: 29). Sammons (1992) also found evidence of central government prescription being exercised through control of LEA's LMS formulas.⁽⁵⁾

The politics of LMS formula production were dominated by both the constraints of central government prescription and central-local government collaboration. The Audit Commission concluded that '[m]any of the current problems are, in part, attributable to the national framework of legislation, policy and procedures laid down by government' (1996: 31) and

recommended the 'strengthening [of] the planning powers of local agencies' (Audit Commission, 1996: 57). In Local Councils where the Conservative Party held executive power, the LEA played an important role in extending central government managerial objectives. 'The City of Westminster's LMS scheme (April 1990) has been implemented from April 1990. The Council's philosophy is in close accordance with the principles [... of] Government's introduction of LMS' (p. 26).

In the case of New West County, the LEA used its reduced capacity to steer provision to the maximum. For example, it stretched its budget to make the highest possible allocation to education (9% more) - 'up to the absolute limit', as confirmed by the Assistant Director for Administrative and Financial Services (22/1/1994). This was done in order to remain committed to comprehensive education and to continue with a supply-led form of provision which placed a high priority on compensatory budgeting and on meeting special educational needs. The County retained its Education Committee which played a central role in the transitional period of implementation of LMS. Central government proposals for school management were reviewed in the Education Committee several times between 1992 and 1994 (11/6/1992; 10/10/1992; 8/12/1992; 15/12/1992; 1/2/1993; 19/10/1993; 11/1/1994). In this way, the commitment to public decision making was continued. Furthermore, the relationship between the Education Committee and senior LEA staff remained strong and the basis for securing public accountability. As in other LEAs, 'the overarching aim [...] is to maintain the financial base of the LEA to withstand government policy and preserve, for as long as they possibly can, an educational leadership role in relation to 'their' schools' (Radnor *et. al.*, 1996:17). New West County perceived delegated financial management as a positive step to increase both financial accountability and to allow for the authority to concentrate on *strategy* as opposed to administrative and day-to-day school affairs. Concentrating on strategy meant the LEA would keep a strong commitment to responding to specific and diverse local needs of schools and pupils. This LEA was strongly committed to maintaining a preferential relationship with maintained schools, thus reflecting the commitment to a local, democratically accountable, system of schooling. The Authority did not engage in or favour exchanges with Grant-Maintained Schools. Their view was that Grant-Maintained schools undermine the locally maintained system as the money transfers to these schools undermine development and innovation in maintained schools. The LEA's commitment to the maintained system included

strong support for the establishment of close links with parents and securing professional autonomy and educational expertise as the foundational conditions for schooling.

There was general support from the schools to maintain close contact with LEA services. The headteacher at King's School, for example, stressed how there would not be any

advantage [in opting out]. We depend heavily on LEA and the LEA is supportive, we have a very good relationship, it is a good intermediary. Opting Out creates division. [between schools and communities] The local community has also a strong relationship with the LEA and a strong sense of Community. Opting Out for this school could be disastrous. (18/1/1994)

For this headteacher, moving away from local government maintained status towards autonomy granted through the direct FAS grant system was not perceived as bringing advantages to his school in the long-term. The level of welfare and educational support which the School had from the local government allowed it a significant degree of autonomy to address the existing level of educational needs. It was also perceived that moving towards an independent Grant-Maintained status would involve abandoning the commitment to an integrated strategy of local community development which the LEA was able to coordinate and from which the school benefited. Moving away from that commitment was not in the interests of the pupils the school served. There were, however, headteachers, such as the one at Belleview School, who supported the move towards a higher degree of financial delegation and greater independence from the local government. To him this would allow for the strengthening of their advantageous position as a 'market player and for the improvement of their 'performance' in the local market of school admissions. However, in the case of Belleview School, parents did not want to lose their links with local government and the change in status did not take place.

In Portugal, schools maintained relations both with Municipalities and with the Regional Departments of Education and this involved different types of relationships. In the case of Cima Terra Regional Department of Education, officials overseeing the experimental implementation of the new model of management and governance were active promoters of the principles and instruments being proposed by the Ministry of Education. By contrast, the Municipality acted as an intermediary between schools and the Education Ministry. Municipalities have responsibility for primary school buildings and finance specific school

activities and they also finance building of new schools or extensions to existing school buildings. In this case, the City Council established an Education Service in 1990 with a budget of less than 1% of the Municipality's budget. The Council pursued a strategy which illustrates the process described by Ruivo and Veneza whereby 'municipal political will moves at a speed which is inferior to the one legally stipulated or wished' (1988: 13, 14). The Municipality's autonomy is significantly constrained in areas of public spending. Municipalities are financed by local taxes, central money transfers (FEF) and through loans. Ruivo notes how despite a steady increase from 23 to 72% over the years, 'since the level of inflation is higher than the annual growth [...] there is a real loss in the value of' (1993a: 412) transfers. The Education Service was specifically committed to increase the provision of leisure services for young people but (since 1989) it also established partnerships with professional schools. The City Council advocated the creation of a Local Education Council and, therefore, worked in parallel with Regional Education Departments. Party politics played an important role in provision of services locally with the (Socialist Party) City Council seeing themselves as alternative providers of basic services which should be provided by the (Social Democrat Party-controlled) Ministry of Education. In general, schools had good relationships with the Council. Schools were allowed to apply for extra funds for activities in order to respond to local specific needs or to schools' community projects. In many cases, funding provided by the City Council was also used to meet basic requirements of compulsory schooling and demands of the Ministry of Education which were defined without allocating the finances for its implementation. The City Council had three areas of targeted intervention: expansion of nursery provision, improvement of school buildings and increasing places and support for initiatives addressing education welfare issues (physical and sexual abuse, female prostitution, organized crime and changes in family life). The head of the Department of Education was specifically concerned with children with learning difficulties being referred to psychiatric units as education welfare services had not yet been created.

The pilot study also indicated that in both countries, the increase in the role of local government in schooling and the demands of local development were not enhanced by changes to the governance and management of school education. In the English case, government reforms created the conditions for the reduction of LEAs' involvement in governance and in management. In Portugal, the residual involvement of Municipalities was maintained and

combined with government's encouragement of partnerships with private partners to support (mainly financially) initiatives in compulsory education.

Schools as Protagonists of Change

It is at the school level that the nature and the purpose of transfers of responsibilities became visible and more obvious in terms of their role in the redefinition of the mandate of schooling. The difference between the two countries in the degree of influence market mechanisms have on provision became more diluted when comparing the way in which market ideology influenced schooling, its administration, management and governance. The action of selected school managers and governors had an important role in promoting the local infiltration of managerial and consumer-oriented values in schools. Practices varied across schools in the two countries. Several combinations of the type of relationships developed between headteachers and governing bodies and between teachers were noted. Overall, in the group of schools in this study, there was a clear shift towards the concentration of authority and, particularly in Portugal, an increase in conflict as a consequence of decreased consultation and the reduced scope for professional participation in the early period of pilot implementation of the new forms of management and governance.⁽⁶⁾ The experimental transition from collegiate and consultative management towards professional management and lay governance took place as expectations about the creation of local democratic structures of governance and a democratic structure of school management still existed amongst teachers and parents. The type of management delegated was at the core of tumultuous relationships between management and governing bodies and between these and teachers. All executive directors interviewed were strong advocates of the introduction of business management and market criteria in education. In all of these schools, the conflict between executive directors and School Councils was very marked. In England, the type of relationships existing between governing bodies and headteachers, as noted already, depended mainly on the experience and composition of governing bodies. In all schools where interviews took place, headteachers retained strong managerial influence whilst at the same time their educational influence was reduced as central government prescribed a national curriculum, national testing and uniform teaching models. In some schools, governing bodies and headteachers formed alliances in

support of government reforms. In other schools, governing bodies and headteachers executed delegated responsibilities while attempting to adhere to the ideal of comprehensive education. Nonetheless, in both countries, decision making was strongly constrained by national policies, performance evaluation and market-oriented demands. In Portugal, despite the absence of a formal framework of market relations in education, some schools were making an increased use of market criteria in the way managers influenced the definition of schools' priorities, the way in which they interpreted autonomy and claimed entrepreneurial freedom to promote vocational education and self-financing or to make special needs provision. The non-production of policy had an enormous influence in moving away the practice of management and governance from the requirements of the 1986 Education Act. By not legislating to implement the principles enshrined in the Act, government pushed schools closer to the forms of business management and market-oriented provision which were extensive and comprehensively implemented in England. As with market-oriented discourses relating to school education, government was quite vocal (Afonso, 1997: 117-118) about the introduction of competition in university education.

Afonso stresses that Decree 172/91 did 'not [have] a [significant] role in educational policy' (1997: 120) at the time. However, together with other isolated regulatory instruments, this Decree initiated a cultural change capable of being recovered later in total or in part. It also introduced significant changes in practice. These were subtle and reflected the wider objective embraced by the Ministry. This involves

a completely different concept of school, the school [...] as a pole for development [...] The school starts having a mission [...] that has to do with the community around itself, that is already the new dimension of the school [...] Who are, truly, the actors that have responsibilities in schools? [...] In the classical concept of school, who the actors were was well defined, they were pupils, teachers and non-teaching staff [...] in this new concept of school the actors are other people. And why? because one understands that civil society has the right to intervene in schools [...] As soon as the school starts having a mission of community development, then the community starts having the right to intervene in schools directly to contribute to define the schools' orientation. When I talk about civil society, I am also talking about parents [...] and here we have a concept that education must, has always to be guaranteed by a partnership between educational institutions and the family,.. the family must have the right to participate in that institution. Here the political positioning has to be clarified: what do we want from the school, what is the school, is it the traditional institution or the other example I talked about? And following the

choice between one or the other we have the second aspect as a result: who are the actors who will participate in the school activity? And what can we say about this? The legislation existing in Portugal, the 1986 law points in the direction of the second option. There we find an orientation which is much more in agreement with the new school than with the traditional school. (DG of Department of Finance in MoE, 13/1/1994)

The extent of financial delegation existing in English schools did not exist in Portugal. Staff recruitment, pay and working conditions, for example, were not delegated to schools nor was there a tradition of local government control of those areas. Since in areas such as special educational (academic) needs, central government delegated assessment and planning of specific educational strategies for individual cases to schools without producing a national policy on special needs provision, schools were encouraged to assess special cases of 'under achievement', to plan intervention and were instructed to reduce the rates of pupils retention in the same year. (Pupils not achieving the general basic standards required at the end of year 9 for certification would be given a certificate of attendance). Paradoxically, such encouragement was suggested, by the Ministry of Education, to be an expression of possibilities for schools to be autonomous. The insufficient number of specialised teachers and related professionals, as well as the absence of a national framework for the local provision of special needs resulted in the development of private markets of special needs assessment and provision and of private (extra) tuition. The development of these markets paralleled the increase in the influence of a market-oriented view of provision. This increase illustrates how the sphere of influence of this view moved beyond the confines of small groups to influence a wider public constituency of parents' representatives. By 1998, the Portuguese Confederation of Parents' Associations (CONFAP) was expressing concern about the 'inappropriateness of the [size] of school programmes which feed a parallel industry [...] [representing] an overload on families' economy [since expenses] are not deducted for tax purposes as tutors do not write a receipt' (Publico, December, 17). This is contributing evidence of the way in which the characteristics of schooling moved towards rather than away from the features of pre-democratic education when 'all [privileged families] [placed] great importance in the second mode of acquisition of knowledge [...] the pre- or para-schooling inculcation of specific non-compulsory knowledge provided by specialized agencies/agents chosen by the families' (Vieira, 1993: 22).

The Role of Managers in Mediating National Policy and in Introducing Managerialism in Schools

The school managers which were 'key mediators' (Ball 1994: 17) of the reforms introduced by government were important agents of business management principles and practices. Their role was crucial in the spreading of the 'managerialism of the 1980s and 1990s' (Pollitt, 1990: 11, 13).

English headteachers and Portuguese ED had an important role in facilitating the introduction of professional management and the *smooth* establishment of lay governance in schools. They positioned themselves in relation to the policy requirements and to governing bodies accordingly: "governors certainly recently have shown an interest [...] because they've realised that what they want is a) value for money and b) a respectable education" (Bellevue School, 15/11/1994). In this case, headteachers acted as specialist advisers in the governing body and as mentors of the direction in which the school should go. At Bellevue School, the headteacher had an important role in providing the information needed at the stage when the governing body was being set up. This role remained an integral part of implementation and of the definition of the School's priorities notwithstanding the new relationship of accountability to the governing body. This headteacher had an active role in facilitating implementation: "I've just compiled a report which fills up two ring-binders to which we then draw the governors' attention. It clearly lists what the LEA is responsible for, what the governors are responsible for" (idem). The transfer of responsibilities away from the LEAs to school governing bodies required expert advice which in this case was provided by the headteacher. While the share of responsibilities over budget management, for example, were clearly stated in regulations (Bullock and Thomas, 1997: 82-83), headteachers were not directly required to provide advice to the governing body. In some cases governing bodies sought outside advice. Advice was, however, essential for schools to implement change and the headteacher of Bellevue School played an important role in the transition. At the Portuguese Campo School, the adoption of management tools, specifically those advocating the practice of leadership was also advanced by its executive director. "I am a post-graduate in management so I find it easy [...] there are other people that are *badly inclined*, have no

vocation for this, I always was [...] since 1972 that I've been in management positions in schools and outside schools. I must tell you that it was always on a non-paid basis" (Campo School, 4/5/1994).

Headteachers were also an important instrument in implementing a comprehensive project of political and economic re-regulation. In England, this regulation is part of the process which Du Gay and Salaman define as 'all [being] reimagined as 'customers' ' (Kirkpatrick and Lucio, 1995:7) and where 'top-down efforts to introduce change and increase managerial control are mediated at the micro-organisational level' (p. 9). As such, this process is also tied to the 'politics of quality' and to the use of

'quality' [...] to legitimate intervention and change [...] 'quality' [...] associated with increased control over the public sector labour process [...] as a legitimation to justify increased managerial control [...] associated with increased bureaucracy and methods of regulation [...] with management exerting control over unions or over professionals in terms of reducing their workplace autonomy. (p. 9)

In England, 'value for money and quality performance'-related changes were initiated earlier than 1988. 'In 1983 [...] the Audit Commission was formed specifically to monitor the management and value for money of local government (and later health) services' (Kirkpatrick and Lucio, 1995:27). Those dominant discourses are not derived from an evaluation of overall educational needs, 'social needs, professional standards, deprivation, community or equity [...] have [...] historically [...] played little or no part in the development of managerialist ideologies (Perrow, 1979)' (Pollitt, 1990: 11). Those discourses are associated with other changes (in some cases with increased concentration of powers within central government) and with the mandate 'to set clear targets, to develop performance indicators to measure the achievement of those targets, and to single out, by means of merit awards, promotion or other rewards, those individuals who get 'results' (Pollitt, 1990: 56).

Changes were also associated with the specific process of educational policy making and research developments related to the international 'indicators' movement. This movement had its own effects in defining how schooling and spending on education should be researched, evaluated and measured and it evolved as its own internal debate developed (Marques

Cardoso, 1993). This debate underpins the need for a

'context-input-process-output model [...] [as] the best analytic scheme to systematise thinking on indicator systems [...] [which defines] process indicators [in relation to] school and teaching effectiveness [...]; [to] school and teaching characteristics which are positively associated with educational achievement [...] [a] model of effectiveness [...] [and to] explanations on why certain schools, or school systems, those better than others. (Scheerens, 1992: 56)

Training in management studies had an important role in replacing educational with business management principles, criteria, experience and knowledge. Both governments encouraged training in business management for teachers in management positions. Business principles were promoted to become 'dominant' discourses, regimes of truth' (Ball, 1994: 24) believed always to solve all problems in the best way. Headteachers and EDs mediated the application of these regimes in different areas of decision-making, governing, managing and teaching practice which were perceived as being in need of change in each country. In this way, they '[stood] for and [did] the work of the state' (p. 74). In Portugal, local managers had an important role in introducing and replacing existing structures and practice.

The new model of management is, in terms of organisation, a facilitator [...] things are never decided in meetings, decisions are taken on a day-to-day basis in conversations with colleagues and that's how things should be done, we cannot wait for a meeting to make decisions. In that sense things improved extraordinarily with the model. (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1994)

This shifting of decision making towards models based on the work of small groups, not publicly accountable and on informal private decision making was watched with great concern by teachers. Given the relatively short-term experience of institutional democracy, the introduction of informal systems of decision making was seen as a setback in public accountability.

In England, headteachers had also an important role in introducing parents to the language of professional management, to 'monitoring' and to market principles. Some headteachers were very active in this task.

Schools [...] have to share more with parents just what we are trying to achieve. I think we need to let them know far more about our own particular professional goals, targets. We need to say more in terms of reports to parents [...] what skills that child has developed, what target that child might have met,

how far at child got, perhaps in national curriculum terms [...] There is a lot of literature around which specifies what is a good school, how you can measure effective schools and I think we've got a lot to learn from those people who've researched. (Headteacher, Belleview School, 15/11/1994)

Their role was crucial in disseminating

the 'how to' literature (which) concerns itself with identifying the mechanisms and procedures through which schools might become more efficient, effective and responsive to the needs of their staff, students and parents [...] (while) ignoring the wider political dimensions of change (Whitty *et. al.*, 1998: 5)

This body of knowledge, presented as a 'solution to problems of 'ungovernability' [...]. (appeared) to give greater power to parents' (Ball, 1994: 10) and schools and was used as an attractive alternative to long existing traditions in headship based on control rather than on consultation. In Portugal, Azevedo's association between financing, accountability and performance (1994: 209-212) had a role in carrying the goals of conservative liberalism through the process of formulation and implementation of new public management and governance. This was particularly the case in so far as it touched the anxieties, expectations and frustrations in schools with the historical legacy of central government's control of schooling. Furthermore, that association also connected with some parents' perceptions of the existence of a 'crisis' in public schools and new social 'threats' such as drug use, crime against property and the presence of African Portuguese in social institutions. For some, these new threats were manifested in panic responses in terms of increased intolerance and discrimination despite, in the case of the presence of African Portuguese, the phenomenon not being new.

Depending on their relationship and on the expert composition of governing bodies, school managers can exercise a high degree of influence in the redefinition of the nature of decision making in schools. Governing bodies can also constrain headteachers very effectively. Under headteachers' initiative, the philosophy of professional management can permeate the establishment of educational priorities. Headteachers have a 'key role in setting the agenda for school participation in the market' (Ball, 1994: 131) and for introducing 'commercial managerialism (as) a mode of engagement with staff and decision making' (p.130). This capacity and active engagement crosses national boundaries. The ED of Campo School explains how he was an active promoter of the introduction of business principles into the management of schooling.

We took the initiative, we did things, we made (school) facilities available, we acted as if this School was ours and as if we had to make it profitable, as if it was a business. People become horrified when one talks about the school, of making it profitable and of the enterprise [...] Well, the situation for me is extremely clear: there isn't any pedagogical sector which can survive the bad functioning of the administrative and financial sector because the good functioning of the latter will be favourably reflected on the former. So, it does not shock me that a school is managed as a business, as long as that type of management brings benefits to the pedagogical sector. The horror shown by people, it's a terrible mistake because really, a school has to be managed as a company I have no doubts about it. (4/5/1994)

Under the influence of principles derived from the 'school effectiveness' literature the notions of individual leadership and entrepreneurship became of great importance in carrying through the above shift.

Individual Leadership

Collegiate management was perceived by the Portuguese and the English central governments as providing the focus for resistance to the implementation of their mandate for schooling. Individual leadership was judged to be sufficient for 'effective' management and to secure the implementation of the governing bodies' policies. These were seen, by the executive director of Campo School as being the product of a 'democratic' process of decision making. Collegiate management was played down as being a guarantee of democracy at the school level:

I knew of schools with the Teachers Council model which were dictatorships and schools with the experimental model where the level of democracy is absolutely maintained because it already existed and continues to exist so I think that the problem does not lay in the systems but in the people who develop/maintain those systems. (4/5/1994)

By playing down the importance of the institutional structure of (collegiate) management, the emphasis put on the vital importance of individual managers became hidden behind business management principles and elevated to, what Pollitt defined as, a 'mythological level' (1991). Individual leadership became presented as an inevitable way of reforming management.

Why is it that in all sectors of Portuguese life [...] there is a hierarchy, there is always a Director or an assistant Director, why is it that it is only in schools that such hierarchy does not exist. What are people afraid of? [...]

even in the animal world it is like that [...] there is really one leader and not a group of leaders. (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1994)

The ED is not, unlike the president of Teachers Councils, elected by teachers. The ED is recruited by the School Council where teachers are represented in parity with other representatives. The above emphasis on individual leadership was inspired in systems of industrial relations where managers and management do not work on a collegiate basis and where the basis of power in their relations is mediated by employer/employee relations. Emphasis on this type of relations advanced the division between school managers and teachers. The concept and role of leadership emerged at the same time such division was emphasised: "one does not practice leadership by telling people: I am the leader. The leader has to be recognized as such [...] I think the secret of management is to get others to work" (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1995). This conception of individual leadership was asserted and enacted with conviction in practice at Campo School.

It is easier if leadership is exercised by an individual, there are no group leaders, there is one leader [...] The executive director is a one person body and therefore I don't have to have meetings to make decisions. I make the decisions I wish to make as long as they fit the framework of general guidelines defined by the School Council [...] I don't have to make a decision and then be asked 'do you think this is okay'? systematically [...] When I have to make a decision I do it; that does not mean that I, together with my assistants, don't discuss that and that we don't have meetings. We also have meetings but we don't have those boring meetings where you have to take minutes it has nothing to do with it, I mean, I take the decisions and that's it. (ED, 4/5/1994)

The result was a significant reduction in participation of teachers in management decisions and a strong concentration of authority at the cost of public accountability and consultation. Individual control and management was to replace the democratic process of decision making and management *i.e.* the discussion and collective consideration of opposing views.

Individual Entrepreneurship

If leadership had an important role in mobilising change, fostering entrepreneurship was defined as being of prime importance. At the Portuguese Campo School, entrepreneurship and self-financing were clearly articulated and gained form in the establishment of partnerships with local voluntary institutions and the private sector. These partnerships were formed based on the assumption that schools are like any other market institution which has to be subjected to the rules of competition and profit making. Self-financing was also strongly associated with the redefinition of sections of the teaching profession. Specifically with the changes affecting the teaching of various industrial technologies and commercial skills. As a result of the growing influence of new (mainly information) technologies, industrial technologies and commercial skills became redundant. The restructuring of this section of the teaching profession affected the teaching of vocational subjects. The impact of this process was at the centre of conflict since the beginning of the 1980s. 'The Regional Coordination Commissions appeared [...] as the privileged body in linking the Ministry with schools' (Gracio, 1998: 225). Between 1983 and 1986 several initiatives were introduced in a partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Employment Services (p. 225-231). It is possible to identify continuities in and the dissemination of particular policies with the career and influence of particular individuals. The working group on vocational and technical education within the Commission for the Reform of the Education System (CRES) was led by the man who had been working at the Northern Regional Coordination Commission and who would later become Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary Education. In 1988, he became responsible for the newly created Ministry's Office for Technological, Artistic and Professional Education (p. 233). In 1989 the Professional Schools were created.

The teaching of technologies in schools was also subjected to major change. These changes redefined the career opportunities for teachers teaching technology-based subjects, as well as the pattern of provision of technological and vocational education in schools. If the new schools and vocational courses being provided outside public schools presented teachers with (albeit short-term) opportunities, within the public system, the position of those teachers in schools became very uncertain. In this context, schools' self-financing initiatives (as they were being advocated from within the conservative liberal movements), reinforced the

differentiation existing between teachers and instructors. This distinction had been characteristic of non-democratic education provision when teachers were divided between those teaching academic studies and the others teaching practical skills. In the culture of self-financing, as the ED of Campo School explained, schools have new and renewed functions. Teachers were required to take up new, as well as traditional roles but above all were required to become 'entrepreneurs'. New functions and new roles were expected to guarantee the establishment of an enterprise culture. In this case, school's enterprise culture relied on the reintroduction of a 're-education through work' philosophy, and the continuity with pre-democratic education programmes for children who were to be assessed on whether they were achieving the targets set by the national curriculum. Vocational activities had the double role of influencing the job trajectories of children and of becoming a source of self-financing for the school.

The production which we could generate here in Mechanics (Department), in the school workshops, is enormous. We managed to produce, but then people, those that worked gradually retired, left and really, if the new Technical (Graduate) Engineers are very useful to us, on the other hand they aren't, because theoretically they are much better but in practice the others were the good ones, isn't that so? And the struggle which existed as a consequence of that [...] the fights which existed between teachers in groups 12 and 2 [...] I remember the school having produced parts for a machine to the local parish for which they would pay what it took [...] and we sold it with a 20 thousand escudos profit and we earned, the pupils who produced it and the teachers, earned, the school, everybody gained [...] We produced fences for local parishes, elderly homes, day centres, so, various things that we could have developed and do much more. But people in the meantime, some left and others, the lads are not able to and, do not have the training to do this type of jobs any more. (4/5/1994)

Self-financing was advocated by this ED by referring to pre-democratic schooling in Portugal when the education system was organized to sustain the differentiation between high status, financially rewarding, academic University studies and low status vocational studies leading to low paid work. This system, as demonstrated above, places teachers and pupils in a hierarchy of knowledge, expertise and job opportunities. Furthermore, it reinforces the nineteenth century division between instruction and education. At Belleview School, diverting pupils to the vocational routes was also presented as a productive strategy in managing specific needs. In this case, taking initiative and exercising entrepreneurial leadership involved, not a financial goal, but advocating vocational education as the 'natural' route/vocation for those

pupils who were assessed as not achieving the requirements of the national curriculum.

There is significant evidence that those young people who can benefit from an academic education seem to do that and want to do that. There are however a significant number of young people who are disaffected, who find the school uninteresting, can see little point in academic qualifications [...] because either they're not gonna get them or there's no jobs for them to go to [...] there is evidence to suggest that youngsters who didn't do particularly well at GCSE [...] once they are following a course in the 6th form, a one year course or a two year course [...] health, community care or business studies [...] where they can see that it could lead to some sort of identifiable goal in terms of work, [...] the kids love it. (Headteacher, 15/11/1994)

Entrepreneurship was a framework for professional behaviour. Self-reliance and individual initiative were two of the aspects of self-financing. The changes in professional behaviour, identity and positioning in relation to colleagues and to the institution where teaching is practised had to be individually initiated and such initiative was the currency to become (financially) autonomous.

[Autonomy] demands a lot of work [...] people are paid to do it by the way [...] it exists [...] Now, it is like the story where he wants to become independent and eats, sleeps at his parents and has the weekly pocket money from them. When parents tell him: I'm sorry but in order to do what you want you leave home and go, people don't leave home because it is difficult to leave home, to find a job [...] So, if we cannot leave home then we cannot complain about the absence of freedom [...] if we want emancipation then we have to earn our living, to find a house, a job [...] If we want to continue living at the parents' expense and if we want to make demands then we have no arguments [...] The full power to exercise autonomy exists. Let's exercise it. (4/5/1995)

Individual entrepreneurship and leadership played an important role in the process of redefining decision making in schools, local accountability and school relations as will be found in the various accounts in the next chapter. The leadership and entrepreneurship principles became of great importance due to their function in moving away from the existing practice of educational towards professional management. The appeal of the idea advocating the move away from existing management practice was able to captivate the minds of managers and teachers due to the effects of existing management styles and practices and the impact of previous policies on schools. In England, the 'authoritarian, managerial, interpersonal and adversarial management styles' (Ball, 1987) had an impact on 'forms of participation and on strategies of control'. Adversarial managers gave importance to public meetings and open debate to exercise control in public performances of persuasion (p. 124).

In the Portuguese case, the exercising of leadership was closely associated with the critique of teachers which emphasises that their purpose in teaching (or managing) is guided by self-interest. Consequently, teachers were blamed for problems existing in schools and held responsible for not being involved in the transition to a new organisational culture. There is a moral disciplinary aspect associated to the emphasis on changing management as the following quote from the ED of Mar School illustrates: "there are lots of people out there doing nothing that need to work" (28/2/1994). Her comment was produced in the context of MoE's attempts to force teachers to spend at least thirty five hours a week in school which would involve a daily set schedule. This implied changing teachers' existing working conditions. These already required teachers to comply with being present at the school for twenty two hours per week teaching time plus the time spent attending various subject, assessment and other meetings or dealing with individual cases where they have responsibilities over classes. Those responsibilities could include contact with parents, with other professionals or with various institutions. The time spent preparing lessons and assessments, as well as marking or any other activities related to the teaching of their subject could be spent working from home. The calls for wider participation of teachers in the life of schools and for greater individual entrepreneurship were set in this context. It is having this transition in mind that she referred to changes introduced by the experimental model of management and governance: "participation is greater in the new model [...] it is fundamental [...] the school is for children not for teachers, these are here providing a service" (idem).

These notions of individual entrepreneurship and leadership have a popular appeal. Management is a 'sophisticated technology and pervasive commonsensical perspective' (Ball 1994: 71). Despite the autonomy of school 'leaders' being circumscribed by the premises set by central government, in Portugal, as in England, business management was presented as allowing for a great sense of (school and teachers) autonomy. Implementation of reforms was not imposed by direct rule, their enactment rather depended on 'commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations' (p. 19). Ball has called for the analysis of the nature of the autonomy of school managers and has highlighted how there is a 'new sense of control, particularly in relation to financial flexibility [...]. achieved at the cost of others' conditions of work and pay; the replacement of fully trained with less qualified teachers; teachers with auxiliaries, full-time teachers with part-time or short-term contract staff.' (p. 78). Schools

suffered the impact and managers took advantage of the new conditions. Sinclair *et. al.*'s

questionnaire survey found redundancies, redeployments or early retirements in a quarter of all [English] schools and in four-fifths of secondary schools during 1991-2. This labour shedding affected 250 teachers in 145 of the schools responding. [...] In schools which did have a financial gain in the formula, the knowledge of redundancies and problems in neighbouring schools enabled school managers to exploit new managerial powers, claiming impending financial crisis even where none existed. One of the two GM schools had a surplus of £180,000 prior to going grant maintained. The head admitted that he nevertheless 'engineered a budget crisis' to prevent complacency and 'to make them aware we were overstaffed'. Measures for reducing staff costs required other strategies including the employment of younger teachers or probationers, utilization of short-term contracts and reducing part-time teachers' hours [...] Following the industrial action of 1986 over pay, teachers had an annual hours contract imposed on them, specifying their availability of 195 days or 1265 hours per annum when their working time must be available for allocation by the school manager. (1995: 261-262)

The notions of individual leadership and entrepreneurship were embedded in the wider transformation of management and governance. In England, they played an instrumental role in establishing local networks of schools. Although in more limited terms and despite the dominance of differentiation between schools and competition, co-operative local school links began to emerge to affect the provision of, for example, post-16 education. Some of the schools in this study were part of a city Federation for 'joint resourcing, collaboration and co-operation'. There are also other collaborative ventures in education, some post- 1988: Upton & Cozens note the existence of the North East Coastal Confederation of Secondary Schools (Bridges and Husbands, 1996:67); Bridges refers to the Eastern Region Teacher Education Consortium (p. 120) and Somekh to the Collaborative Action Research Network (p.132).

Hargreaves' 'findings show that collaboration among small schools can go well beyond being a mere condition for survival [...]. Collaboration in [these] schools had become a strong force to combat competition' (p. 35). Wallace notes how collaborative schemes were strongly committed to using school groupings and co-operation to resist competition and to improve the quality of provision (p. 56). Sometimes, co-operation aimed at being responsive to the local needs of specific groups and started before the 1988 Act introduced competition between schools, as it was the case with Education 2000 aimed at young people and described by Monck & Husbands (p. 57-65). Local school networks were also strongly shaped by policy

influenced by the principles derived from the 'improvement', 'effectiveness' framework. In the case of the Conference of Avon Secondary Heads, networking was 'modelled on the private schools' marketing consortium ISIS' and its aims were informed by 'market relations' (Bridges & Husbands, 1996: 8).

Leadership and entrepreneurship were also mobilising instruments in masquerading the wider impact of the contradictions produced by central government policy. The Audit Commission captured such impact.

The pursuit of a wide range of competing objectives [...] generated tensions and conflicts between policies which prevent any of them from being implemented with full effect and risks the planning system becoming gridlocked [...] (1996: 32). A more fundamental tension exists between the objective of promoting choice and that of controlling public expenditure on education. (p. 33) [...] The current system of capital allocations also causes problems for LEAs that do not have rising school rolls. (p. 34) [...] there is a danger of establishing a vicious circle. The dispersal of LEA powers encourages central government to take more power to itself and to use these powers more actively; which in turn limits the scope and incentives for LEAs to act of their own volition; which in turn encourages central government to assume more powers of direction and co-ordination; which in turn reduces the LEA role still further. (p. 39)

Leadership and entrepreneurship were not only secondary instruments which helped to carry changes through. They were promoted to constitute dominant mainstream practices. As such, they were of central importance not only in shifting school practices and school relations but also in 'managing' the contradictions derived from shifts in those areas and in re-creating the role of school teachers and the social role of schools as the analysis in the following chapter demonstrates.

Notes

- (1) A brief description of the cities where the interviews were conducted can be found in Appendices 1 and 2.
- (2) Unlike in England, in Portugal, the prospective higher rates of non-achievement of national learning targets (Years 4 and 6) were expected to be concentrated in rural areas in the northeast (Vila Real), central east (Castelo Branco, Viseu) and northwestern (Viana do Castelo) Districts. (G.E.P., 1989)
- (3) In her study of twenty one portuguese women, Vieira found the following:
In general, [schooling takes place] - until puberty - in an identical form for both

sexes (1993: 17). The unequivocal choice of private schooling [...] obeys to the reproduction of a practice which has large traditions in the favoured [privileged] classes throughout successive generations (p. 24). [...] all families choose [...] private schooling for their daughters. This is a lasting choice [...] at least until Year five of the Lycee (p. 24). [...] Because it [...] makes provision for children originating from various social backgrounds, including the least favoured [non-privileged], public primary [schooling] has, in fact, a very negative image amongst these families. [...] [Within the private sector] the choice of [...] colleges seems to have occurred because of the guarantee of protection against deleterious social promiscuities [...] through a certain selectivity of the public who attended it, based, amongst other criteria, on the price charged there (p. 26). [...] behind the several arguments [justifying] the choice [there is] a group behaviour that turns the selection of a college and of a specific education into a sign of belonging to the *milieu*. [...] a product of [...] the educational recommendation in force in the *milieu*. [...] (p. 26) atheism [...] or [...] judeism [...] does not seem to be a serious obstacle (p.27).

(4) 'differences in funding formulae adopted by different boroughs and of definitions of social/educational disadvantage and needs and ways of allocating extra resources to meet such needs (Sammons, 1992: 29). Very different philosophical positions appear to have influenced the approaches to financing social/educational disadvantage by different boroughs. The two Conservative controlled borough's schemes [Kensington and Chelsea and City of Westminster] adopt less detailed approaches [...] use fewer of the original ILEA EPI factors and make no reference the ILEA methodology of allocating resources (p.30). The boroughs have varied in the way their measures of social/educational needs are used to allocate additional resources to schools. (p. 34) Hackney - where there was continuity with historical criteria for assessment of special needs (p. 7); Kensington & Chelsea - where the rationale to justify 'social disadvantage factors [...] was argued in cost terms [...] ' - (p.15); Tower Hamlets (p.21) - where there was an emphasis on research evidence from the borough's population (p.30); City of Westminster (p.27) - where there was no reference to previous systems of resource allocation (p. 30) - and Southwark - whose scheme was influenced by the previous ILEA Index and methodology (p.30).

(5) [In Hackney, ILEA] EPI factors were not acceptable to the DES as objective criteria for inclusion in an LMS formula (these include measures of pupil behaviour [...] stages of fluency in English [...] based on teacher's assessments). [...] Kensington and Chelsea's scheme was approved by the DES [...] Some boroughs stated that, in consultations with the DES, they were informed that measures based on teachers' subjective judgements [...] would not be considered objective enough for inclusion in LMS formula. Southwark was required to make certain revisions to its Index of Need after submission to the Secretary of State. (1992: 10, 17, 18-19)

(6) In one of the schools in Nova City, the implementation of the procedures relating to the recruitment of the executive director by the School Council resulted in acute conflict which required the intervention of the Secretary of State for Primary and Secondary education. The conflict was politicised involving opposition between individuals representing the main Party political groups represented in Parliament. The conflict emerged in connection to withholding of information. One of the areas of conflict related to renting and authorizing the use of school facilities and the establishment of partnerships with private entities. (Colina School Council, 1994/1995)

The Impact of Market Relations on

Schools: Tension and Change

The project for a resource centre in the library [...] was very interesting, it was set up by two colleagues [...] but we need people for it to function, it worked when volunteers were available, working outside working hours [...] but people stopped being available beyond their normal working hours. (President of SC, Mar School, Portugal 28/2/1994)

From Publicly Accountable to Private Decision Making

This chapter analyses the tensions arising from changes in school relations, teachers' work and in the scope of teachers' participation and representation in decision making in schools. Particularly, the tension and contradictions which emerged as a result of changes to the control over decision making, the culture of financing and, finally school and professional autonomy.

The emphasis placed by the Portuguese and the British governments on the need for *flexibility* to be introduced in school decision making was closely linked to the development of hierarchical relations, to the concentration of decision making and to the confinement of public and formal forums of decision making in schools. The executive director of Campo School explained how informal mechanisms of decision making were given preference in the practice of management and governance. The membership of the management team became highly influenced by membership requirements found suitable by the ED and by discretionary nomination:

they are colleagues I like very much otherwise I would have not invited them [...] people that help me extraordinarily, people that work a lot, and that is how people have to work with each other [...] There is such a relationship between us now that everything that we do we do it in a way where friendship is above the institutional relationship and I cannot work in any other way. (4/5/1994)

He associated informal decision making with 'efficiency', described it as being 'the best' alternative to educational management and presented collegiate management and democratic accountability as being bureaucratic and 'inefficient'. Paradoxically, hierarchy was presented as being synonymous with increased accountability and flexibility.

I have three assistants, we discuss things amongst ourselves, we have meetings, [...] but we don't have those boring meetings where we have to keep minutes, I make the decisions and that's it [...] We don't have to go through that boring procedure just because it is a collegiate body [...] having to make a note of everything because if a decision is made and then it is found that no record of it exists, I mean, that might become a problem. Those are things I consider ridiculous, that is not the way things work on a day-to-day basis. Things will have to function in a completely different way, based on mutual respect and friendship. We cannot be nit picking and have to make a record of every decision [...] Having to record everything in minutes created problems, when there were controversial decisions, if we didn't record everything, sometimes there were problems. (4/5/1994)

He preferred a form of management informed by the practice used in private business (where decision making is 'informal', rather than discussed in collective forums, and restricted to a reduced number of participants) or in private not-for profit organisations where he had developed his management skills. Professional (business-oriented) management was very actively promoted by him.

Democratic accountability was defined as being an inferior version of professional management. Also as being an obstacle to the potential of professional management's 'rationality'.

Teachers Councils' meetings are, you're going to forgive me, a bore [...] We cannot wait for a meeting to make decisions [...] On Monday, the presidents of School Council and Pedagogics Council and myself have a meeting [...] to exchange views. There are no minutes, it is an absolutely informal, sort of 'so what do we have there to discuss'? If we don't have anything then we go for a coffee [...] They are informal conversations that do not have a legal value because this is a body which does not exist. (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1994)

As in England, management moves away 'from collective planning to individual decision making [...] [and removes] education from the public arena of civil society, from collective responsibility, and 'privatises' it' (Ball, 1994: 54). In this school, the ED perceived himself as being at the centre of decision making and was active claiming as much authority as he could over school-wide decision making. The ED-SC model relies on individual leadership which, at a time when teachers are on stretched timetables and parents have full-time jobs and little time to spare on extra meetings required by the complexity of decision making resulting from the delegation of responsibilities, becomes a substitute for school wide consultation and participation. The ED-SC model relies on the combination of extra time given voluntarily by the various members of the SC with individual leadership.

The shrinking in direct participation inside the school was not restricted to management. It extended to other systems. The creation of multi-subject Departments in schools reduced the number of teachers attending Pedagogics Council (PsC)'s meetings and introduced greater conflict in school relations. In England, the subject groups' 'differentiated team structure [was] seen by virtually all interviewees as being used to develop a sense of competition between the Groups in order to encourage and stimulate harder work and higher 'standards' by staff' (Ball,

1996a: 8). The mechanisms of non-elected participation permeated school wide professional relationships as the 'emphasis [was put] on everybody working together, the fostering of common aims, shared mission, etc.' (p. 6). At the same time, in English, as in Portuguese schools where the new management and governance models were being experimented with 'emphasis on a differentiated team structure based on Groups - groups of departments under a Head of Group (Hog) - has become a major defining characteristic of the culture structure and relationships of staff' (p. 7). As before the introduction of the new models of management and governance, educational management was sustained through a close relationship between PsCs and TCs (or Management Commissions), open dialogue and the use of the voting system and of consensus and collective discussions were the processes at the basis of school relations in many Portuguese schools. In general, the form of management which was in place relied on decisions being made in PsCs and implemented by TCs. TC's presidents were expected to be *executives* carrying out decisions which had been achieved through a democratic process of decision making in PsCs by teachers. The formal powers presidents had, such as the 'quality vote' (president's power to make individual decisions in the absence of collective consensus) were rarely used and perceived as being a measure of last resort. TCs were expected to promote professional relationships based on equal participation, collaboration and consultation with the teaching staff. In practice, there was a variety of school relations and individual cases where there was more or less conflict between the management team in the TC and the group of teachers coordinating the subject groups represented in the PsC and between those two councils and the teaching body. Such conflict was associated with the specific mandate of schooling that teachers had to implement. In England, 'it is the articulation of micro-politics with constraints and wider issues that accounts for much of the substance of political contention (or the absence of it) within schools' (Ball, 1987: 270). The Portuguese TC-PsC model is structured having the principles of participatory democracy at its root. It is these principles that PC critiques of public policy dislike. In the framework of professional management, execution is to dominate school relations and these are to become grounded on functional hierarchical links. The TC-PsC model of management by itself is more conducive to collaboration since a collective, elected body makes use of knowledge which is openly shared by teachers. The PsC (which functions by reference to participatory democracy rules) is a professional forum where the national curriculum and assessment are evaluated critically. The possibility to evaluate centralised policy in a body representing

teachers, as it existed from 1976 onwards, was perceived by teachers as a measure of relative autonomy within the constraints of a centralised system of governance. Changes to the composition and role of PsCs was one of the core areas of conflict in schools where the new model was being experimented. The teachers who represent each subject and those with pastoral-equivalent responsibilities over classes attend this Council's meetings. Decree 172/1991 replaces that membership by heads of multi-subject departments and reduces the margin of teachers' direct participation in decision making. For Campo School's ED this reduction is, as in the traditional critique of participatory democracy, an advantage because "the head of department will convince people much more easily [...] Everything is reduced to a restricted number of people, this facilitates work and did not happen previously in PsC meetings where there could be about 30 people" (4/5/1994). Paradoxically, he viewed the new structure of departments as an opportunity for collaborative work between teachers, to replace the absence of collaboration in matters of the national curriculum. Collaboration, in this context, takes place within tightly and clearly defined boundaries. However, as in England, many teachers and school managers saw the new system rather as a form of

enforced collaboration [...] [G]enuine collaborative cultures which promise authentic school improvements are under threat. [...] [T]hey [teachers] will see it as contrived collegiality if it appears to involve intensification, overload, ineffectiveness, limited choice, inappropriate democratic procedures, the domination of an informal discourse and extended institutionalization. (Woods *et. al.*, 1997: 47)

In Portugal, the Executive Director-School Council (ED-SC) model was presented as promoting wider participation because it allowed for the inclusion of lay governors. This aspect was often mentioned and contrasted with collegiate delegated management by ED-SD's advocates to highlight that, with the TC-PC model of management, governing functions remain with MoE. The advantages of the ED-SC model were judged against the limited possibilities of TCs and in some cases, these advantages were specifically judged against collegiate management: "power was more concentrated in a small group of people, now we have a separation of powers and [...] the day-to-day bureaucracy, is much more in the hands of the ED" (ED, Mar School, 28/2/1994). The fundamental point of the conflict which emerged in schools where the ED-SC model was experimented was influenced by the increased influence of lay governors in decision making. Lay governance complemented the concentration of managing authority and, consequently, limited teachers' involvement in decision making.

Advocates of the TC-PsC model point out that the ED-SC model insulates the practice of decision making from the school community and from school relations. Therefore, it reduces the possibilities for participatory democracy to develop and confines participation to a small group of representatives in the governing body. In this way the scale for participatory democracy in schools is replaced by an imperfect system of representation (via SCs). This system was seen by its opponents as being imperfect because rather than being modelled on democratic principles, it is modelled on commercial corporate structures.

The advantages of the ED-SC model (put forward by its advocates as being the increase in local autonomy and flexibility in decision making) were intersected by very concrete constraints. The outcome of decisions made in the SC produced precarious solutions and uncertainty about long-term provision. Despite the enthusiasm towards the ED-SC model, even its advocates were aware of its limits. The president of Mar SC - who was a strong supporter of the move towards professional management and lay governance as a way of transforming schooling and professional autonomy - expressed her ambivalence about relying on voluntary work and on parents' financial contributions to make basic provision. This is despite the location of this school covering two areas of the city where there is a high concentration of highly valued privately owned property and therefore, the potential for successful fund raising campaigns.

Security is being maintained by the parents association (PA) and by parents [...] with money that the Association managed to find, through the contact with parents [...] It is an experience that will only last a month because there is money only for a month and then we will see if it will continue or not, we have lots of security problems and neither the civil authorities nor the police or the Ministry gave a solution to it. [...] a great number of official letters [was sent] to the Regional Department of Education and to the local police asking for police protection [...] it is always difficult [...] to tell parents that this is a 'free' education system [...] [but] that it is not possible to [make provision] but there comes a point where people have to put their feet on the ground and say "my friends, in reality the system does not make provision". (28/2/1994)

The constraints imposed by expansion-related pressures on Portuguese schools was highlighted as being a limit on schools' capacity to be responsive, to innovate and to make provision of quality and which could be relevant to local needs (for more space; time and places).

The replacement of elected TCs with individual executive directorships reduced, in many of

the interviewees' views, the scope of public accountability. This replacement also led school relations becoming 'de-professionalised'. Bullock and Thomas also report on a process of 'de-professionalisation' taking place in England and Wales (1997: 52). De-professionalisation takes place as a new type of control where the democratic (elected), publicly accountable (open records) collective decision making is replaced by a management structure and practice informed by business criteria. The process of de-professionalisation is described by Woods *et. al.* as

loss or distillation of skills, routinization of work, the loss of conceptual, as opposed to operational, responsibilities, the replacement of holism by compartmentalization, work and bureaucratic overload, the filling and overfilling of time and space, loss of time for reflection and for recovery from stress, the weakening of control and autonomy, and, in general, a move from professional to technician status. (p. 85)

In Portugal, Teodoro describes this process in terms of the development of a trend towards

reduced teachers' autonomy [...] [which] ignored and asphyxiated existing innovative (school) projects [...] subordinated teachers to central or local political or administration control [...] [The] school management decree [DL. 172] aimed at institutionalising limits to teachers [...] and subjected teachers, accused of defending self-interests, to political or administrative bodies seen as interpreters of general interests. (Teodoro, 1994: 152-154, f.t.)

The strengthening of hierarchy inside schools created a 'division of values and purposes of professional culture [...] between managers, oriented to the budget, the market, entrepreneurial activities and the drive for efficiency, and teachers oriented to the national curriculum, teaching and learning, student needs' (Ball, 1994: 58) in both countries. Discretionary nomination of deputy managers present resistance to institutional democratisation or the democratisation of school relations. The distinction between the public and the private sector lays in this fundamental aspect. Public forums of decision making expose such practices and in this way stay closer to democratic accountability. Private sector management practices are veiled. Collinson's study of recruitment practices, for example, in forty five large UK companies reports on 'heavy reliance being placed on informal methods of recruitment, the use of subjective rather than objective criteria' (Keep, 1990:10).

With the encouragement of a distance between 'managers' and teacher, professional ethics, which are linked to the requirements for public accountability, as well as to the formal

structures of accountability, become colonised by the individual influence of schools' managers. This, in turn, has an effect on the subordination of governance to management. This subordination was, in fact, clear in the description of ED-SC relations by Campo School's ED.

It (SC) helps immensely the ED, not as a body which defines the policy guidelines for the School but more as a body that makes things clear and well defined, as a body to aid the ED. It is fundamental that the SC exists [...] I always respected people very much and I have always been concerned that I shouldn't be making decisions without letting my colleagues know immediately. (4/5/1994)

In this view of directorship, school governors are accountable to the ED in a system of reversed accountability: "I have to have above all a person that is responsible by the work produced by the PsC and to whom I can ask for responsibilities." (4/5/1994). The pattern of subordination which developed at Campo School generated tension. Both governors and teachers became the means for managerial ends and these transformed the school's capacity to plan provision. Decisions became not only highly constrained by cost-containment but also by the discourse on 'efficiency'. This is a process very similar to the trend reflecting the 'reworking of the teacher into a resource (to be managed), a cost calculation, an abstraction increasingly devoid of human qualities [...] which renders people/colleagues into resources' (Ball 1994: 63). In Campo School, horizontal school relations acquired a symbolic function. On the one hand, they became synonymous with 'equal' relationships: "it is obvious that my relationship with them is on an equal basis" (ED, 4/5/1994). On the other hand, this 'equality' was framed by the increased distance between ED, teachers and school governors which developed to resemble the 'cultural and structural separating off of the head from the possibility of collegiate relationships with staff' (Ball, 1994: 59) in England. Day-to-day decision making, at Mar School, also became concentrated with teachers having to rely much more on having to check decisions individually with the ED on a regular basis. Here the practice of management changed from a collegiate and shared open-door practice to become reliant on a closed door policy of formal individual relations with the ED. The teachers' union representative left the school and relationships changed substantially with an effect on teachers' active participation in decision making. The effects were described and disregarded by Mar's president of the SC in order to emphasise the importance of individual leadership.

Although here in the School things work very well, because we have known each other for a long time and we have very good personal relationships, many times, SC's meetings end up being what I want them to be [...] one of the battles I intend to fight, is to make people participate more [...] each member of the SC has to become an individual and start proposing issues to be discussed and debated because people still react in an old-fashioned way and are not used to take the initiative. (28/2/1994)

She was aware of the impact of the transformation being pushed through by reforms on behaviour and of its possible effects in distancing and alienating teachers from decision making. She criticised teachers' response to changes in anticipation of emphasising the role of individual leadership in carrying the prescribed change through: "I prepared the meeting and had a draft paper aiming at initiating discussion, I distributed it amongst the people, asked them to make amendments and all they said was that everything was okay, nobody altered anything" (idem). The development of internal hierarchical relations added to the existing external hierarchical (Ministry-teachers) relations. What Lima (1991a: 311) defined as the 'linking pin' characteristic of TC's position in relation to MoE was to disappear. TC's role in making representations on behalf of schools and of teachers was to become greatly constrained. EDs mediated instead the implementation of centralised policy. This represented a constraint on educational decision-making. The use of professional management by MoE as a 'universal' tool to be used regardless of the specificity and history of schools produced an opposition between what Smyth defines as 'school culture' and 'community', 'political engagement' and 'pedagogy'. School culture is 'managerial, hierarchical, intensified, segmented' and community is 'diversified, damaged, marginalised, devolved'. Political engagement is 'recentralised, marketised, accountable (testing, performance appraisal, league tables, 'consumer capture'), deprofessionalised' and pedagogy is 'reprofessionalised, deskilled and technicised' (1999: 5).

The politics of SC's meetings did not only become shaped by teachers' response to changes in the framework for their participation in decision making but also by the pressure derived from parents' membership of SCs. Parents represented a check on the workings of schools by lay members but this role was not always exercised having the community of pupils as paramount interest in decision making: "training would be needed because many times that participation becomes the advocacy of the interests of their own children, lacking a wider view of the interests of the community and of the School" (President of School Council, Mar School, 28/2/1994).

Amongst many other 'incongruous' relationships internal to the Portuguese Decree 172/1991, Matias *et. al.* have found that 'the competencies provided for the governing body are **incongruous** with the exercise of government functions within the scope of a desired educational community, **representative, participative and democratic**' (highlighted in original, 1994: 51). The practice emerging in the nine schools analysed in this study cannot be generalised to all schools because open, collaborative management continues to exist either to take advantage of government reforms for comprehensive purposes or to resist developments thought to be detrimental to teaching and learning. There was, nevertheless, a shift towards management restricting the possibilities for school-wide consultation in response to the pressures of central government on management teams at an early stage of implementation. The requirements for the implementation of statutory reforms intensified teachers' work as it transformed their role. The demands on teachers to respond to non-teaching commitments increased. Woods *et. al.* refer to a similar trend in England: 'innovations have entailed an escalation in the number of meetings teachers are required to attend [...] coordinators' meetings, informal meetings with parents and governors' meetings and sub committees' (1997: 27). They also report on stronger hierarchy in management-teachers relations; 'those that do' and 'the chiefs' (p. 40). Changes in teachers' roles were, on the other hand, also shaped by local practices and by teachers' responses to demands put on them. Woods *et. al.* make a distinction between 'enhanced', 'compliant', 'non-compliant' and 'diminished teachers' (p. 51). The effects of reforms were, therefore, produced by the combination of what reforms constrained teachers to do and the way in which teachers practised under those constraints.

In England, constraints were also presented in a framework of reform where the participation of parents and lay governors in decision making was represented as being a condition for 'better' management. The description of the advantages of delegated responsibilities by Belleview School's chair of the Governing Body (GB) did not make allowances for wider participation of teachers. The delegation of responsibilities previously exercised by LEAs in the areas of recruitment, maintenance and budgeting; definition of pay and working conditions and parents complaints to governors provided governors with a sense of control.

We [GB] are in control of the cleaning contract, we get a better service for a lesser payment, so [...] we save [...] The top priority was to get a good service, [...] is the same with grounds maintenance [...] we are in control of our money

[...] So it's in those sort of things that we think we are running the show better than the LEA. (15/11/1994)

This control did not imply the development of a school wide sense of control but rather its concentration. At Belleview, governors relied on the headteacher's expertise in securing the transition required by the transfers of responsibilities to schools. Governors trusted his advice and relied on it: 'they [governors] would certainly not question the advice I give them about the number of teachers we might need' (15/11/1994). As with management, there were paradoxes and contradictions in the advocacy of changes to governance. For the chair of Belleview's GB changes in governance had been important because they had allowed for lay involvement in producing the school policy on pupils' discipline. Whether the autonomy the school had had increased or decreased was, in this case judged by the possibility to make policy affecting discipline.

Despite his advocacy of reforms, Belleview's headteacher was also aware of the constraints presented by local management of schools on the day-to-day running of the School. Flexibility in management was confined to the delegation of specific responsibilities which, as he recognised, does not put learning at the top of the responsibilities delegated. These also involved the delegation to schools of expenses generated by events which were of a public and community nature and not specifically the responsibility of the school. Delegation meant these events were now expected to be solved by schools.

We just had new fencing put up, which the LEA has paid for [...] It had not been up for more than a week before somebody came along with some cutters and cut through it. It is now our responsibility to repair it. Also issues which have to do with property services [...] health and safety issues [...] and so on right all the way through to nice things to do with pupils and their learning achievement [are delegated] [...] which is probably the wrong way around because that is what should come first. (idem)

The confinement of delegation and the constraints on using delegation to affect educational matters allowed for limited freedom to improve the provision of education and these limitations affected basic provision relating to the National Curriculum.

We still have science labs that could do with updating, we still have got rooms that leak and all the rest of it but also we have made quite a few improvements [...] we do not have a room for each teacher, we have different classrooms for the children [...] A teacher will move from one classroom to another classroom

perhaps even a third classroom during the course of a morning sometimes which is not healthy [...] we used every classroom we've got, we don't have empty classrooms. (Bellevue School, Headteacher, 15/11/1994)

The autonomy which was granted by delegation affected more directly specific operational areas of basic administrative tasks. However, Bellevue's headteacher magnified the effect on these to advance claims about the improvement of classroom practice.

[Before,] teachers taking trips abroad were expected to sit down in their classroom and collect [money] [...] We are moving towards a model whereby the financial assistant will say I will be available [...] Teachers are grateful for that. [...] [Furthermore,] if I am not happy with the way the grass is cut or the football pitch or the hockey pitch are, I tell the contractor. He says he's sorry, comes down the next day and gets it sorted because otherwise I don't sign the cheque. It's very simple and very effective.

[...] We want to enable teachers to be free to teach so, for instance, we have got a colleague in an office upstairs with a desktop publishing sort of thing to produce lovely work-sheets for teachers and teachers don't have to write them out

[...] We get the services provided not only more quickly but sometimes more cheaply [...] Take the best quality and save money on previous arrangements which were clearly much more long-winded and cumbersome [...] We have decorated classrooms to try to make them a better environment [...] Improved some of the grounds [...] we've done quite a lot this year [...] and we have plans for next year as well [...] I can make repairs when I need a repair to be done [...] those if you like, more day-to day sort of issues. (idem)

These are some of the contradictions produced by LMS. As in other English schools, LMS was at the origin of 'tensions between a financial agenda based upon the most efficient use of resources and an educational agenda related to effectiveness in terms of student learning (Ball, 1994: 79). The transfers of responsibilities away from LEAs were not fully reflected in those transfers being affected to schools because responsibilities over the educational process and management of human resources were transferred to the private and quasi-private spheres. Schools became, in many areas, contractors of services which went out of the public sphere. In some cases, it implied the penetration of private relations within the public sphere as was the case in Bellevue: "we have privatised ground maintenance and cleaning contracts and the local authority provides the meal arrangements, so those (and that might be 40 adults say approximately) work on this site but not directly for me" (idem). This headteacher presented the framework of LMS as an opportunity and his autonomy to make improvements as being very limited. His embracement of managerial autonomy implied a notion of improvement associated with management of human resources, increase in school's performance and the

emerging market and management in the context of independence which Grant Maintained status provided. He actively promoted the idea of applying for such status within the governing body. He resented Belleview being part of an LEA which was both committed to comprehensive education, to equality in provision and to local democratic control of schooling and strongly opposed to combining the establishment of educational markets and the use of business management practice, as well as selection and segregation of pupils. West New LEA which maintained this school was keen on using the constraints of the 1988 ERA to advance comprehensive education but was firmly opposed to using the provisions in the Act to destroy the system which they had been running by reference to the demands of educational democratisation of pupils' participation in secondary education. Nevertheless, his embracement of autonomy from local government did not stand on firm ground and he recognized its limits.

I suspect it would be an issue which would cause the local community a lot of heartache and maybe cause some rifts between certain groups of parents and between parents and the School [...] We would see very few differences because I think we have a great deal of autonomy already [...] In financial terms we would be about a million pounds a year better off than we are at present some of which would go on additional insurance and so on, we would be better off in financial terms but we are not badly off anyway. It would isolate us from other schools and the local community. (Belleview School, Headteacher, 15/11/1994)

In practice, school managers experienced flexibility being constrained by the composition and costs with staff, the national curriculum, central government market-oriented system incentives and disincentives and the framework of open enrolment and *per capita* funding.

There is an idea that heads around the country are running small business. That is an oversimplification. 90% goes into staffing [...] Unlike the managing Director of M & S, I cannot fire/hire staff as it is assumed heads can. The issue of the head being in control of the school is misleading because there are national guidelines. Governing bodies have different powers but they cannot affect change in some areas in which they do not have responsibility. The national curriculum should be more in the hands, in the final years, of the head who would be accountable to the governing body which should represent the community as an accountable body rather than DfE who does not understand or does not want to consider local needs. (Headteacher, Garfield Boys School, 20/1/1994)

These constraints were consistently highlighted by headteachers.

Financial autonomy does not exist because there are central restrictions and also 80/82% goes into staffing costs. Flexibility hits obstacles such as teachers'

allowances [...] I would like to have more flexibility at that level. [...] Together with delegation came an increase in demands to prioritise. Heads have more responsibilities and market flexibility is a myth [...] Legislation is enabling on paper but difficult due to budget's size and lack of time of heads and teachers and resources are not enough. National pay and working conditions for teachers prevent [staff] management similar to private companies where employees can be easily employed, deployed and dismissed. National guidelines went against what teachers thought would work, targets changed over time without consultation. (Headteacher, City Park School, 20/1/1994)

The managerial flexibility associated with responsibilities over school maintenance is different from local autonomy over decision making because it defines the terms in which teachers' participation is to take place; the type of dialogue which is to be established between teachers involved in management and teachers in the classroom and in other school bodies; the type of professional autonomy and flexibility to respond to pupils' needs which is to emerge and it also reconstructs the notion of professional commitment. The combination of pressures from educational expansion with those imposed by the introduction of market conditions as the basic framework for admissions and financing was pointed to by English headteachers as imposing limits on their autonomy to respond to their schools' needs: "there are not enough rooms to address special needs." (Headteacher, Belleview School, 19/1/1994). "There is more time pressure [...] We have autonomy as long as we are in a good position regarding pupils' numbers" (Headteacher, The King's School, 18/1/1994). The theme of constraints on local management and governance was similar in the two countries. Financial constraints were mentioned by all headteachers in England as being the central area around which decision making took place. While before the introduction of LMS financial constraints were blamed on decision-making at the level of LEAs, after 1990, schools were faced with the direct pressure of having to make those decisions themselves. In all the schools of this study, the highest concentration of meetings concerned matters discussed in the Finance and the Personnel Committees of GBs. This reflects how staff-related policy started to be increasingly mediated by individual governing bodies.

Financial Delegation and Self-Financing

In both countries, financial instruments shaped the forms of management and governance which emerged at the early stage of implementation. In England, LEAs' direct involvement in building maintenance was targeted to emphasise the disadvantages of local democratic control against the performance of 'independent' budget units. Restricted areas of operative management were used to generalise the benefits of market-oriented over democratic financial management and delegation. 'Financial discourses' (Ball, 1994: 79) put an emphasis on self-financing (fund raising through rental, sale or private financing initiatives likely to increase budget levels above central departments' allocations). The creation of a school's private budget in Portugal is a good example of the way in which the ideology of self-financing penetrated schools. The purpose of having a 'private budget' was self-generation of financial resources. Private budgets allowed schools the possibility to engage in commercial activities in order to finance schooling. In turn, schools were expected to define autonomy as being the entrepreneurial use of incentives offered by this 'private budget'. Despite autonomy, in this sense, being a means to increase schools' involvement in administrative and financial functions at the cost of educational functions, self-financing, was, in some cases, presented as providing a sense of self-control. Regardless of their reduced impact in the overall school budget, self-financing strategies were represented as unconstrained, productive autonomy for schools by its advocates.

I have my accounts organized, I sell things, sell services [...] all works within the autonomy principle which is practised by us, I think we could practice it in an even more active way [...]

Look, I understand autonomy in an extremely simple way: there are situations where the law regulates its implementation and we, obviously do not waste the opportunity to exercise that at the administrative and financial level [...] Last year we had twelve million *escudos* initially and four million *escudos* later [...] sixteen million *escudos* from the State budget. Through the private budget we generated about thirteen million *escudos* in income, that means that the initial state's budget was lower than our private budget which means that we exercised that autonomy in full. The proof lies in the fact that we managed to get money [...] electricity projects, construction building [...] christenings, birthday parties, weddings [...] rentals, IT courses, vocational training courses (that we are about to start). All that represents a substantial income for the school [...], with the courses I am expecting to raise about ten million *escudos*. (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1994)

Moving the practice of school management closer to commercial activities in order to finance

basic education became possible even without the creation of an educational market for admissions. The impact of engaging in commercial activities on schools and on teaching and teachers' roles was, however very similar to the type of self-financing activities emerging in accounts of English headteachers (Ball, 1994: 75-76). Those activities varied from opening a bar on weekends in schools' premises, having language Departments selling services, running IT courses, letting or selling schools' land or other assets. Engagement in these activities required a substantial redefinition of the meaning of school autonomy; the role of teachers involved in teaching and of teachers involved in management; the boundaries of professional practice and the meaning of local financial independence from national public financing of education. Private budgets in Portugal were a very important form of introducing the practices associated with market exchanges (such as advertising and competition) without a market for admissions being created. As in England, the effect of what might appear as being a small initiative, geared school managers and teachers towards a set of relations where there is 'confrontation between financial planning and educational judgments about good practice' (p. 73). This confrontation emerged within schools and across schools reflecting the position of teaching practitioners and managers according to whether they teach or manage to support or to contain expansion. Self-financing is one of the constituent elements of the enterprising school where administrative and financial tasks are expected to guide the planning of educational priorities. The type of efficiency which is to be achieved is defined by central government and has a role in setting the boundaries where autonomy is to be exercised. This prescription of boundaries is not translated into control. Instead,

self-management is key to the achievement of 'steering at a distance', it articulates self-regulation with a microtechnology of control and ramifies the value and cultural changes set in train by finance-led decision making and competition. [...] as a discourse, management is productive rather than simply coercive. It increases the power of individuals - managers and managed in some respects - while making them more docile. (Ball, 1994: 66)

By itself, self-financing created considerable constraints upon schools' ability to make provision as managers' roles were redefined within the boundaries of compliance with government policy and as the use of professional educational judgment on policies affecting children's education was being reduced. Schools engaged in marketing strategies actively and these implied specific changes in schools' image. Without being constrained by direct

government's control, the definition of educational priorities became, in this context, increasingly shaped by concerns about, on the one hand, being successful in the *recruitment* of the *best* pupils and teachers and the production of the *best* results and, on the other hand, failing to attract those students and risking not being *educationally viable*. Belleview was a winner: pupils numbers were on the increase, it had an expanding 6th Form and a growing budget. The ability to increase the School's budget required the embracement of market mechanisms and discipline. It also required practices of management which incorporated the culture of individual entrepreneurship. These constraints defined the framework within which the ability to increase the budget would develop and this ability was, as in a private business, highly dependent on the introduction of changes to the image of schools and on exam results: "LMS quite clearly benefits a school that is bigger and getting bigger" (Headteacher, 15/11/1994). LMS had an important role in the process of educational criteria being overruled by administrative efficiency based upon 'finance-led' (Ball, 1994: 66) decision making. Schools had to be responsive to the calls generated by market relations and this explains the reason for, for example, open days becoming an important marketing exercise. Woods *et. al.* (1998) have found five types of schools' "responses to a more market-like environment" (p. 148) in England. One of the '[operational] modes of engagement [...] [is the] *promotional* - action concerned with how the school is perceived and with ensuring that its image is as positive as possible' (p. 149). At Belleview, there was an awareness of, on the one hand, active choosers focusing on particular qualities of the School and on using them as a reference to exercise their choice. On the other hand, of parents not engaging in the system of choice and, instead valuing school proximity and their local school.

The ones who are actually choosing, want schools which appear to be well run, well disciplined, reasonably calm. They want their child to come to a school where they are going to be safe, where they are not going to be bullied. They want their child to come to a school where the examination results are pretty good, they want a school where teachers are approachable and where they are able to talk and chat and ask some questions [...] Now, that may not be every parent. (Headteacher, 15/11/1994)

The exercise of parental choice, in market terms, required schools not only to be responsive to, but it also forced the move towards the provision of education based on the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' schools, teachers and pupils. As will be analysed in the next section, schools' role in the establishment of those divisions was exercised both at the point of

admission and in the process of schooling. Advocates of such divisions were responsive to the opportunity presented by government to introduce the division between vocational and general education streams at the compulsory level of schooling. Autonomy, for the headteacher of Belleview and for his GB was perceived as being the possibility to make provision based on the segregation of pupils, rather than on comprehensive schooling. Thus, being responsive implied the active promotion of segregation of pupils into general and vocational streams. The latter was expected to be established to provide certification for pupils whose learning styles and expectations did not fit within the boundaries of learning set by the National Curriculum and Testing: "I would hope that the proposed changes in national curriculum [...] allow us to find ways to motivate those youngsters who are not benefiting from a full national curriculum diet [...] to provide vocational courses from 14 to 16" (Headteacher, 19/1/1994).

One of the effects of consumer choice on the size of the budget was to constrain schools and to influence the way in which they were to define educational priorities. Private parental choice assisted in defining what are 'undesirable' aspects of schooling and in doing so pupils were classified into different 'categories':

the second category of children [...] they prefer perhaps their sons and or daughters do not have to go to school with them [...] it is the snob value element of wanting your child to be at a school with other like- minded, well motivate children and not having to be in school where a certain percentage of the school population will be less motivated, less able, more inclined, shall we say, to proceed at a slow pace and possibly likely to disrupt lessons. (idem)

Market-informed choice reinforced the continuity with the maintenance of existing hierarchies of private, Grammar and public schools in England while introducing a new hierarchy within public schools. The trends of parents sending children to private schools continued. The choice between public schools which have the capacity to provide good specialist facilities for sport and science or which do not have *too many* children with special educational needs or disruptive behaviour increased. Democratic and publicly accountable institutions and policy procedures were used to enhance private interests of individual parents instead of the interests of the wider public. This use of institutions and of policy procedures had the effect of returning to the social and educational differentiation of geographical areas and individuals not according to educational interest but to income, grades and social status. The headteacher at Belleview was aware of the School's *niche* of provision.

We have the widest imaginable ability range. In our upper 6th form one boy has just had his interviews for Oxford entry, one girl has got 3 or 4 offers for Medical School [...] we will have youngsters [...] achieving very little in terms of academic attendance [...] the average kid, if there is such a thing, is below the national average, [...] towards the less able [...] we have more boys than girls [...] this is predominantly white [...] of the 1800 children we've got, no more than 50 will be non white and that's been growing slowly each year but ever so slowly [...] and interestingly enough quite a few of those youngsters will travel quite a long way to us [...] South Tolbry itself is not the most affluent of areas, [...] Slightly higher than average level of unemployment, there are families in the area who will be disadvantaged [...] we are not a school which is dependent on one local authority especially or private housing especially [...] they come from a variety of backgrounds but South Tolbry doesn't have the sort of super posh highly affluent areas. (Headteacher, 19/1/1994)

Being responsive to market conditions, namely competition between schools, implied a move towards selection of the *best* pupils and the neglect of *low* achievers, as well as, the creation of a hierarchy of maintained schools and the reinforcement of the differentiation between maintained, Grammar and private schools. Schools, whenever able to, were expected to choose their pupils because intake determines their exam results and these, in turn, become an important criterion of parental choice. Market choice relied, in fact, on two processes of selection: selection of schools by parents and selection of pupils by schools. Rather than introducing selection in schools, market choice embraced existing practices and by recovering them turned them into mainstream provision. Those two processes of selection are not new. In their study of parental choice in the Greater London area, Ball *et. al.* reach the same conclusion: 'competition between schools here is not new and neither is the willingness of some parents to explore to the full the possibilities of choice available to them' (1995: 53). Parental choice of schools expressed at the same time existing local differentiation between schools and social differences between families in terms of academic, economic, cultural and political capital. The 'formal market structure of per capita funding, LMS, league tables [...] and open enrolment' (p.88) built upon and advanced 'differentiation and segregation, both within and between schools' (p. 179). The differentiation between schools in the area of New West Council, was enhanced by parental choice which, in turn, reinforced a movement away from the city towards suburban schools. Belleview School, with the re-establishment of its 6th form, its location away from the city centre and closeness to the city boundary, had a forecasting capacity only partly constrained by the uncertainty of parental choice. Its post-parental choice history was of growth in pupil numbers which more than compensated for the number of pupils leaving to go to suburban schools. The planning capacity of the School was

not endangered but the School became increasingly aware of the relationship between its intake and its financial capacity. The general expansion in pupils' numbers, combined with the 6th form's intake, allowed for a degree of freedom in increasing the teaching staff numbers and in transferring areas of administrative responsibility from teaching to newly created non-teaching posts. Budget growth was actively combined with changes in staff recruitment. "Probably because we did develop into having a 6th form, we are able to take on more staff, 50% of the staff here were appointed by me [...] Many of them are young. We have now a pupil-teacher ratio of fifteen to one; that's much better" (Headteacher, Belleview School, 19/1/1994). The School started recruiting teachers at the beginning of their teaching career, on salaries lower than those of experienced, specialised teachers thus reducing the overall level of expertise and experience on which the school could rely. The existing financial flexibility was driven by the aim of saving and this implied moving away from an experience-based recruitment strategy towards an age-based recruitment strategy.

Much of that (improvement in staff resources) is, I suspect, shielded, clouded a little by the fact that many of them are young, so their salaries are still going up; provided they keep on coming to me for three or four years [...] move on, and although we don't deliberately have a policy of appointing young, less experienced people, young people coming straight out of College are cheaper to employ and if they are good and appropriate for the school we do employ them. But we have no policy of just doing that but that has a bearing, whereas in a school where you don't have the same turnover of staff and they are older, in their thirties, forties, fifties, whatever, of course, you pay a lot more for your teaching. [...] the creation of 6th form 6 years ago meant that we could go from a staff of 85 [...] steadily [...] to 112 [...] you're much more likely to appoint many younger ones amongst staff [...] and so we got ourselves into this kind of cycle which might not be unhealthy but which we need to be careful to monitor [...]. Too much turnover would be destabilising. (idem)

This headteacher was also aware of how engaging in the emerging market of admissions was opposed to the goals of basic education for all and favoured the reintroduction of the division between basic instruction and basic education. Being part of carrying his school through the transition required by government implied engaging in those changes. These changes were required by the inevitable conditions of 'being competitive' and responsive to parents choosing schools according to their academic results and their performance in terms of league tables. He was well aware of the constraints on providing education for all and of the pressure to move away from comprehensive provision:

One of the basic flaws with the national curriculum is [...] this assumption that if you said "you are all going to study these subjects and we expect you to get to these sort of levels" there are children and their parents in support of them [...] In fact there are a certain number of young people who would find that a big switch off and they will stop and regress and not want to come to school. (Bellevue School, Headteacher, 19/1/1994)

Schools found themselves, in this way, at the centre of several contradictions. In both countries, the exercising of autonomy by schools was shaped by the parallel and contradictory demands presented by coherent programmes of reform aimed at changing the culture of delivery and the type of provision of education. Professional management had a key role in linking interrelated areas and aspects of reform on which the establishing of a framework of market relations relied. Therefore, changes to management were of fundamental importance in defining the type of control and autonomy over the governance of education. In turn, the definition of autonomy required changes to career development, pay and working conditions which schools were expected to initiate.

Prescribing Local Control Through Professional Management

In their study of management in 365 Portuguese primary schools between 1984 and 1986 Climaco and Rangel sought to analyse 'the way in which the structures and the behaviours of individuals integrating them worked' (1988: 85).

In all [...] studies [...] it was very much evident a triangular relationship [...] between the form of organisation [of schools], the behaviours and attitudes of their agents [...] and the quality of education on offer. (p. 86, f.t.) [...] In the schools where there is a strong pedagogical dynamic, around their own project, there is almost always individual or group leadership that reinforces the energy needed for a persistent job and a job of quality. [...] leadership [is] spontaneous, sometimes grounded on personal characteristics. (p. 90)

Climaco's studies and her involvement in policy making advocated the need to move away from demand-led towards supply-led management of expansion-related educational needs and of resources. The emphasis on the 'triangular relationship' shifts the diagnosis of problems faced by schools. In the period of these studies, such diagnosis represented the difficulties which schools faced as a consequence of historical blockages to educational and institutional democratisation and of the effects of these on management, human resources and schooling in general as being a consequence of the mechanisms for democratic management existing in schools at the time. Teachers and school managers were blamed for the effects produced by those historical blockages. Most teachers' and school managers' commitment and competency in dealing with the highly demanding task of teaching within a strong framework of constraints, as well as their success in having maintained the national system active for over a decade were disregarded. Some schools, for example, had 80% of teachers' mobility in one year while other schools had 80% of permanent teachers. By the end of the 1980s, the level of teachers' geographical mobility in national terms was very high: '20% had changed school five or more times between 1978 and 1988 [...] 40 to 50% had moved three or more times. [This] mobility affected teachers of between 26-35 and 36-45 years of age' (Braga da Cruz *et al.*, 1988: 35, f.t.). [In the former group], '[...] more than 60% had known at least four schools in the last 10 years' (p. 36).

The effectiveness-oriented diagnosis promoted the move towards individual leadership and

civil society's participation-led governance and management models and had a role in emphasising the 'generalised feeling about inefficiency of schools and negative indicators of the system [...] [in order to highlight] how the way in which schools [were] managed [at the time] is responsible for those indicators' (Climaco, 1988: 41). The emphasis on effectiveness and on community involvement in governance is similar to the terms of the 1988 Chicago reform experiment (Pink, 1992). The definition of community involvement in this context and for the Portuguese government in 1987, was grounded on the view of civil society in 'five dimensions: individualism, privacy, the market, pluralism and class' (Giner, 1985:255). The 'conception of civil society' (Honneth, 1993), on which the definition of involvement was based, denoted a mix of 'Locke's [...] society as an association of free citizens defined by their economic interests [and] Montesquieu's [...] legally legitimized corporations of public self-government' (p. 64).

In Climaco's studies, the emphasis on the need to change was purposefully linked to management and specifically the existence of a significant number of TCs which had been nominated (rather than elected) at the time - 42% in junior and 31.4% in secondary schools - (Climaco, 1988: 48). 'It is [...] at the level of school management that one can obtain significant differences [...] "Management leads to change". [...] management is not only a way of governing schools; it is a strategy of development' (p. 50). The diagnosis of education derived from Climaco's analysis highlights distinctions between teachers, pupils and schools. This resembles the distinctions which were established in England where 'good' schools were identified with 'positive' results in league tables, the 'concern' the school shows for children, the speed/effectiveness with which parents' complaints are dealt, the way children walk home and their behaviour. This characterization was embedded in some teachers' views: "grammar schools, which have middle class, aspiring parents, have better GCSE results in league tables because of raw material" (Headteacher, Ashfield Common School, 18/1/1994). The identification of 'good' schools implied the classification of 'bad' schools. These were associated with city schools with children coming from 'non-literate', 'non-education oriented' backgrounds and with comprehensive education. As in Portugal, there is a variety of management styles in schools and the definition of what is a 'good' or a 'bad' school, pupil or teacher is very controversial. Nevertheless, the reference to a school's reputation emerged as a strong factor in interviews as well as in the contact with parents, teachers or others with no

immediate direct interest in schools. References to geographical location or to schools as being a 'desirable' place to learn, were some of the other elements which together with league tables were mentioned by headteachers to establish distinctions: "they [league tables] are a powerful measure for parents and they are beginning to show a selective pattern, a school with the more able and a school with the less able, as opposed to a comprehensive pattern" (Ashfield Common School, Headteacher, 18/1/1994). In turn, the distinctions informed by league table results influenced the direction of schools' admissions policy and definition of priorities. When asked if pupils' selection at entry made a difference for league tables, the headteacher of Belleview School replied "naturally" (15/11/1994). League tables, in many cases, produced information on schools which for many with knowledge of local areas confirmed long standing perceptions about differences between pupils according to social background and income status. These differences were quite often attached to geographical areas and housing status. For some other of the headteachers, league tables were inaccurate and unhelpful instruments: "league tables are not comparing like with like" (Garfield School, 20/1/1994). "League tables are fine but [...] they are misleading to parents because they lack contextual information. League tables are objective, factual information. The subjective level is not present (Ashfield Common School, 18/1/1994). Distinctions based on league tables are straightforward and static and parental choice is exercised differently. Parental choice created uncertainty for schools and for their planning capacity. Some headteachers thought this uncertainty unhelpful: "it exacerbates schools' difficulties. Parental choice is good for schools that are doing well but it can be negative for schools that are trying to improve" (idem). The concern with the school's local image and reputation, with promotional and marketing initiatives implied less involvement in educational matters which is, paradoxically, the core activity of schools. The headteacher at City Park School stressed how *per capita* funding interacts with the specific characteristics of schools to produce constraints:

if money for maintenance is given to schools on the number of students, there will not be enough money [...] some schools started off as losers, for various reasons. There is a point of no possible return because since success is tied to attracting children, a school with less able children will not be able to compete. It is a vicious circle: less pupils, less money, less possibility to improve, less students. (20/1/1994)

Even big, expanding schools are constrained, in what they can do to raise GCSE results, by

aspects related to special needs, geographical class differences and schools' different composition of pupils as experienced in the community and the whole urban area where the school is located.

We might be able to improve from 25 to 30 per cent whatever. We are not going to get up to 73, I guess ever, it would just be an absolute impossibility. That has to be recognized [...] I would not be at all surprised if [...] some schools are suffering as a result of the provision which is made to schools within the city itself because of a higher incidence of young people with specific learning difficulties [...] a higher percentage than that would be outside in some of the more middle class suburbs [...] How are we going to fit into that sort of relationship? Because our percentage of children with special needs is not going to be as high as it will be in some schools closer to the city centre, the incidence of free school meals here is going to be lower in percentage than would be in some schools because they might have a more disadvantaged local community, a housing estate, whatever. All those factors will have to be borne in mind [...] although the number of youngsters receiving free school meals is steadily growing, it has gone from 12 or 15 per cent to close to 20 per cent. (Headteacher, Belleview School, 15/11/1994)

Woods *et. al.* (1998) also found that the link *curriculum differentiation-exam results-marketing-parental choice-funding* was a predominant feature of schooling and a well established feature influencing decision making.⁽¹⁾

Market mechanisms and the practice of autonomy assisted in advancing past characteristics which comprehensive schooling had aimed at moving away in the past. Namely, 'the cleavage between theoretical, academic and abstract [...] and knowledge connected to practice, practical activities and experience of things, [removed] to a secondary place, when not excluded, by the curriculum (Antunes, 1996: 169, f.t.). Some schools responded actively to government's calls to differentiate between pupils and to introduce vocational schooling before pupils had completed 9 years of basic education. The effect of league tables was to exacerbate local differentiation as the headteacher of Belleview explains:

Tocam is a Grammar School and at least until recently they used to have an element of selection [...] and their results were very good results [...] They compared very favourably with schools outside the city [...] We are disappointed with our 25% of 5C's and above, we had 28% in previous years. I would have found that if anything, the percentage would translate as being up [...] To put our results in context, we have come to assess the educational ability of young people [...] at the point of entry and we are thinking of doing that as well at the end of year 9, regardless of the key stage 3 testing. We need to do it I think for our own benefit [...] 50% of the children that come to us this September have a year or more below the average reading age. (15/11/1994)

Being responsive required two types of changes in schooling. First, moving away from the commitment to educating all children, which implied taking into account social, cultural and individual creativity, skills and learning styles, and to improving provision for students with specific or special educational needs. Second, favouring, instead 'a specific notion of achievement' at entry level and moving 'non- achievers' to the vocational branch of both general and post-16 education. A National Curriculum is of fundamental importance to establish such notion of achievement. The ED of Campo also saw the move towards pupils selection as a productive form of entrepreneurship which reflected the School's capacity to exercise initiative and to become autonomous in the production of 'quality' education without the need for extra financial resources, staff or services for children assessed as not achieving the targets defined by the School. To this ED the move towards selection was closely linked to his idea of 'good' education. In this case, 'good' education was defined in terms of academic grades and classical art subjects.

There are less pupils with higher scores (today). There's a big crisis. I mean in the relation parents-children which in my view continues to be one of the great causes of low achievement. We would like to go further at the cultural level of the curriculum: dance and music classes [...] The pupil wanted here is the one that we know before hand where he is going [...]: the Higher Technical Institute or the University's Science Faculty; the pupil that wants to be here and this is not the one who is here now; the pupil who engages in dance and music activities; the one holding 15+/20 exam marks. (4/5/1994)

Such classification of pupils and schools was produced having an *ideal* type of pupil in mind. The ideal pupil is male, willing and likely to choose Classical subjects and to perform high in the academic league table. *He* will be assertive, with a strong sense of *future planning* and a *high achiever*. The construction of this ideal type of pupil was set against the background of public moral concern with academic achievement. Underlying the definition of an ideal type was the wish to return to selection which was at the core of the non-democratic national education project before 1974. School autonomy, in this case, was also identified with the school's desire to move away from the national consensus on comprehensive provision. This shift was achieved through the 1980s 'growing claim for more selective forms of assessment and to return to national examinations' (Afonso, 1998: 129, f.t.) which led to changes in assessment. The notion of achievement being embraced focused on narrow aspects of teaching and learning and did not represent the way in which the wider school community

conceptualises achievement. The 'ways in which teachers conceptualise pupils' progress, are much more complex and rich than the conceptions of progress and support implicit in [...] effectiveness research' (Brown, 1995: 6).

Together with the return to educational differentiation, there was, another process of restoration taking place. The process of early referral of pupils to vocational courses did not only replicate previous measures it also anticipated effects similar to those which are captured in Dubar's research in France:

"It is THOSE who left school because of under achievement, not motivated for training, incapable of looking to the future (incapable of allocating value to themselves/incapable of performing an elementary calculation), that do not have the habit of rigour and of precision (because the enterprise only fabricated products of low quality), that do not know how to control their own work and that are difficult to mobilise after decades of taylorism." This phrase of a technical Director [...] summarises [...] [the description of] some of those responsible by firms of those who are judged [not to have] the "new competencies" that the firm of the future demands and are considered incapable of acquiring them. [...] they are salaried [people] that, having been hired by the firm to occupy work positions for which they were, then, judged *apt*, are virtually considered *incompetent* to fulfil it does not matter which function in the firm of the future. (1991/1997: 187/188, f.t.)

The 'improvement/effectiveness' framework provided the reference for the definition of quality and was also closely associated with the intensification of teachers work. This was visible at Mar School where despite the overall agreement about teachers' participation requiring work intensification between the ED and the president of the SC, there was also an awareness of the extra pressure work intensification puts on teachers and of the contradictions of making policy within such constraints. The president of the SC reveals the impact of such tension.

There is always that group that does not participate, those that participate with what I consider being minimal, they teach their classes, they fulfil their obligations, some better than others, they go to meetings when they have to but if one asks them to do more than that they will say no. [...] Teachers' timetable is of 22 hours/week [...] then it's all the work at home that goes beyond that [...] I am sure all my colleagues work at weekends, like I do, to mark, to prepare classes, etc. [...] One could meet on Saturday [...] but having Saturday meetings would not solve the problem completely [...] and next year with the reform of Year 12 it is going to be hell. (28/2/1994)

The ED expressed a strong commitment to the implementation of central government policy. She defined participation, for example, within the context of limited productive autonomy

which she distinguished from decentralisation. Limited autonomy reflected the mandate of implementing transition as it was defined centrally. Decentralisation was, in her definition, total autonomy and she did not advocate it.

We can do, we have more freedom [...] We do not have total autonomy, because total autonomy would mean total financial autonomy [...] We have much more than what we had, there are no doubts but it is not total it is not total decentralisation [...] Autonomy will have to be gradual [...] God save me if it wasn't [...] Schools are not prepared, people in the administrative services, because there are people that are very capable but others are still being trained [in the new model]. The school managers and administrators are not prepared, they need adequate training, a certain type of qualification [...] Conscientious teachers would like to have more autonomy [...] The class directors should be really competent teachers, with a profile matching their job, therefore, they should be nominated by the school's management team and they should be compelled to accept the job, they would have two hours reduction or would then, in that way have their timetables completed [...] the criteria should be based on competence. (28/2/1994)

Instead, in her definition, autonomy was related to the execution of policy or the possibility that schools have to choose between implementation routes to introduce centralised policies and procedures but not to make innovations which deviate from the autonomy prescribed by MoE. Innovations, in this framework, were allowed only if they complied with the Ministry's objectives. This is (productive) autonomy to have specific things done. In this case, it involved the implementation of a new form of regulation of professional autonomy and the modification of professional behaviour according to the priorities of professional management. This is the framework within which policy was implemented.

Each school is free to try [...] We execute an educational statutory national policy [*politica*] and a policy [*politica*] designed by the SC. It is in the SC that one defines an educational policy for the School and all the principles that are going to [inform] school organisation and its functioning. (President of the SC, 28/2/94)

In this framework, teachers' participation was, as autonomy, regulated and linked to career development: "now, whether people like it or not they have to progress in their career, they are evaluated in their performance, so they will participate more, even if unwillingly, or with no free will" (*idem*). There is a disciplinary element in this form of performance assessment. It is linked to the performance of specific tasks as judged important within the priorities defined by professional management in fulfilment of ministerial initiatives. In this way, the assessment of non-prescribed areas of teachers' performance is given a lower value in assessment. This

difference fostered the distinction between 'professional' and 'non-professional' teachers. 'Professional' teachers were perceived as being committed (to prescribed reforms and its cultures of schooling), 'responsible' and willing to promote and facilitate the implementation of the new model of management and governance. 'Non-professional' teachers were defined as teachers who 'just do their job', that do not have a commitment to the new model. These teachers were not welcomed as members of staff and their attempt to question curriculum programmes and targets should, according to some school managers, be disciplined: "people cannot do what they want, they are not kings inside their classrooms" (ED, Campo School, 4/5/1994). The link between the emphasis on the distinction between teachers, pupils and schools mentioned above and the exercise of managerial leadership was a feature of professional management which emerged systematically in the interviews. Leadership had the specific role of not only establishing such differentiation but also of making policy in response to it. The association of participation with notions and strategies reflecting individual leadership and entrepreneurship also had an important role in carrying through the advocacy of differentiation of pupils, teachers and schools.

The re-creation of autonomy through professional management was assisted by the culture of development planning in both countries. In Portugal, there were two statutory instruments which prescribed the framework which shaped the new culture of autonomy: the School Educational Project (SEP) and *Area Escola* (AE). These instruments had an interlinked role in shaping the redefinition of planning and in securing the transfer of this function from local government to schools.

Area Escola: the Paradox of Autonomy in Portugal

AE was one of the aspects of schooling where the contradictory demands of government reforms were most visible. AE was a component of the curriculum which was not assessed but it was highly valued by MoE as a test of schools' and teachers' initiative to produce high profile projects which should, in MoE's view, reflect the 'dynamism' and the educational 'profile' of schools. At the school level, teachers were positioned between those Ministry expectations, their own enthusiasm about putting into practice school generated projects and the demands

of implementing new general curriculum and assessment programmes, national exams and special needs assessment procedures. These, from 1992 (Regulation 98-A), required teachers to produce individual educational plans for children not achieving the minimum requirements set by the curriculum. Despite teachers' positive attitudes towards project work, the nature of ministerial regulations created restrictions on the exercise of professional autonomy. As the definition of areas and types of autonomy were produced in a highly centralised system, they were part of MoE's framework of regulation of local autonomy. Schools at a nation-wide level became involved in a great variety of projects - 284 from 1990 to 1993 - (Benavente, 1995:5, 9). These were not all produced within the requirements of AE defined in 1989 and which emphasised the need to combine teaching of different subjects with project work. The purpose being both to expose pupils to the experience of multidisciplinary learning applied to issues related to the environment, national cultures and heritage and to establish links between the experience of schooling and the life of the communities where schools were placed (as defined in MoE's Regulation 142/1990). The projects developed in schools were produced in response to other requirements, some of them which had been advanced by individual teachers and by schools for some time without official encouragement or support in the past. Others were produced in response to provisions made by the 1986 Education Act aimed at involving pupils in non-curriculum activities regulated in 1990 (Regulation 141) and part of schools' annual planning. They were all integrated in a quasi-regulatory framework. Thus, they remained positioned between the compulsory element which characterised the national curriculum and the exercise of teachers' autonomy. Teachers had attempted for over a decade to introduce innovation and to link teaching to the knowledge of local communities without having been encouraged or supported by the Ministry. When the 1986 Act was produced, it provided hope for such encouragement and support to allow for more autonomy to be exercised. The regulatory framework which was to be implemented from 1987 to 1990 made teachers very discouraged and angry, creating an atmosphere of cynicism amongst them. The mix of their context of pay and working conditions with the issues related to the national system of recruitment, which had created great geographical displacement and contractual uncertainty, completed the motives for such cynicism about future initiatives. The enthusiasm and political entrepreneurship existing at the Ministry was oblivious to the local environment of schools. Such enthusiasm and entrepreneurship produced a specific atmosphere of dynamism and innovation at the central level which was translated into initiatives and which was widespread

across the Ministry departments. Given the political climate marking the whole governance of education and of public services in general and the fact that those initiatives were outdated in relation to the local dynamic of schools, such dynamism appeared as being out of touch with local provision and was received as traditional ministerial imposition of objectives for the benefit of central departments' political performance.

There was also another aspect which made relationships between teachers and the Ministry difficult during this period. For many years, teachers had attempted to introduce curriculum innovation, to make teaching relevant for their pupils and to find creative ways to address special needs within an environment of expansion of pupils numbers and of wider cost-containment which nevertheless affected educational financing and the funding of basic needs of the system (such as the construction of buildings and the provision of basic curriculum resources). Paradoxically, from 1987 onwards, political entrepreneurs at the central level invested their time stressing the need to innovate. This was, however a specific kind of innovation. There were several individuals in MoE committed to implementing specific projects ranging from the introduction of educational performance targets to administrative and financial reforms, curriculum activities and Primary school mergers. Their actions resembled and in some cases applied to their job and transferred to the job of school managers, the role of Schumpeterian 'agents for change'.⁽²⁾ The concept of risk was associated with introducing change against local resistance and it did not incorporate the possibility for opposition to such a framework. 'Taking risky action' involved producing school projects within the centrally prescribed framework. The work which resulted from the projects in schools concentrated and combined single responses to issues related to long-term demands for special needs provision with, on the one hand, teachers demands to exercise professional autonomy and, on the other hand, the agendas of 'local policy entrepreneurs'. Those projects also provided responses to the gap existing between schooling - and the community environment and social and economic conditions of families excluded from the mainstream educational, employment, housing or cultural environment - and ministerial prescription of autonomy. Educational projects were used by MoE and by policy entrepreneurs to advance their political agenda. They did this by stressing that 'schools can make a difference' and by associating schools' quality with 'innovation'. Schools and teachers were very aware of how these projects required an extraordinary level of extra commitment in terms of teachers' and pupils' time and of resources

They were also well aware about being highly constrained by prescription of the terms in which teaching, learning, management and governance should be practised. In some cases, projects which were proudly produced by schools, which involved the whole school community, parents and others and which had required extensive resources had a high impact. At the same time they represented single initiatives responding to teachers unfulfilled expectations about long-term curriculum changes. Sometimes, those initiatives just reflected the possibility to organise local field trips or to engage in the use of basic activities and with technologies which were special because they were not available throughout the year, as in the case described below.

[W]ith the aim of turning the School in a pleasant and more shared space and in response to the Educational Project [...] there was a "Different Day" [...] [In] the first [day] [...] *classes were replaced by other activities.* [...] In the second [day] there was a running competition [...] The third [day] *consisted of a field trip* [...] The fourth [day] consisted of [sports activities]. (Benavente, 1995: 244-245, f.t.)

The outcomes of this type of initiative were commonly defined in terms which, although described as being exceptional, were not more than the skills and experiences which schooling was expected to produce: 'democratic debate, acceptance of different opinions, choice between different alternatives, decision-making, problem solving [...] field trips [...] applied skills [...] project work, [...] use of the imagination [...] interaction with colleagues and teachers' (Monteiro & Queirós, 1993: 72-73, f.t.). In their study of twenty two school educational projects, thirty three plans of activities and nineteen internal rules, Afonso *et. al.* concluded those were 'very circumscribed, idealized and formalized' (1998: 63, f.t.) materials which 'did not penetrate educational and professional practices' and 'masqueraded real practices' (idem) and raise the question on whether such projects are initiatives which were 'not internalized nor adopted by schools [but that have a] symbolic value' (p. 68, f.t.).

School Development Planning in Portugal

Autonomy is the capacity and the right to conceive [the school's] own educational project [...] A set of internal rules, activities [...] approved by school bodies and not the centre. (ED, Mar School, 28/2/1994)

Development planning was also one of the various areas of implementation where most of the contradictions of reforms were visible. SEPs were one of the instruments introduced by MoE which caused most controversy and discussion in the schools analysed in this thesis. At the centre of the controversy is the gap between the objectives which the Ministry promoted during the production of SEPs and the demands on schools and the consequent priorities defined at school level. Afonso *et. al.* (1998) found 'great diversity' of projects and a wide ranging understanding of what a SEP is. They also found that most SEPs were provisional and a lack of coherence between SEPs and other school documents (p. 5). They questioned whether the production of SEP was just another innovation prescribed by legislation which 'had not been linked to any social and significant strategy to make claims guided by specificity or individualisation [of schools]' (p. 68). Macedo found that decisions relating to SEPs were, in its majority, taken by PsCs and that the production of SEPs was, with one exception, the exclusive responsibility of a group of teachers in PsCs (1995: 165, 167). SEPs were mostly seen as resulting from the need schools had to identify its own objectives, to develop innovative initiatives and to solve schools' specific problems. The enactment of Decree 43/1989 was judged to be the lowest aspect guiding the decision to produce SEPs (p. 164). Estevão highlighted the association of autonomy with SEPs - which were created in the image of private schools - as being problematic (1994: 52). At Campo School, the definition of the type of education needed by pupils and the priorities for teaching/learning were part of a long process of discussion in the SC. This characteristic is not unlike other schools. Costa (1995) also refers to a period of sixteen months between the agreement to produce and the production of a school project (p. 408-411). The definition of principles and of the educational mandate for that specific community of pupils underlined those discussions. These discussions mirrored wider contention about fundamental principles of the legislation in force and the commitments of the constitutional state. There was friction caused by the discrepancy between existing regulation (Decree 49/1989) of school autonomy and schools' requirement for autonomy. Decree 49 prescribed the type of autonomy the Ministry wanted implemented. Schools

required the decentralisation of power to provide education according to priorities defined locally. For the Ministry, autonomy was defined on the basis of the execution of the national curriculum, assessment and tests and the consequent management of the various areas of implementation. SEPs were introduced in schools with the aim of translating into practice the form of 'management by objectives' and 'human resources management' guided by staff-related cost-containment rather than expansion strategies. For many schools, autonomy represented the goal to be achieved within the terms defined by the 1986 Act. Thus, the translation of autonomy into practice by schools was at the junction where two opposite goals met: the Ministry's new culture of management and governance, as well as, the mandate for schooling and the requirement for decentralisation as defined in the Act (which teachers expected to be implemented). Schools did nevertheless take advantage of isolated incentives given by the National Institute of Educational Innovation (NIEI) between 1990 and 1993 to pursue some of the goals stated in their educational projects. Out of the 417 projects financed by the Institute, 35 were initiatives promoted by schools' educational projects which were mostly focused on initiatives which schools would otherwise like to be involved in throughout the year as opposed to being isolated events. Some schools embraced the opportunities presented by NIEI willingly while others did so reluctantly. Reluctant acceptance reflected the pressure to use SPEs as an extra form of financing old priorities which would otherwise not be possible to implement. Initiatives reflected activities related to environment-related programmes; research on local heritage; traditional art and crafts, music and use of new technologies amongst others (Benavente, 1995:15-33). The politics of decision making referring to PsCs and SCs and ED's positions reflected the contradictions present in the process of policy formulation, as well as the contradictions of the legislative process and the regulation of the 1986 Act. At Campo School, politics developed in a manner corresponding with the differences between the main political forces represented in Parliament. The ED highlights how

this School is extremely politicised [...] members of the three Political Commissions of the most important parties (CDU or PC, PS and the PSD) are teachers in this School. So, from the outset things are not easy. [...] Those people have usually the tendency to become president of the SC or the head of Department in the PsC or the ED, etc. which is natural (4/5/1994)

The production of an SEP revealed the micro politics of participation in decision making at the

school level. The new structure of decision making was in the process of moving away from professional collaboration and educational management towards the establishment of a hierarchy of power. The ED embraced the goals and acted as an active agent of central government. He took a proactive role in the implementation of central government objectives while the other bodies advanced the requirements informed by the assessment of pedagogics objectives, planning of human resources and individualised special educational needs. This assessment was produced at the school and asserted the requirements for school autonomy. The production of a 'social, cultural and educational diagnosis' (Costa, 1995: 412) within the framework of educational projects was common to other schools. The Ministry's market- and business-oriented form of autonomy which was being prescribed was at odds with the type of autonomy required by the local educational community. This widened the gap between the demands informed by educational criteria and the neo-conservative liberal objectives for education. Campo School's ED referred to the pedagogics aspects of schooling being asserted by colleagues as being obstacles to the implementation of prescribed autonomy. His explanation of the process behind the production of the SEP describes the above gap as much as the transition in the culture of decision making at the school level.

There was a proposal from the president of the SC that I thought was time consuming resorting systematically to school-wide meetings (to discuss proposals) which is something that bothers me [...] They took three years to do the project [...] so [...] there were attempts to boycott by doing, because one of the ways of boycotting which I consider to be a good boycott, the one that is efficient, is trying to do things so well that they never manage to do them. But the truth is that there are hardly any possibilities to argue against something that is being done very well but things that are terribly perfect will be systematically delayed, they never move on, I mean its an obvious boycott, but difficult to fight [...] those school-wide meetings [...] I mean it is a way of boycotting because it is difficult to have people (teachers) in meetings because they have more and more work and they cannot be present in meetings constantly. It is obvious that the meeting is a way of participating, obviously but people are busy. That is the form of the boycott and we spent two years in this sort of thing. (4/5/1994)

Wider participation in the definition of educational priorities were seen by this ED as both standing against management demands and as an obstacle to operative management which he embraced. Thus, consultation and participatory decision making were presented as disrupting the management of the process of implementation of the SEP. In his view, the SEP did not need to have the participation of teachers. Senior management would produce it and the role

of teachers would be its implementation. It is at this point that the conflict underlying the attempt by the Ministry to move away from educational criteria being paramount in the governance and delivery of schooling towards the predominance of administrative criteria emerges. Confined participation in the production of SEPs is consistently referred to in other studies as being a characteristic of this process. 'Everything kept occurring at the restricted level of the *group*' (Costa, 1995: 437, f.t.). Afonso *et. al.* highlight how projects were produced by a group of teachers in each school concerned with pragmatic goals and how this represented the 'loss of an opportunity not only to incorporate more plural [products] but also to take advantage of an experience which could have been wider and collective' (1994: 65, f.t.). Costa (1995) describes how, in state schools, projects are produced by a team of teachers (p. 434). The politics of participation in the production of the project at Campo School reflect more closely how the ED pushed the process in the direction of the practice found in private schools. In the private school studied by Costa 'unlike the procedures found in the two state schools [...] the formal constitution (in the meeting of the PsC) of a team to produce the educational project did not take place. This task, like other similar situations found in this school, was [under the control] of the [...] director's assistants' (p. 420). In this school the project was produced and approved by the director and the PsC at the beginning of 1992/1993 (p. 420, 434).

The politics of SEP's production were not confined to the specific political confrontation taking place between the three major political forces represented in Campo School. They are very similar to the politics of School Management Planning (SMP) in England which became a

key tactical device for mobilising and imposing self-management across and through the organisation - for achieving change and asserting control. [...] [The] aims are subordinate to an externally imposed agenda (and financial limits) [...] the senior management committee [produces] an SMP [...] the head intends that this will provide the basis of objectives setting and target setting within the school [...] the plan is an instrument of management rather than a representative of collectively discussed aims and purposes. (Ball, 1994:74)

At Campo School, the production of the SEP was at the source of conflict between educational and administrative priorities. This conflict developed between the governing, teaching and managing bodies *i.e.* the SC, the PsC and the ED. The SC and the PsC represented teachers' educational concerns and the ED managerial and instrumental concerns. The friction existing between schools and the Ministry, prior to changes in management and governance, was

imported into schools via executive directorship. In Campo School, the balance of forces led to the adoption of some form of internal consultation which the ED accepted (temporarily) as he warned about the need to introduce different regulations when the new model became generalised. Consultation could not get away from centralised prescription and the text of the final SEP reflects that constraint.

It is in a legislative framework strongly centralised that the question of defining autonomously its specific form of managing the objectives of the national education system in a more organized and efficient way is put to the school. Given that it was not generated by the School's own project (from which autonomy is built, which demands a community motivated to materialise a project with its own objectives and a strategic plan) the SEP will always be dependent upon the unpredictable decisions of central administration from which the School is hierarchically dependent as well as upon the unpredictable developments of educational reform. (School Project-1995/97)

The impossibility of owning the goals defined in the Project presented constraints to teachers who acted upon the knowledge of their pupils and the strategies to provide schooling responsive to pupil-centred teaching methodologies. This impossibility also presented constraints on educational quality and achievement; to specific teacher training needs; to social educational inequality; to the requirements derived from the principle that pedagogical criteria are paramount; the requirements for pupils participation in school management, parental involvement and the creation of a school open to the local community. These are aspects common to the 'comprehensive values' identified by Gewirtz *et. al.* (1995) in Britain: 'social and educational concerns, oriented to serving community needs, emphasis on student need, emphasis on 'less able', mixed ability, integrationist, caring ethos, emphasis on the relationships as basis of school discipline' (p. 150). Campo School's SEP emphasised the following aspects:

- . it does not make sense to oppose 'Technology and Science' to the 'Humanities' since they are areas which must come together in the educational process, (p. 8, f.t.)
- . methodologies based on pupils learning must be favoured (p. 9)
- . resources and working conditions are essential to achieve the educational objectives to deliver successful quality education
- . teacher training and training for non-teaching staff [is needed]
- . working methods and an atmosphere likely to promote motivation [...] and to address and to improve equal opportunities [for pupils] to succeed;
- . participation of all at the pedagogical, cultural, administrative and financial levels, sharing decisions as defined by the School;
- . pupils participation and
- . parental involvement (p. 9).

The implementation of those principles was defined as being important for strategic planning involving:

- . participation [of the school] in the regional planning network of admissions;
- . definition of the School as being mainly secondary [year 9 +], committed to the universal and comprehensive system defined in the 1986 Education Act (p. 11);
- . definition of curriculum options [years 10 +] (p. 12);
- . commitment to the evening shift for working people;
- . analysis of the conditions in which pupils not achieving are being transferred to the evening shift and commitment to the consideration of problems presented by those pupils in the context of specific educational needs (p. 13);
- . creation of a resources centre, improvement of the building and equipment for practical classes and the phasing out of classrooms being used which lack the minimum requirements of health and safety (p. 14) and
- . the five action plans:
 - Programme 1: to improve pupils' achievement, school relations, information systems and career and curriculum advice and programmes of pupils' participation;
 - Programme 2: curriculum quality and innovation (*Area Escola* - non-curricular activities, multidisciplinary projects, school-community link and personal and social training of pupils' (Monteiro and Queiroz, 1993:12) -, quality of schooling in evening education, field trips and extra curriculum activities;
 - Programme 3: the School as a vocational centre, a service provider, linkage between pupils and the labour market and as a partner with local institutions;
 - Programme 4: building maintenance management plan, equipment updating and maintenance and
 - Programme 5: teacher training and training of non-teaching staff and information system.

The neo-liberal conservative mandate of SEPs constrained the priorities defined by schools. SEPs as instruments were not a constraint. Many schools saw and despite the constraints still used it as an opportunity to consolidate the areas in which their schools needed systematic and innovative intervention. Many schools used the plan as an opportunity to define areas of special needs where intervention was needed and to expand teaching within the areas of Information Technology, local heritage, and other activities. Indeed, in some cases, schools reporting on the outcomes of activities defined within the context of SEPs were described as

'good examples of what can and must be done to promote the quality and efficacy of the educational system in Portugal.' (Barroso, 1988: 55, f.t.). As in Britain, 'SDPs which incorporated a management and staff development policy [were identified] as a major characteristic of successful schools' (Ball, 1996b: 15). The link between success and development planning was also intersected by the politics of quality. There are two problems at the origin of the constraints posed by educational plans on schooling: one derives from the appropriation made of the process to mediate other conservative liberal reforms (in which case, development planning was used to force schools to restate their goals) and the other from the illusion of autonomy it creates. In many cases, the quality of the whole process of schooling (including the perspective of quality that pupils and teachers have) was confused with single innovative initiatives for which schools became judged as good models for practice. Special projects which schools became proud of were presented by NIEI as examples of management quality even if the project was to plant vegetables, to raise chickens and rabbits for sale or to make lunch for pupils or to attract parents to contribute with one litre of olive oil (Benavente et. al., 1994). In many cases, activities involved dealing with specific pupils needs, theatre, creating a school newsletter, environment education, opening the school doors to the community, the creation of libraries (p. 150-153). While all those projects were worthwhile, in many cases they were single initiatives which, despite their commitment to be involved with them, schools could not afford to maintain or to reproduce given the day-to-day pressures. In England, despite their findings on headteachers' positive responses to development planning, Bullock and Thomas also conclude that the

account that emerges seems highly contingent upon the financial context of a school [...] Several of the accounts [...] show evidence of funds being committed to meet needs defined by the schools. Set against this is evidence about the unwelcome changing role of the head teacher, notably their concern that increased workload arising from local management has made them less familiar with events in the classroom. (1997: 147)

Notes

(1) The sharpening of academic focus manifests itself as a reinforced concern and commitment to maximise achievement in public examinations (principally GCSEs) [...] [and] arises from a number of pressures, not just the perceived need to attract parents and students [...]: enhanced appearance and visibility given to exam results in league tables, the importance of public examination results for good staff morale, the rhetoric of politicians [...], the availability of examination data [...] and the competitive effect of 'better' schools, especially elite grammar schools where they exist, in creaming off the more able pupils. [...] The capacity of schools to

deal with these cross-pressures varies. A school which is desperate to attract more of the abler and more advantaged students but which has a tight budget may find that the effort it puts into making itself attractive to such students' families cannot be matched by the efforts to meet the educational needs of the less able and disadvantaged. Choices have to be made [...] management time and effort may be concentrated on pursuing developments [...] that will attract parents of the abler and more advantaged rather than on improving strategies and facilities for the least able [...] competitive pressures are encouraging not only a sharpening of academic focus but a *privileging of the academic* [...] (Woods et. al., 1998: 162-163) the personal, social and pastoral aspect of schooling is a subsidiarity element. (p. 164)

(2) These are defined as [...] leaders who advocate political innovations [that] can play the public sector equivalent of private sector entrepreneurs [...] (Ioannou, 1992:3) [...] [Any] modern definition of the entrepreneur must trace back to the work of Joseph Schumpeter, who argued that the function of the entrepreneur is innovation [...] (p. 7) In addition to the central feature of alertness to opportunity, we also define entrepreneurs by [...] their willingness to take risky action in the pursuit of the opportunities they see, and their ability to coordinate the actions of other people to fulfil their goals. (p. 8)

Local Autonomy without Shared Government?

A nation's politics becomes a child's everyday psychology. (Coles, 1986: 310)

The interdependence of legal, political and positive freedoms will be more difficult to sustain in the 1990s than at any time since the 1930s. (Glennester, 1991: 174)

The analysis in the previous chapters mapped the relationship between principles, philosophy and intentions of the reforms of management and governance in Portugal and in England comparatively. This analysis started by sketching the main themes of the discourse articulated by the two governments. The trajectory of those principles was followed in order to outline first, the areas of tension and conflict which shaped the politics of social policy and the specific politics of education in the second part of the 1980s and second, the direction in which the cultures and practices of governance and management were going.

The difference between neo-liberal conservative and social democratic and socialist political projects of reform emerged as the central feature around which tension and conflict in the formulation and implementation of policy developed. Political confrontation developed along similar themes in the two countries and reflected the outlining of two different versions and approaches to public schooling, social justice, rights and local democracy. The common political and economic assumptions held by the Portuguese and the British governments played a role in the transformation of the social role assigned to the state and the role of education in relation to the state. The transformation which occurred in the two countries reinforces how '... changes [in governance, management, school relations, teaching and learning] varied from one nation to another [but], in every case they followed conservative liberal maxims...' (Pusey, 1991:3) and how reforms were set against a social version of justice, rights and democracy. These maxims and versions shaped national local practices and variations in national responses and outcomes. A 'robust philosophy' (Glennerster and Midgley, 1991: 62) set the foundations for the long-term practice of management and governance in Portuguese and English schools. Such a long-term 'far-reaching strategy' (Whitty et. al., 1998: 126) appealed to short-term individual interests. Regulation by '... quasi-markets and decentralized administration...' (Glennerster & Midgley, 1991: 59) permeated local practice to re-orient the control of schooling. The forms that decentralization and autonomy in schooling and in education in general would take were '... mediated and refracted' (Gewirtz et. al., 1995: 87) at the local level.

Despite the different national operational systems, patterns of spending and rates of pupil participation, similar policy patterns shaped the impact of reforms on the provision and financing of education. As in other countries, despite differences in the scope and in the type of changes and instruments introduced (Whitty *et. al.*, 1998:15), three common aspects were

significant in shifting the boundaries of the long-term framework where management and governance were expected to be practised:

- . the moral assumptions about educational achievement and the performance of teachers and of schools as a whole;
- . the operational guidelines centrally prescribed for local practice and
- . the emphasis on the need to transform the role of the state in public schooling.

The aims set by the British Conservative and the Portuguese PSD governments for reform were achieved by enabling and encouraging

- . the use of private institutions and practices as a reference for the definition of priorities and for decision making;
- . the supremacy of the market over democratic citizenship, choice and mechanisms of provision and financing;
- . the parental selection of schools, schools' selection of pupils and curriculum segregation;
- . individual leadership, entrepreneurship and competition as models for professional conduct, school relations and inter school relations;
- . the supremacy of business over educational management principles and
- . the predominance of financial over educational criteria and of managerial over professional educational principles and purposes.

One of the most contradictory and paradoxical aspects of reform in the two countries emerged from developments whereby governments' political and economic assumptions about schooling generated social and political conflict at the same time as they assisted in the production of a framework to explain social 'problems'. Mapping the features of the early impact of the neo-conservative liberal philosophy of reforms on schools showed how changes in the direction of policy developed from concrete local transformations. In both countries, new practices were introduced in existing institutions. New institutions were created for new practices to be exercised. Old practices were fostered within existing or within new institutions. The formulation and implementation of policy were shaped by this paradox. The contradiction between the productive effect of the critique of management and governance in facilitating change and the conflict generated by the advancement of neo-conservative liberal reforms penetrated local government and schools. Such critique prepared the definition of new conditions for who is to participate and who is to be excluded from policy making and allowed the relationships between the public / private, collective / individual and competitive /

cooperative dimensions of policy to develop. These new conditions required the re-definition of teachers' roles and their arena of practice; the practice of management and the management of budgets and budgeting, recruitment, staff development, pay and working conditions, of assessment, admissions and discipline. Consequently classroom practice, school and local government-school relations were also expected to be redefined. This redefinition involved, first moving away from 'the principle of state responsibility [... and from] state-[sponsorship which was identified with obstacles ...] to well-being and to economic and social progress' (Glennerster, 1991: ix) and, second transforming the 'state's role [as] funder and provider of services [... in order to allow for the strengthening of a state where] services [are] contracted out to private or non-statutory providers' (p. 170-171).

The analysis of the processes of policy formulation and implementation revealed also tension between government's emphasis on 'better' education and the guarantee to democratize the governance of education, of school relations, of classroom practice and of access. In the schools where interviews were conducted, the two types of responses to reforms outlined by managers and governors revealed school-based confrontation linked to two versions of public schooling. The response which embraced the liberal approach to management and governance perceived reforms as a condition to increase the margin of autonomy, participation and therefore, control locally. This was met by other responses which highlighted the set of constraints imposed both by the liberal approach to schooling and by the imposition of market conditions on access and on outcomes by government. These responses outlined the conflict between, on the one hand, the forms of decentralization, autonomy and of participation which were generated by the new mechanisms of management, governance, financing and provision and, on the other hand, the requirements of local and school democracy and social justice. These requirements were portrayed by PC critiques as being at odds with the liberal conception of public schooling, justice, rights and democracy.

The most far reaching change in both countries was the use of rules borrowed from market and from individual private relations in the reform of public services. The interviews conducted in schools revealed forms of decentralisation, autonomy and participation which reflected the power relations and the relationships of authority found in private businesses. The development of these forms had significant implications for the type of accountability which

emerged. Social differentiation in the enforcement of guarantees for access to learning and to the local democratic control of schooling were maintained. Furthermore, private influence over public schooling - exercised through individual parental control over admissions and governance - and the strengthening of private forms of financing, evaluation and provision were strengthened. The transformation in the role of the state was sustained by the partnership of *central government-private businesses-non-profitable organisations* rather than the *central-local government-schools* partnership. The reforms of management and governance pushed provision and local practices away from the social to an individual focus; from public to private for profit and not-for-profit influence; from professional to entrepreneurial practice; from educational to managerial expertise and from sociological to economic policy knowledge. The latter reduces development to market relations and puts an emphasis on efficiency and liberty rather than on social equality; on 'optimal individual behaviour' and optimal provision rather than on social rights; on resource scarcity; on freedom rather than on social justice; on the market rather than on the democratic value of education or the supremacy of political democratic decision making; on financial rather than on social costs and on competition rather than on cooperation.

There was a general move, in both countries to 'take the state out' of planning (supply) and of guaranteeing local solidarity and cooperation in the financing and provision of public education. Management and governance of schools pushed schooling in the direction of centralisation, confined the role of local government and introduced the notion that schools should become informed by private business principles and forms of administration which were expected to be combined with an orientation of policy to individual consumers. Compulsory schooling remained public while its priorities became, in part, defined in private and market terms. The 'state was taken in' to perform strategic control from the centre over the initiation and control of the general direction of practice, to redesign the conditions for professional accountability, to assist in the transfer of functions to the private sphere of influence of individuals, families and civil or commercial groups. In this way, 'instead of expanding through its formal bureaucratic apparatus, the State [expanded] in the form of civil society' (Louçã, 1994: 174). The definition of civil society during this period was defined in the two countries to emphasise Locke's definition (Honneth, 1993: 20) and to de-emphasise Gramsci's definition of civil society as 'a social realm in which all cultural institutions within

which public opinion is formed are included [... and where] the civil core of a society [is situated] at an equal distance from the economic and the political sphere of society' (Honneth, 1999:20). The emphasis on self-reliance, competition and minimal state commitment to democratic notions of social choice, freedom and justice was combined with moral and religious traditions and the return to charity as a substitute for public requirements. The conditions of private contract, private property and the notions of private investment or private return became increasingly entrenched in schools while local democratic control over education withered. In Portugal, this trend went against the (1986 Act) requirement for reform to transfer control to local government. The trend developed despite education ranking first as the main concern of Municipalities with more than 60 000 inhabitants (Mozzicafreddo *et. al.*, 1988) at the time local democratic control was curtailed. Overall, the power of the state was used to secure the above transformation in both countries reflecting how 'to make the contemporary wave of neo-liberalism work, the state has to penetrate even more deeply into certain segments of political-economic life and become in some ways even more interventionist than before' (Harvey, 2000: 65). The 'first order effects' (Ball, 1994: 26) - which were produced by the transformation which took place in the two countries - affected the distribution of power and control over the definition of the priorities for schooling and financing. Redistribution of powers resulted in minimal local control over 'second order effects' (*idem*) - *i.e.* the outcomes related to social distribution and social justice.

One of the strongest aspects of the conflict which developed at the school level was related to teachers being blamed for problems identified by conservative liberal critiques of public schooling and to their freedom to teach being curtailed in order to be responsive to central directives on teaching content, methods and assessment. Since in frameworks of public governance informed by competition 'that which is appropriated by someone cannot be appropriated by someone else' (Louçã, 1994: 153) and as recognised by English headteachers 'markets might work wonders for a minority of schools but to the disadvantage of other schools and communities' (Grace, 1995: 208), market choice, autonomy, decentralization and accountability become anti-democratic. The analysis of data collected in Portuguese and English schools revealed a growing emphasis on vertical rather than on horizontal school relations; on commercial secrecy rather than on public accountability; on private decision making rather than on public control; on negative rather than on positive reform measures; on

market rather than on social and political choice and therefore on individual rather than on collegiate control. Within the framework of market relations information is perceived as being part of a competitive strategy. The establishment of relationships are understood within the terms of individual, private investment. The pursuit of creativity and innovation are presumed to be an investment. The pride in achievements and in working relations are interpreted as being promotional signs indicating long-term investment for individual profit. Individuals are viewed from the outset as competitive players. In this context, sharing alternative cultures, values, past histories and positioning within a particular setting is more difficult to achieve because individual market players are interested in individual short-term gains. Cooperation, solidarity and common social interests are all put under threat.

The confrontation which shaped the process of policy formulation and implementation in Portugal and in England highlights the inadequacy of the idea of 'the political neutrality of educational administration' (Dale, 1989/1990: 129) and reinforces 'Jensen and Walker (1989) [s conclusion that ...] democratization in education is a process and a struggle in many national contexts rather than an accomplishment' (Grace, 1995: 211). The national politics of formulation and implementation were sustained and defined within the similar paradoxical embracement of and confrontation over claims for decentralization, participation and autonomy by, on the one hand, the liberal and, on the other hand, the social democratic and socialist national political groups. The explicit public commitment to those claims was marked by conflict because of the introduction by national governments of a political economy of education in opposition to the earlier social and political model of management and governance. The divisions which developed between those major policy positions reinforced and rearticulated past disputes which had shaped the history of public education and of social policy, in general, in the two countries in different historical periods.

Similar forms of political regulation gained strength in England and Portugal despite the different national expressions of (reforms') principles and initiatives. Similar themes shaped the politics of reform despite different national politics of employment, teachers' professional development or pupils' participation rates. The way in which the relationship 'choice-diversity-competition-*per capita* funding-new organizational styles' (Ball, 1990a: 60) gained expression in Portugal was different from England but this did not prevent specific changes producing a

similar impact on the culture and practice of management and governance. Despite differences within schools and between managers and teachers in the models of democracy they embraced, there was, in the institutions studied here, a general move towards increased concentration of decision making, reliance on restricted forums of participation and re-concentration of authority at the level of central government. In Portugal, there was an indication of increased use of private and selective decision making forums. This process was contemporaneous with the intensification of teachers' and pupils' work resulting from changes to teaching methods and to the curriculum. The control of what is to count as autonomy or as decentralization by central government increased during the period studied. The exercise of such control promoted the increase in the distance between the formulation or implementation of policy and the requirements for local democracy, social rights and social justice. This increase recycled contemporary policy contradictions by returning to the enlargement of the influence of private decision-making and financing over public schooling.

Since the reforms studied in this thesis laid the foundations for the transformation of public governance and management of education in the long-term, the evaluation of the long-term effects of such transformation requires both general and localised analysis of the impact of private business procedures and market mechanisms on local democracy, social justice and social rights. Such analysis demands increasing the knowledge about local patterns of power, decision-making and democratic accountability; about the interaction of these with national mechanisms of decision-making and financing, as well as about the limitations of liberal notions of equality and freedom imposed on local development. This is needed because 'we still have to examine what the other consequences of market transactions actually are. [...] There is no escape from the necessity of critical scrutiny.' (Sen, 1999: 126)

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Appendix 1

Pilot Study

Timescale	January/February 1994
Type of Interview	<p>Focused semi-structured</p> <p>Interviews were conducted with an <i>aide memoir</i> which consisted of the pre-definition of specific issues and themes focussed on the aspects of implementation of policies regulating the management and governance of schools.</p>
Number of Interviews	<p>Portugal: 9</p> <p>England: 7</p>
Aim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ to collect data on the process of implementation of policies regulating the government and management of secondary education in Portuguese and English urban areas ▪ to conduct exploratory interviews to identify key levels for collection of data and (common/different) themes and issues related to the introduction of the 1988 British and the 1991 Portuguese policy frameworks ▪ to test the argument proposing that common frameworks of governance and management were applied to countries with different systems and with different traditions of central-local government relations to achieve similar purposes ▪ to include schools with the general and the experimental model of management and governance in Portugal ▪ to include the different organizational formats of local government-maintained schools in England ▪ to choose urban areas of similar size ▪ to include schools located in different areas of the cities chosen without pre-definition of indicators describing specific areas ▪ to explore issues faced by schools and social diversity without imposing a classification on the population they served ▪ to explore themes and issues at a general rather than at a specific level of provision in urban areas

Institutional Framework

England		Portugal	
Schools			
maintained (comprehensive)	grant-maintained	maintained	
(LEA - elected) Locally accountable and financed (with centralised restrictions)	(FAS- nominated by Department of education) Centrally accountable and financed	Centrally accountable and financed (Ministry Departments)	
		Regional Education Departments	
School budget delegated (LMS)		Budget not delegated School private budget	
School-based staff recruitment		Staff recruitment by Ministry aided by Regional Departments	
Governing Body (7) Head teacher (8)	<u>Experimental management and governance structure</u> School Council (1) Executive Director Pedagogics Council(2) Executive Council (3)	<u>Existing management structure</u> Teachers Council (4) Pedagogics Council (5) Administrative Council(6)	
School-based . Parents Teachers Association . Teachers unions representatives		School-based . Parents association . Teachers unions representatives	
. Types of schools maintained (comprehensive) (with or without 6th Form - 16+); Grammar; Voluntary Aided (Church of England; Catholic; Muslim; Jewish); private (independent mixed or single-sex); grant-maintained		. Types of schools maintained (unified national curriculum); Years 5-6 and Years 7-12 schools; private (non-denominational and Catholic) and co-operative	

Notes

(1) Representatives with voting rights.

Years 10 to 12: 2 parents (from Association or elected), 9 teachers, 3 pupils (secondary, nominated by union or elected), 1 ancillary staff, 1 municipality, 1 community (economic and cultural), 1 (social). President elected by the Council. Executive Director attends but does not have the right to vote.

Years 5 to 9: 7 teachers, 1 ancillary staff, 3 parents from Association, 1 Municipality, 1 region socio-economic interests, 1 region cultural interests

(2) representatives of departments (clusters of subject groups), parents, pupils (secondary)

(3) Executive Director and head of administrative services (administrative tasks - includes budgeting)

(4) (President and 4 permanent teachers)

(5) (representatives from all teaching subject groups, parents (School association), pupils (secondary).

President is the president of the teachers Council

(6) president of teachers Council and head of administrative services

(7) Chair elected by governing body. Parents, teachers, LEA, community, co-opted governors

(8) head, deputies, bursar

Interviewees

Teachers and Local Government Officials with responsibility over the governance and management of secondary schools

Portugal

- 4 Presidents of Teachers' Councils
2 male in Year 5-6 schools
2 female in Year 7-12 (1 ex-industrial and 1 ex-commercial girls) schools

- 1 female executive director of Executive Council in 7-12 Year school (ex-Lycees). 3 months in post, 2 previous years as President of School Council, 7 non-consecutive years experience as member of Teacher's Councils, classroom teacher.
This Executive Director was also President of the School's Pedagogic Council (legal irregularity since provision is made in decree 172/91 for Council not to be presided by the Executive Director.
Presently enrolled in MA in Educational Management

- 1 male Regional Head of Technical-Pedagogics Division, Regional Department of Education (Social Democrat Party Government)

- 1 female Regional Coordinator of Basic Education (Year 1-9), Regional Department of Education

- 1 male member of Teachers' Federation National Executive (100 000 members; 700 regional representatives and 150 representatives in schools)/Regional Union Leader/Member of the Ministry of Education's National Council for Assessment and Supervision of the Experimental Model of Management and Governance of Schools

- 1 female City Council Coordinator of Education, Socialist Party Executive

England

- 5 male Headteachers of secondary LEA maintained non-voluntary schools
3 in Year 11-16 schools
2 in Year 11-18 schools

- 1 female Assistant Education Director - Administration and Finance Services (LMS), Labour Party County Council Executive Office

- 1 male Information Services Officer, Labour Party County Council Executive Office

Areas of Institutional Responsibility

<p>Portugal</p> <p><u>Regional Department of Education</u> Divisions: Human Resources, Material Resources and Technical and Pedagogic, Social Welfare and Sports</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ promotion and coordination of educational and pedagogical school services and of experimental projects; ▪ to secure the recruitment of teacher's supervisors ▪ technical and pedagogical support to teaching and non-teaching staff, to school and University managers and others pursuing educational activities; ▪ to organise and to guarantee the coordination of integrated special education teams as well as to approve their activity plans; ▪ to guarantee the maximisation of special education's available resources; ▪ to guarantee and supervise school welfare Physical Education and Sports ▪ to support, manage and guarantee provision of nursery education for the children of Ministry's employees; ▪ to supervise the management of basic and secondary pupils' accommodation <p><u>City Council</u> Education and Schooling</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ nurseries ▪ school buildings (up to Year 9). By 1990, about 20% of the financing of school buildings in Portugal was met by municipalities (Oliveira, 1995: 383) ▪ accommodation do pupils (up to year 9) ▪ school transport ▪ welfare and free-time (after school) activities (up to Year 9) ▪ adult education provision Culture , free time and sports ▪ cultural centres, libraries and municipal museums ▪ cultural, landscape and urban heritage ▪ sports facilities 	<p>England</p> <p><u>County Council</u> Advice, Monitoring and Development Branch, Executive and Operational Service, Administrative and Financial Services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ co-ordination and strategic planning ▪ advisory and support service (re: personnel, legislation, contracts, purchasing ▪ welfare service ▪ psychology service ▪ special needs support services ▪ professional development ▪ museum service for schools ▪ quality assurance ▪ pupil and student support ▪ support and training for governing bodies ▪ promotion of LEAs services ▪ community education ▪ structural repairs and maintenance ▪ contracts and supply of (CCT) services
---	--

Financing

Portugal	England
<p>Information on levels of spending per school not available. Central bi-annual allocation. Method of financing is responsive to schools' annual budget proposals less about 20%</p> <p>. Education Ministry is, after the Finance Ministry (51.06%), the Ministry which gets the highest share of public expenditure (12.89%), followed by Health (10.15%) and Planning and Administration of the Territory (5.27%)</p> <p>. About 35% of the global education budget is spent in Years 5-12 schools (exc. administration)</p> <p>. Just under 10% of the global budget is spent in special education (GEP, Análise das Despesas em Educação, Despesas Públicas e Privadas, 1989)</p> <p>. Expenses with heating, water, electricity, telephone, the type of teacher's qualifications and teaching time account for variation in schools' budgets</p>	<p>85.8% (1993/94) and 85.6% (1994-95) of the General Schools Budget delegated to schools - excluding special schools, nursery and FE colleges in West New County. 14.2% (1993/94) and 14.4% (1994/95) West New 'decided not to include in the Formula for being considered to be most effectively provided by being centrally founded and administered' (Section 42, budget statement)</p> <p>School Budget shares are allocated by formula using pupils numbers and age*. Each LEA has discretion to devise its own version which has to be approved by the Department for Education</p> <p>General Schools Budget: £ 137,724 million Aggregated School Budget (ASB) (Allocated** by formula) (1993/94) £ 107,711 million (85.8%) (1994/95) £ 111,463 million (85.6%) Expenditure Subject to (15% of PSB) limit*** (Excluded from ASB) (1993/94) £ 15,926 million (1994/95) £ 15,753 million Potential Schools Budget (PSB) (1993/94) £ 123,637 million (1994/95) £ 127,216 million Discretionary Exceptions not subject to limit (1993/94) £ 7,223 million (1994/95) £ 6,089 million Mandatory Exceptions (1993/94) £ 6,864 million (1994/95) £ 10,604 million Total Expenditure outside the PSB (1993/94) £ 14,087 million (1994/95) £ 16,693 million</p> <p>* New West used a 'composite number based on actual and estimated rolls) ** Formula allocation factors: pupil led funding; school size; premises related, premises specific, lump sum payments; additional needs allocation, safety net allocation, retrospective adjustments *** Management and administration, advisory service, welfare, service, psychology service, special needs, pupil support, staff costs, school specific contingencies (to cover large changes in pupil numbers, correction of errors in Formula, emergencies not covered by Insurance) amongst others</p>

Needs and Priorities

<p>Portugal <u>Nova Municipality</u> <i>Centrally controlled residual</i> financial capacity to influence special needs, social and welfare provision</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education Services established in 1990 ▪ Specific budget for education is not transferred from central government ▪ 1994: 1% of Council's budget, expected to decrease ▪ Sources of local finance: taxes, central transfers of money - FEF - and loans ▪ Tax: decreased from 61% in 1974 to 20% in 1986 ▪ Loans: decreased from 16% to 8% in the same period ▪ Transfers: increased over the years - 23% to 72% - but 'since the level of inflation is higher than the annual growth taxes of the FEF, ... there is a real lost in the value of Transfers' (Ruivo, 1993:412) ▪ 1994: Establishment of Division for Social Provision ▪ 1991 national survey revealed that 82,5% of the Portuguese City Council Presidents mentioned insufficient FEF as being the main difficulty in their post, 57,7% referred to bureaucracy and 50,7% to human and technical resources (idem:413) ▪ Support to Professional Schools by giving the founders land to build the school 	<p>England <u>New West County</u> <i>Centrally controlled delegation</i> with residual (up to 15% of Potential Schools Budget) financial capacity for provision of special needs, social and welfare services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Redistributive financial allocation to schools <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Schools' Financial Position</u></p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><u>Pupil Numbers Rank</u></th> <th style="text-align: left; border-bottom: 1px solid black;"><u>Budget Rank</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td colspan="2">1993/94</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Belleview \</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>4. Garfield</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. The King's \</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>7. The King's</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8. Farvalley \</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>12. Farvalley</td> </tr> <tr> <td>9. Ashfield \</td> <td>13. Ashfield</td> </tr> <tr> <td>17. Garfield /</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>20. Belleview</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">1994/95</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1. Belleview\</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>2. Garfield</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>15. The King's /</td> <td>9. The King's</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>17. Farvalley \</td> <td>18. Ashfield</td> </tr> <tr> <td>20. Ashfield /</td> <td>[..]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>20. Farvalley</td> </tr> <tr> <td>26. Garfield /</td> <td>[...]</td> </tr> <tr> <td>[...]</td> <td>23. Belleview</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Guidance framework for special needs provision Special Provision Matrix (1994) 1-6 Band system to make provision for children with special needs in the areas of Social and Academic Curriculum; Special Resources, Therapy, Physical Requirements, Assessment and Review; Type and Level of Adult Contact; Situation and Transport ▪ Steering sets requirements for assessment of special needs; draws provision profile; makes requirement for provision to take place 'as close as possible to ordinary schooling and to the child's community 	<u>Pupil Numbers Rank</u>	<u>Budget Rank</u>	1993/94		1. Belleview \	[...]	[...]	4. Garfield	5. The King's \	[...]	[...]	7. The King's	8. Farvalley \	[...]	[...]	12. Farvalley	9. Ashfield \	13. Ashfield	17. Garfield /	[...]	[...]	20. Belleview	1994/95		1. Belleview\	[...]	[...]	2. Garfield		[...]	15. The King's /	9. The King's	[...]	[...]	17. Farvalley \	18. Ashfield	20. Ashfield /	[..]	[...]	20. Farvalley	26. Garfield /	[...]	[...]	23. Belleview
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Needs and Priorities
(cont.)

Portugal	England
<p>■ Priorities:</p> <p>Pre-Primary provision: to expand provision</p> <p>Secondary schools (buildings and capacity)</p> <p>Childrens' welfare: physical and sexual abuse, female prostitution, close contact with organised criminal activities and 'family break-up'</p> <p>. Increase pressure to establish procedure for assessment of children's needs</p> <p>. Concern over 'mainstream' pupils with learning difficulties being referred mainly to psychiatric units and with deficit in health care of pupils</p>	<p>■ Provision</p> <p>. defines specialist support per band re: learning difficulties; visual and hearing impairment; behaviour and development support; welfare and psychology</p> <p>. conducts research to generate empirical base of policy knowledge relating to income inequality, employment/unemployment, area industrial restructuring, social inequality and new forms of poverty</p>

Location

England

1990/91

. **Pupils/students (under and over leaving age in public sector) enrolled:** 7,045 thousand
(Education Statistics UK, 1992)

. **Pupils with special needs:** 2,016.0 thousand

. **School leavers**

with no graded results: 8.2% (males) / 5.8% (females)

with 1 or more A levels (or SCE highers): 24.6% (males) / 26.6% (females)

GCSEs or SCE O/standard: 67.2% (males) / 67.5% (females)

. **Highest qualification held: by socio-economic group of father (Great Britain)**

degree:

professional: highest representation

skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled manual: lowest representation

no qualifications:

skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled manual: highest representation

(Social Trends, 1994)

. **Left school (UK)**

14 years old: 3 thousand

15 years old: 380 "

16 " " : 95 "

17 " " : 162 "

18+ " " : 21 "

(Education Statistics UK, 1992)

Portugal

. **Area:** 91 985 km²
(INE, 1992)

. **Pupils/students not in school:** 12 year olds (8%); 13 y.o. (17%); 14 y. o. (25%); 15 y. o. (28%); 16 y.o. (31%); 17 y.o. (40%)
(G.E.P., 1990)

. **Success rate** (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion in public, private and co-operative schools, 1991-92)
Years 5-9: 15.2%; Year 5: 13,8%; Year 6: 10,9%; Year 7: 18,7%; Year 8: 18,1% ; Year 9: 14.0%

. **Left school**
Years 5-9: 4.3%; Year 5: 3.0%; Year 6: 2.1%; Year 7: 6.2%; Year 8: 5.3%; Year 9: 5.%
(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

. **Pupils enrolled second time** (Years 5-9, 1987/88): +/- 17% of total
0.014% in evening classes
0.05% (of Years 5-6) distance learning
(G.E.P., 1988)

. **Socio-professional origin of teachers:** 21.5% manual workers; 18.8% administrative staff in service sector; 14.8% self-employed in Transport, Construction or Commercial activities; 13.9% farmers (self-employed or employees); 9.8% small company owners; 5.5% military staff; 11% professionals with higher education degrees

. **Geographical mobility in public schools** (1979-1989): 31.7% of 26-35 and 22.6% of 36-45 years old moved school five or more times (Comissão - Despacho 114/ME/88, 1988)

. **Qualified teachers without permanent contract in public sector:** 29.9% in 1987/88
(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

. **Pupils/students in Professional schools:** 16 358 in 195 out of 226 schools (D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

**Resident Population of Foreign Origin in Portugal (1990)
Total per Country of Origin**

African Portuguese speaking	42.1%
European Union	27.4%
Brasil	10.9%
North America	6.7%
Venezuela	3.3%
South Africa	---
China and Japan	1,6%
India and Pakistan	1.3%
Other	4.9%

Without Economic Activity

Status

Students	23 107 (22.1%)
Non-paid house worker females	24 276 (23.2%)
Retired	4 434 (4.2%)
Non-workers with income	773 (0.7%)
Total	52 827 (50.5% - % of total foreign resident population)

With Economic Activity

Profession

Scientific self-employed	12 743
Director, top manager	3 465
Administrative staff	2 592
Commerce	4 100
Personal and house protection and security services	1 824
Agriculture	910
Industry	23 552
Non-classified work	2 595
Total	51 781 (49.5% - % of total foreign resident population)

Resident Population of Foreign Origin per Country

Country	Without economic activity % of country's population residing in Portugal) (1990)	Without economic activity % of country's population without economic activity)
African Portuguese speaking*	20 443 (47.8%)	Students: 9 272 (21.7%) Non-paid house worker females: 10 991 (25.7%) Retired: 150 (0.4%) Non-workers with income: 15 (0.0%)
European Union	13 255 (46.5%)	Students: 2 835 (9.9%) Non-paid house worker females: 7 266 (25.5%) Retired: 2 800 (9.8%) Non-workers with income: 328 (1.1%)
Brasil	6 070 (56.2%)	Students: 4 363 (40.4%) Non-paid house worker females: 1 471 (13.6%) Retired: 133 (1.2%) Non-workers with income: 28 (0.3%)
North America	4 984 (62.2%)	Students: 1 883 (23.5%) Non-paid house worker females: 1 770 (22.1%) Retired: 1 005 (12.5%) Non-workers with income: 328 (4.0%)
Other	2 539 (42.2%)	Students: 906 (15.1%) Non-paid house worker females: 1 314 (21.8%) Retired: 242 (4.0%) Non-workers with income: 47 (0.8%)
Venezuela	3 580 (78%)	Students: 3 040 (66.2%) Non-paid house worker females: 435 (9.5%) Retired: 8 (0.2%) Non-workers with income: 21 (0.5%)
South Africa	587 (59.6%)	Students: 317 (32.2%) Non-paid house worker females: 227 (23.0%) Retired: 33 (3.4%) Non-workers with income: 7 (0.7%)
China and Japan	598 (37.2%)	Students: 286 (17.8%) Non-paid house worker females: 277 (17.2%) Retired: 22 (1.4%) Non-workers with income: 7 (0.4%)
India and Pakistan	771 (57.8%)	Students: 205 (15.4%) Non-paid house worker females: 525 (39.4%) Retired: 41 (3.1%) Non-workers with income: 0 (0.0%)

* (Angola, Mozambique, Guiné-Bissau, Cape Verde, S. Tomé e Príncipe)

Country	With economic activity % of country's population residing in Portugal)	Profession
African Portuguese speaking	22 285 (52.2%)	Scientific self-employed: 1 163 Director, top manager: 89 Administrative staff: 1 062 Commerce: 613 Personal and house protection and security services: 573 Agriculture: 166 Industry: 17 984 Non-classified work: 635
E.U.	15 279 (53.5%)	Scientific self-employed: 5 660 Director, top manager: 2 369 Administrative staff: 769 Commerce: 1 736 Personal and house protection and security services: 686 Agriculture: 278 Industry: 2 714 Non-classified work: 1 067
Brasil	4 729 (43.8%)	Scientific self-employed: 2 190 Director, top manager: 179 Administrative staff: 439 Commerce: 372 Personal and house protection and security services: 91 Agriculture: 68 Industry: 1 077 Non-classified work: 313
North America	3 028 (37.8%)	Scientific self-employed: 1 669 Director, top manager: 160 Administrative staff: 78 Commerce: 115 Personal and house protection and security services: 22 Agriculture: 282 Industry: 510 Non-classified work: 192
Venezuela	22.0%	Scientific self-employed: 91 Director, top manager: 17 Administrative staff: 44 Commerce: 329 Personal and house protection and security services: 12 Agriculture: 50 Industry: 336 Non-classified work: 130

Country	With economic activity % of country's population residing in Portugal)	Profession
South Africa	398 (40.4%)	Scientific self-employed: 117 Director, top manager: 120 Administrative staff: 26 Commerce: 44 Personal and house protection and security services: 2 Agriculture: 5 Industry: 65 Non-classified work: 19
China and Japan	1 011 (62.8%)	Scientific self-employed: 154 Director, top manager: 80 Administrative staff: 18 Commerce: 174 Personal and house protection and security services: 375 Agriculture: 0 Industry: 174 Non-classified work: 36
India and Pakistan	42.2%	Scientific self-employed: 59 Director, top manager: 36 Administrative staff: 19 Commerce: 347 Personal and house protection and security services: 6 Agriculture: 11 Industry: 63 Non-classified work: 21
Other	57.8%	Scientific self-employed: 1 640 Director, top manager: 415 Administrative staff: 137 Commerce: 370 Personal and house protection and security services: 57 Agriculture: 50 Industry: 63 Non-classified work: 21

Location

England: New West County

- Area: + 1.3/1000 km²
 - Density: 707/km²
(Eurostat, 1993)
 - Job losses (Jan-Dec, 1992): 6 294
Industry (metal goods, engineering,
vehicle and other manufacturing): 2 752
Construction: 189
Distribution, hotels and catering, repairs:
258
Transport and communication: 248
Banking, financing and insurance: 618
Other services: 2 229 (800 loss of
County Council contract; 72 work
contracted out; 20 budget cuts; 900 over
last 18 months; 170 education & central
support
 - Job gains (4 916)
Industry (other manufacturing): 430
Construction: 600
Distribution, hotels and catering, repairs:
2 111
Transport and communication: 320
Banking, financing and insurance: 1 455
(County Economic Review, 1993)
 - 60 Secondary Schools (pupils up to 18
years old). Most of them were locally
managed by 1991
 - 58 Maintained Schools (inc. 2
Grammar Schools, 1 Sixth Form College)
 - 2 Grant Maintained Secondary Schools
(1 569 pupils)
 - 26 Special Schools
 - Independent 8
 - Pupils enrolled in secondary
education: 53 242
 - Teachers: 3 291.1 FTE
 - 5 to 15 year olds entitled to free school
meals: 13.5%
 - residents 16+ unemployed: 7.8%
 - ethnic group residents: 2.8%
 - households rented from local
authority: 16.5%
- (New West County Planning
Department, Analysis of OPCS Census,
Small Area Statistics, 1991)

Portugal: Cima Terra Regional Department of Education

- Area: 21 000 km² (similar to Wales)
- Population: 3.6 million
- Areas with the highest (≥ 350 / km²) and
with the lowest (≤ 59) density of
population (1992) in the region coexist
- Employment: 20-25% agriculture; 40+%
industry (INE, 1992; Eurostat, 1993)
- 390 Secondary Schools (up to 11-18
years old)
- Teachers
Years 5-6: 37%
Without permanent contract: 22.2%
- Years 7-12: 33%
Without permanent contract: 25.7%
(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1993)
- Third national highest % subsidies for
food, books and school material
- Spending on schools
(Years 5-12, 1989): +/- 53% total for region and
+/- 18% total for country
(GEP, Análise das Despesas em
Educação, Despesas Públicas e Privadas,
1989)
- Unsuccessful completion (public, private and
co-operative):
Years 5-9: 14.7%
- Left school
Years 5-12: 4.5%
(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)
- Illiteracy rate: (approx.) 13%
- Completion index (9 years): approx. 36%
(Regional Planning Report, 1991)

City

Tolbry, England	<p>. Area: 10,959 ha (New West County, 1994)</p> <p>Resident Population</p> <p>. 0.37 million (HMSO, 1989): 48.29% male; 51.71% female (1991) 11.2% 10-19 years old (Tolbry City Council Ward Report 1991) . (1981-1989) population decline (2.27%) (City Council, 1991)</p> <p>. 43,5% of 10-19 resident population attends school</p> <p>. Number of people aged 16-19 unemployed reduced by 30.38% since 1981</p> <p>. Unemployment rate amongst 16-19 year olds remains at more than double the unemployment rate in Tolbry - 24.19% compared to 10.35% of the whole adult economically active population. The percentage economically active has decreased by 46.2% in the last 10 years</p> <p>. 25% of the economically active not unemployed are on Government Schemes</p> <p>. Schools</p> <p>23 Secondary: 17 Secondary Comprehensive; 3 co-educational (11-16); 14 co-educational (11-18); 2 single sex - one boys and one girls - under process of consultation for amalgamation</p> <p>2 Secondary Grammar 11-18</p> <p>1 Church of England 11-18</p> <p>3 Roman Catholic 11-16 (2 under Special agreement - Foundation)</p> <p>Population in Education. Teachers: 1 196.3 Teachers in secondary education: 3 291.1</p> <p>. Pupils</p> <p>Secondary Pupil:Teacher Ratio: 16.1</p> <p>Pupils receiving Free School Meals: 15%</p> <p>Population in secondary education: 18 364</p> <p>Pupils with statements of special educational need: 640 (10-15 years old): 15 834 (A.D.E. Statistics, Jan. 1993). This represents 78% of Tolbry's Resident Population (16-19 years old): 2 530 (12% of Tolbry Resident Population: 21663) less than 10% of secondary school pupils go to grant-maintained schools</p> <p>. free school meals (primary and secondary): 19 786 (15%) (County Education Statistics, 1990)</p> <p>. 5 to 15 year olds entitled to free school meals: 21.2% (above County average)</p> <p>. residents 16+ unemployed: 10.3% (above County average) (New West County Planning Department, Analysis of OPCS Census, Small Area Statistics, 1991)</p>
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<p>Tolbry (cont.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment average rate: 12.3% (Oct.) (New West County, 1994) . Location of job losses was concentrated within Tolbry (County Economic Review, 1993) . Ethnic group residents: 5.1% (above County average) . black Caribbean: 1.6%; black African: 0.2%; black other: 0.6%; Indian: 0.7%; Pakistani: 0.7%; Bangladeshi: 0.1%; Chinese: 0.3%; other Asian: 0.2% . Unemployment rate: 9.1% above local average . Caribbean, African unemployment rate 11.1% above local average . Households rented from local authority: 22.2% (above County average) <p>(New West County Planning Department, Analysis of OPCS Census, Small Area Statistics, 1991)</p>
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Nova, Portugal

Resident population

- . 0.3 million
- . 302,535 out of 1 170,372 in Greater Nova and 1 641,700 in the Nova District (1991)
- . Density: second highest density rate (Great Nova)
- . 10-19 year olds (national level only): 8.2% men and 7.8%
- 11-18 year olds: 148,5 thousand (I.N.E., 1991)

Greater Nova has the highest density of population in the Cima Terra region

Resident population of non-portuguese nationality: no data available

69 public primary schools

15 (Years 5-6) schools

15 secondary schools (The majority of (Years 5-6) and secondary schools have 900 pupils on average, some have 1000, one has around 2000 and 4 have over 3000 pupils (including evening classes)

25 private schools (Years 5-12)

Population in education

. Rates of completion of resident population (Nova District in 1989/90)

. 14 year olds (66.8%); 15 y.o. (59.8%); 16 y.o. (55.1%); 17 y.o. (47.4%)

. Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion in public, private and co-operative schools, 1991/92)
Years 5-9: 15.1%; Year 5: 16.4%; Year 6: 10.4%; Year 7: 19.0%;
Year 8: 16.7%; Year 9: 12.6%

. Left school

Years 5-9: 3.4%; Year 5: 1.4%; Year 6: 0.9%; Year 7: 5.4%; Year 8: 4.7%; Year 9: 4.4% (D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

. Weight of Repetition (multiple year enrolment, Nova City)
14.7%

(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

. Pupils receiving Free school meals (Years 5-12, 1990/91): 18 562

. Subsidy for books and curriculum material: 19 934

. Housing: 18

. Transports: 90

(I.N.E., 1991)

. Teachers without permanent contract (1987/88, public sector)

. Years 5-6: 31.2%

. Years 7-12: 39.9%

(D.E.P.G.E.F., 1992)

. Schools in Nova District (Years 5-9 in Preparatory schools) were overcrowded: 7 577 students above the schools' accommodation capability

(G.E.P., 1990)

In 1989/90, 39,8% of the children attending (Year 5-6 schools) and 30.4% of the children attending secondary schools were outside their normal age range

<p>Nova, Portugal (cont.)</p>	<p>. Pupils enrolled in Years 5-12</p> <p>. In 1992, 111 554 pupils were enrolled in public schools Evening Classes 9 625 in Year 5-6 equivalent 47 524 in Year 7-9 equivalent 53 487 in Year 10-12 courses and 918 working students in Technical Vocational courses</p> <p>. Pupils in Technical-Vocational Education - TVE - (public and private) in 1983/84 was under 1 000 and, in 1990/91, the number in TVE was around 26 000 and in Vocational Schools around 7 000 (over 30 000 in total)</p> <p>. Pupils in professional schools: 41.2% Cima Terra Region is the region with the highest percentage</p>
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Ward

Tolbry City	<p>Wards</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment claimants: highest (38.1%); lowest (6.2%), (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 52.2 (highest); 0.0 (lowest) . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 10.9% (highest) to 2.4 (lowest) . Ethnic groups (% total population): 29.0 (highest) to 0.0 (lowest) . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 6.5 (highest) to 0.0 (lowest) . Social stress ('scores' are the outcome of a factor* analysis of a range of indicators derived from OPCS 1991 Census Small Area Statistics and clint-based data) . 4.59 (highest) to -1.16 . Social stress bands: 1 to 5 (represent groups of equal numbers of wards -i.e. quintiles - ranked according to their factor 1 'scores' in the factor analysis (New West County, 1991) <p>*Factor 1 "Social Stress" Indicators: households rented from Council; free school meals; residents aged 16 and over unemployed; probation supervisions; unemployed 6 to 12 months; lone 'parents' household; Child Protection Orders; residents n households under pensionable age with long-term illness; households with over 1.0 persons per room; households owner-occupied (West New, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 1 (southwest, south of the river and the city centre)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment claimants: 20% (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 15.6% (above Tolbry average); 20% male (above Tolbry average) and 9.8% female (below average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 6.4 to 10.9 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 13.1 to 21.7 . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . Social stress band: 1 (New West County, 1991) <p>Ward 2 (south central, south of the river and the city centre)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment claimants: 21.1% (above Tolbry average) (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 16.4% (above Tolbry average); 21.1% male (above Tolbry average) and 10.3% female (above average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 5.3 to 6.4 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 6.0 to 8.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 13.1 to 21.7 . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . Social stress band: 1 (New West County, 1991) <p>Ward 3 (city centre)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Ethnic origin of population: 12.7% afro-caribbean; 6.6% india; 2.6% other (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment claimants: 38.1% (New West County, 1994)
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<p>Tolbry (cont.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 29.3% (above Tolbry average); 38.1% male (above Tolbry average) and 16.7% female (above average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 6.4 to 10.9 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 8.0 to 29.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5 . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . Social stress band: 1 (New West County, 1991) <p>Ward 4 (city centre)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% or more above 4,9% professionals, 9.76% employers/managers, 17.03% junior non-manual (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment claimants: 20.2% (above Tolbry average) (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 16.5% (above Tolbry average); 20.2% male (above Tolbry average) and 11.8% female (above average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 5.3 to 6.4 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 6.0 to 8.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 13.1 to 21.7 . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . Social stress band: 1 (New West County, 1991) <p>Ward 5 (city centre, northwest side)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% or more above 4,9% professionals, 9.76% employers/managers, 17.03% junior non-manual (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment claimants: 14.2% (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 11.4% (below Tolbry average); 14.2% male (below Tolbry average) and 8.1% female (above average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 3.5 to 5.7 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 4.0 to 4.5 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 5.1 to 9.2 . "Social Stress": -0.40 to -0.18 . Social stress bands: 3 (New West County, 1991) <p>Ward 6 (southwest)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment claimants: 13.3% (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 10.4% (below Tolbry average); 13.3% male (below Tolbry average) and 6.4% female (below average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 3.5 to 5.7 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 6.4 to 10.9 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 9.2 to 13.1 . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31 . Social stress bands: 2 (New West County, 1991)
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**Tolbry
(cont.)**

Ward 7 (east)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 15.6% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 11.9% (below Tolbry average); 15.6% male (below Tolbry average) and 7% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness (%): 6.4 to 10.9
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 13.1 to 21.7
- . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31
- . Social stress band: 2 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 8 (east)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 10.7% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 8.2% (below Tolbry average); 10.7% male (below Tolbry average) and 4.9% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness (%): 4.5 to 5.3
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 5.1 to 9.2
- . "Social Stress": -0.64 to -0.40
- . Social stress bands: 4 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 9 (southeast)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors and 8.26% semi-skilled/personnel services (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 12.7% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 9.7% (below Tolbry average); 12.7% male (below Tolbry average) and 5.5% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 5.3 to 6.4
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59
- . Social stress bands: 1 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 10 (east)

- . Households with 3% or more above 17.03% junior non-manual only and with over 3% above 8.26 % of semi-skilled personal services (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 20.9% (above Tolbry average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 15.5% (above Tolbry average); 29.9% male (above Tolbry average) and 8.8% female (above average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 6.4 to 10.9
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 8.0 to 29.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 9.2 to 13.1
- . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31
- . Social stress bands: 2 (New West County, 1991)

**Tolbry
(cont.)**

Ward 11 (northeast)

- . Households with 3% or more above 17.03% junior non-manual only (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 15.7% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 11.7% (below Tolbry average); 15.7% male (below Tolbry average) and 6.4% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 5.3 to 6.4
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 8.0 to 29.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 5.1 to 9.2
- . "Social Stress": -0.64 to -0.40
- . Social stress bands: 4 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 12 (northeast)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 14.3% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 10.8% (below Tolbry average); 14.3% male (below Tolbry average) and 5.8% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 6.4 to 10.9 .
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 4.0 to 6.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59
- . Social stress bands: 1 (New West, 1991)

Ward 13 (southeast)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Households with 3% or more above 17.03% junior non-manual only (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 10.5% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 8% (below Tolbry average); 10.5% male (below Tolbry average) and 4.7% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 5.7 to 9.2
- . residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 4.5 to 5.3
- . ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0
- . households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 0.0 to 5.1
- . "Social Stress": -1.16 to -0.64
- . Social stress bands: 4 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 14 (southeast)

- . Unemployment claimants: 10.3% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 8% (below Tolbry average); 10.3% male (below Tolbry average) and 4.9% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9
- . residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 5.3 to 6.4
- . ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0
- . households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31
- . Social stress bands: 2 (New West County, 1991)

**Tolbry
(cont.)**

Ward 15 (southcentral)

- . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 18.7% (above Tolbry average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 14.2% (above Tolbry average); 18.7% male (above Tolbry average) and 7.1% female (same as average) (New West County, 1994)
- . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2
- . residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 6.4 to 10.9
- . ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0
- . households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59
- . Social stress bands: 1 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 16 (north)

- . Households with 3% above 2.86% unskilled manual socio-economic group (Tolbry average) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 20.9% (above Tolbry average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 15.2% (above Tolbry average); 20.9% male (above Tolbry average) and 7.1% female (same as average) (New West County, 1994)
- . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2
- . residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 6.4 to 10.9
- . ethnic groups (% total population): 2.0 to 4.0
- . households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59
- . social stress bands: 1 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 17 (north)

- . Unemployment claimants: 11.2% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 8.4% (below Tolbry average); 11.2% male (below Tolbry average) and 4.5% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 9.2 to 15.9
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 6.4 to 10.9
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 4.0 to 6.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5
- . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31
- . Social stress bands: 2 (New West County, 1991)

Ward 18 (northwest)

- . Households with 3% or more above 4.9 % professionals, 9.76% employers/managers, 17.03% junior non-manual with two out of the three socio-economic groups (SEGs) (Tolbry averages) (City Council Ward Report, 1991)
- . Unemployment claimants: 6.2% (New West County, 1994)
- . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 5% (below Tolbry average); 6.2% male (below Tolbry average) and 3.4% female (below average) (New West County, 1994)
- . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 0.0 to 3.5
- . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 4.5 to 5.3
- . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0
- . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 5.1 to 9.2
- . "Social Stress": -0.16 to -0.64
- . Social stress bands: 5 (New West County, 1991)

<p>Tolbry (cont.)</p>	<p>Ward 19 (northwest) Unemployment claimants: 13.2% (New West County, 1994) . Unemployment (Oct., 1994): 9.9% (below Tolbry average); 13.2% male (below Tolbry average) and 5.5% female (below average) (New West County, 1994) . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 6.4 to 10.9 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 21.7 to 65.5 . "Social Stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . Social stress bands: 1 (New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 20 (out of city boundaries) . Unemployment: 5.2 to 6.5 % . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 5.7 to 9.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 5.3 to 6.4 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 13.1 to 21.7 . "Social Stress": -0.18 to 0.31 . Social stress bands: 2 (New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 21 (out of city boundaries) . Unemployment: 6.5 to 8.3% . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 5.3 to 6.4 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 9.2 to 13.1 . "Social Stress": -0.40 to -0.18 . Social stress bands: 3 (New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 22 (out of city boundaries) . Unemployment: 4.4 to 5.2% . Free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 3.5 to 5.7 . Residents in households under pensionable age with a longterm illness: 2.4 to 4.0 . Ethnic groups (% total population): 0.0 to 2.0 . Households rented from Local Authority (% of households): 0.0 to 5.1 . "Social Stress": -0.64 to -0.40 . Social stress bands: 4 (New West County, 1991)</p>
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Schools

England

Tolbry City	<p>Ashfield Common (1960s building on city border, 11-16 years old comprehensive) Member of South Tolbry Sixth Form Federation (6 schools+South Tolbry College)</p> <p>. Head: male, MA Education, 3 months in post, former deputy head teacher in grant-maintained school</p> <p>665 pupils 52 teachers 26 pupils per class</p> <p>. Budget: 1.3 million pounds (1993/94)</p> <p>. Located in Ward 1 (Ward 1 has borders with wards 2 to 6)</p> <p>. Community of pupils (as viewed by HT): 'working class english, low self-expectations, low-expectations of school, no expectations to attend University, expect to leave school at 16'</p>
	<p>City Park (Built in 1962, 11-18 years old co-ed.)</p> <p>Head: Male, MA in Education, 3 years in the post, with previous experience as a Vice-President of a 14-19 years old Community College. Followed 3 previous Head Teachers since 1988. The previous one took early retirement.</p> <p>. 653 pupils (200 pupil contraction over 3 years with obvious links with budget. Number is starting to rise)</p> <p>. 43.6 Teachers 1 finances and premises manager</p> <p>Budget: £1.4 million (1993/94)</p> <p>Community of pupils (as viewed by HT): 'average ability students with more below average pupils although, in KS3 there are more above average pupils'. Recent change in type of parents choosing this school.</p> <p>. 14% pupils are from ethnic backgrounds . Socio-economic background is diverse . 25% are on Free School Meals . 50% of each final year group have special needs (learning, behaviour, no disabilities)</p> <p>. Located in Ward 16 (Ward 16 has borders with wards 17 to 22)</p>

<p>Tolbry City</p>	<p>Belleview (1956 school on city border, largest in the LEA, 11-18 years old co-ed.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Head: Male, Post-Graduation in Management Studies (adapted from PG in Industrial Management), 5 years in the post has previous experience as a Deputy Head <p>1.790 pupils (predominantly white with around 50 children from ethnic groups increasing) 112 teachers 39 non-teaching staff (cleaning, ground maintenance, meals are provided by a private company, the remaining staff have contracts with the LEA) 6th Form, TVEI project, 5 NGVQ courses . Pupils per class: 26.5 average</p> <p>Budget: £ 3.5 million, £2.8 million go into Teaching costs - increasing, it was around £2.7 million 2/3 years ago</p> <p>Community of pupils . Predominantly english (around 50 children are from ethnic minorities, has increased very slowly over the years. Some of these children come from a very significant distance within the City) . 20% achieve 5 GCSEs, below the national average . over 90% attend . Staying On Rates on the increase</p> <p>. Located in Ward 9 Ward 9 has borders with wards 3, 7, 8, 13</p>
	<p>Garfield (1972 merger, 11-16 years old boys) . Established in 1972 as a result of a merging process, at the moment there is a consultation process to amalgamate this School with Garfield Girls School and this seems to be supported by parents Member of South Tolbry Sixth Form Federation (6 schools+South Tolbry College)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Head: Male, MA in Education, 3 years in the post <p>. 417 pupils (against 1.200 in late 1970s) 30 teachers (meals are contracted to a private company)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Budget: 1.1 million pounds . Second highest rate of Free School Meals in the LEA <p>Community of pupils . Predominantly english . Staying On Rate: close to the national average - 40% -</p> <p>. Located in Ward 13 Ward 13 has borders with wards 2, 3, 9, 14, 15</p>

<p>Tolbry (cont.)</p>	<p>The Kings (Victorian building, 11-18 years old co-ed.)</p> <p>. Head: Male, MA in Education, 17 months in post with previous experience of one year as a Head in London.</p> <p>.820 pupils 54 Teachers 40 non-Teaching Staff</p> <p>. Budget: £1.8 million. £1.4 teachers. (£100 000 maintenance). Budget will decrease from £1.8 to £1.4 million</p> <p>. Located in Ward 7 Ward 1 has borders with wards 8 to 12</p> <p>. Community of pupils 51% adults unemployed 31% live in poor housing 16% children in B&B (double the national average) 60% are on free school meals (nat. aver.: 20%)</p> <p>. Head's view of origin of educational problems: 'lack of parental support ; bad housing conditions low expectations because of high level of unemployment in the area.</p> <p>Ethnic composition of pupils 31% Afro-Caribbean (has varied between 30 to 35% over time) 70% white</p> <p>. Educational route 55% stay after 16 45% leave of those staying 45% leave for YTS etc. 10-15% Higher Education</p>
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Portugal

Nova City	<p>Reserva (Years 5 and 6, Opened 1950s)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Appointed male President of Management Commission, 5 years experience <li style="margin-left: 20px;">1149 pupils (+300+ evening) <li style="margin-left: 20px;">124 teachers (16 on 1 year fixed term contract) <li style="margin-left: 20px;">29 ancillary staff (under-staffed and staff in need of training due to low level of schooling, problem generalised to other schools) <li style="margin-left: 20px;">11 admin. . Average of 26 pupils per class . Children from densely populated, high employment and illiteracy, low income city centre, 9 out of 52 classes make provision for children with learning difficulties) . Successful rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 5: 17.9%; Year 6: 9.5%; Years 5-9: 14.3% . Left school Year 5: 1.5%; Year 6: 9.5%; Years 5-9: 1.4% (G.E.P., 1992) . Located in Nova Municipality (Cima Terra Regional Department of Education)
	<p>Realeza (Years 7-12, Former female Commercial School is now predominantly secondary with technological courses in Computing; Arts and Crafts; Business and Administration; Communication Studies but also General Studies)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Appointed female president of Management Commission, 3 months in post, 7 years experience in Teacher's Councils but only 4 years as a President Teacher for 22 years, post-graduate course in School Administration. <li style="margin-left: 20px;">1 300 pupils (recent decrease, pupils' background described as 'medium to high bourgeoisie) <li style="margin-left: 20px;">160 teachers <li style="margin-left: 20px;">33 Ancillary staff (decreased from 50, some retired and were not replaced) <li style="margin-left: 20px;">13 Administrative staff . Successful rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 7: 17.4%; Year 6: 9.5%; Years 5-9: 15.1% . Left school Years 5-9: 3.5% (G.E.P., 1992) . Located in Nova Municipality (Cima Terra Regional Department of Education)

<p>Nova (cont.)</p>	<p>Prado (Years 7-12, Former Industrial School providing education at this level in the City and the Northern Region - and it is now a 2/3 School. The majority of its provision are secondary courses in the traditionally technological areas of the school: Chemistry; Construction; Electronics and Mechanics but also General Studies) Appointed female president of Management Commission, 3 months in post, 4 years experience in another school, 22 years experience of classroom teaching . 1 400 pupils (day and evening courses); 177 Teachers; 40 Ancillary staff; 15 Administrative staff . Successful rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 7: 16.3%; Years 7-9: 14.1% . Left school Year 7: 8.1%; Year 7-9: 4.7% (G.E.P., 1992) . Located in Nova Municipality (Cima Terra Regional Department of Education)</p>
	<p>Mar (Years 7-12, Former lycee; it is now a 2/3 School now providing predominantly secondary courses leading to Higher Education as before and a reduced number of courses in Administration and Communication) The school is located in one of the most expensive areas of the City which like in any area of Porto will get low income students in its catchment area but the major make-up is of high income students. . Female Executive Director, 3 months is the post with 7 non-consecutive years experience in Teacher's Councils (5 years in the Council and two years as this School's Teachers' Council President). She is also the President of the Pedagogic Council . The five years previous to being President of this School's T.C. for two years, were spent as a Secondary Biology Teacher. She is now enrolled in a MA in Educational Management . 2000 pupils (decreased from 2700 pupils; 25 years old school built with a capacity for 1100 students. The increase in the School's population was due to more houses and flats being built in the area. Recently a new School opened in the area and has released some of the pressure on this School); 170 teachers; 55 Ancillary and Administrative; 28 pupils average per class (there are 30/1 pupils per class in the 10th year) . Successful rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 7: 14.8%; Year 6: 9.5%; Years 5-9: 17.1% . Left school Year 7: 3.8%; Years 5-9: 5.7% (G.E.P., 1992) . Located in Nova Municipality (Cima Terra Regional Department of Education)</p>

<p>Nova (cont.)</p>	<p>Limoeiro (Years 5-7, Opened in 1982, planned as technical (upper secondary) comprehensive school This school was initially planned to be a technical (upper secondary) school. When this School first opened, middle and upper income parents were very positive about it since they thought it would be a School 'for them' and would mean they would not have to enrol their children in the existing Schools that had a 'bad reputation'. The School is now 12 years old and its reputation has changed.</p> <p>. Male president of Teachers' Council, 5 years in post 1.100 pupils (average of 26 pupils per class; 30% from outside catchment area reflecting enrolment of children leaving in greater Nova city whose parents work in city centre; 37% from local area; 19% from densely populated area with high concentration of unemployment and illiteracy) 105 teachers; 32 ancillary; 8 administrative staff; 1 P/T Doctor (Northern Regional Education Services); 1 P/T Nurse (NRES); 1 Social Worker or Psychologist (NRES); 2 Social Workers in Welfare Office</p> <p>. Located in Nova Municipality (Cima Terra Regional Department of Education)</p> <p>. Successful rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 7: 24.1%; Years 7-9: 13.3% (G.E.P., 1992)</p>
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Appendix 2

Institutions and Interviewees

Total number of interviews: 80 (January, 1994 to May, 1995)

Audio recorded interviews: 78

Interviews not audio recorded: 2

Total Number of Interviewees and Institutions

PORTUGAL	ENGLAND
<p>Total number of interviews: 32 (2 not taped)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 14 + 1 (not taped)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">local: 5 + 1 (not taped)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">central: 10</p> <p>Total number of interviewees: 30 Female Interviewees: 14 Male Interviewees: 16</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 14 Female Interviewees: 7 Male Interviewees: 7</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">local: 8 Female Interviewees: 4 Male Interviewees: 4</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">central: 8 Female Interviewees: 3 Male Interviewees: 5</p> <p>Total number of institutions: 22</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 9 local: 5 central: 8</p> <p>Total number of requests for interviews where interview was requested and granted but did not take place: 2 (National Council of Education and Regional Representation of the National Federation of Parents)</p>	<p>Total number of interviews: 48</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 20 + 1 (governors meeting observed)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">local: 15</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">central: 5</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">other: 8</p> <p>Total number of interviewees: 48 Female Interviewees: 8 Male Interviewees: 40</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 21 Female Interviewees: 3 Male Interviewees: 18</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">local: 14 Female Interviewees: 3 Male Interviewees: 11</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">central: 13 Female Interviewees: 2 Male Interviewees: 11</p> <p>Total number of institutions: 27</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">schools: 8 local: 8 central: 10</p> <p>Total number of requests for interviews that were not granted because referred to another interviewee: 2 (Department For Education)</p>

Models of School Management and Governance

Portugal	England
<p>Teachers Council - 5 teachers (1 President) + Pedagogics Council (Heads of Subject Group, Class Tutors, 1 parents and 1 students' representatives)</p> <p>Experimental Model (in 54 schools out of 954 in 1994 nationally) Executive Council with executive director and two assistants + School Council with parents, teachers, students, City Council, social, cultural and economic representatives</p> <p>5 Regional Departments of Education with 13, 12, 8, 12 and 9 schools each</p> <p>13 (out of 390) schools in Cima Terra Regional Department of Education</p>	<p>Headteacher + Governing Body</p>

Institutions and Interviewees

Portugal	England
Schools	
Nova City	Tolbry City
<p>(Cima Terra Regional Department of Education) Colina School Years 7 to 12 mixed (ex-girls lycee), 1950s building, city centre, 2000 pupils Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92) Year 7: 14.9% (38.3% highest and 7.4% lowest in Nova schools); Year 5 to 9: 14.1% (23.9% highest and 6.7% lowest) Left school Year 7: 7.0% (21.1% highest and 0.5% lowest in Nova schools); Year 5 to 9: 4.7% (12.9% highest and 0.3% lowest) □ Female President of School Council, 28/7/95, 2 one hour tapes □ Male President of Pedagogics Council, 21/4/95 Male Executive Director, 5/4/95, 2 one hours tape (Pilot Study) Mar School □ Female Executive Director, 1/1994 □ Female President of School Council 28/2/1995 Realeza School □ Female President of Teachers Council, 5/1995 Prado □ Female President of Management Commission Reserva □ Male President of Management Commission Limoeiro □ Male President of Teachers' Council</p>	<p>(New West County) Farvalley School 11-16 mixed comprehensive, 1/3 of the pupils live in the area, 2/3 are from closeby Council housing estates, 721 pupils, member of South Tolbry Sixth Form Federation (6 schools + South Tolbry College) Budget: 1.4 million pounds (1994/95) Located in ward 23, South Central Ward 23 has borders with wards 13, 14, 15, 24 to 28 Pupils Rank Budget Rank 8th (in 20) 12th (in 20) □ Male Headteacher, February and March, 1995, 2 one hour interviews □ Male Chair of Governing Body, February, 1995 □ Male LEA governor (Labour Party), February, 1995 □ 1 meeting of Governing Body observed (Pilot Study) Ashfield Common School □ Male Headteacher The Kings' School □ Male Headteacher, 2/1995 □ Female Chair of Governing Body, 2/1995 □ Male Teacher Head of 6th Form, 2/1995 Belleview School □ Male Headteacher, 2/1995 □ Male Chair of the Governing Body, 2/1995 Garfield □ Male Headteacher City Park □ Male Headteacher □ Male Chair of Governing Body</p>

Schools (cont.)

Salilos City

Guestville City

(Salilos Municipality in Salilos Regional Department of Education)
Roseira School
 Years 7 to 12, mixed (ex-male lycee)
Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92)
Year 7: 20.4% (48.2% highest and 3.8% lowest in Salilos schools); **Year 8:** 5.1% (39.5% highest and 3.6% lowest); **Year 9:** 16.3% (37.7% highest and 2.6% lowest);
Left school
Year 7: 1.9% (21.1% highest and 0.5% lowest in Salilos schools); **Year 8:** 0.9% (22.1% highest and 0.6% lowest); **Year 9:** 0.7% (18.4% highest and 0.5% lowest);
 □ Female President of Management Commission, 4/1995, 2 one hour tape
 □ 20 years teaching experience
 □ Permanent Geography Teacher
 □ 9 years in this School
 □ 1 year in present post
 □ 2 years as vice-president of the School Teachers Council
 □ 3 years of School management experience
 Opened in 1908 as lycee for boys with selected small classes of children from a middle bourgeoisie elite. The School is located in a very accessible area of the city centre and takes an increasing number of children from the periphery of the city from families who work in Salilos. Less children of the middle bourgeoisie who used to live in the nearby new avenues attend the school. Almost 90% permanent teaching staff.

(North Central Council)
Molly Girls City Technology College
 (Grant-Maintained, ex-secondary)
 800+ pupils
 49 teaching staff
 Non-denominational Girls' College.
 Opened 1958.
 Caters for Urdu, Gujarati, Arabic and Hindi Pupils
 Six Form College
 □ Female Principal (headteacher) since 1989, 3/1995
 □ Male Teacher Governor and NUT Representative, 3/1995
Oakinton School
 (secondary mixed comprehensive)
 Opened 1938 as County School
 1967: 13-18 Mixed Senior High School
 1973: 11-19 Comprehensive School
 1994: Grant-Maintained, co-educational, comprehensive
 1320+270 six form
 75 teachers
 □ Female Head Teacher since April 1994, 3/1995
 □ Male Chair of Governing Body
 □ Male Teacher Governor

Schools (cont.)

Madal City

(Madal Municipality in Salilos Regional Department of Education)

Campo School Years 7 to 12, mixed (ex-boys industrial school)

Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92)

Year 7: 11.2% (24.1% highest and 6.7% lowest); **Year 8:** 15.4 (24.8% highest and 5.1 lowest); **Year 9:** 10.1% (25.2% highest and 3.2% lowest) **Year 7 to 9:** 12.7% (23.5% highest and 5.6% lowest in Madal schools); **Year 5 to 9:** 12.7% (23.9% highest and 6.7% lowest)

Left school

Year 7: 4.7% (18.1% highest and 0.9 lowest) **Year 8:** 6.9% (11.2% highest and 2.1% lowest) **Year 9:** 4.9% (11.2 highest and 1.0% lowest); **Year 7 to 9:** 5.7% (12.7% highest and 1.4% lowest); **Year 5 to 9:** 5.7% (12.7% highest and 0.1% lowest)

- Male Executive Director, 4/5/1995, 2 one hour tapes
- Male President of School Council, 4/5/1995, 2 one hour tapes

Navegador School Years 7 to 12, mixed, built in post-1974 period

Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion, 1991/92)

Year 7: 11.6%; **Year 8:** 23.3; **Year 9:** 19.5%; **Year 7 to 9:** 18.3% ; **Year 5 to 9:** 18.3%

Left school

Year 7: 18.1%; **Year 8:** 8.2%; **Year 9:** 8.6% ; **Year 7 to 9:** 11.4%; **Year 5 to 9:** 11.4%

- Male President of Teachers Council, 3/5/1995, 2 one hour tapes

Location

<p>England Greater Guestville (including North Central Council)</p>	<p>Area: 1.6 thousand km² Population: 6.7 million Density: 4 303 inh/km² Unemployment: 6.3% Employment: Agriculture (0%) Industry (18%) Services: 82% (EUROSTAT, 1992)</p>
<p>North Central Council</p>	<p>Resident Population: 1.2 million (HMSO, 1989)</p>
<p>Portugal (Region including Salilos and Madal Cities)</p>	<p>Resident population . 1.8 million in metropolitan area and 3.3 million in the region (INE,1992) . density: 276 inh/km² Unemployment rate: 7.4% (EUROSTAT, 1993) Employment rate per sector in metropolitan area (MA) (1989) . agriculture: 10.73% . industry: 23.37% . service: 48.18% The MA occupies 3,52% of the country's area and 27,3% of the country's population resides in the MA. The MA was exposed to a process of economic and social restructuring which meant an increase in importance of the service sector against a decrease in the importance of industry and also to the increase in direct foreign investment in industry, financial services, commerce, construction, property, tourism other services and agriculture. (M.P.O.T., 1991) . Commerce and services: 60.19% of workers (above national average) (1989) . Industry:23.44% (1989) Foreign population by nationality in 1990 (in Salilos and Madal districts) . African Portuguese speaking countries: 54.9% . European Union: 22.4% . Brasil: 6.7% . North America: 4.8% . Other: 5.8% . Venezuela: 3.3% . EFTA: 1.6% . China and Japan: 1,9% . India and Pakistan: 1.9% Resident Foreign Population (% of the national total) . ex-African colonies: 84.% . European Union: 52% . Brasil: 39% . North America: 47% . Other: 72% . Venezuela: 9% . EFTA: 58% . China and Japan: 78% . India and Pakistan: 92% Population's educational level . Illiteracy rate(region): 10% (INE,1992)</p>

<p>Portugal (Region including Salilos and Madal Cities) (cont.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . workers with University degree (1989): 4.2% (2.2% Portugal) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with BA: 1.2% (0.7% Portugal) with technical course: 6.4% (4.1% Portugal) . managers: 3.6% (1.9% Portugal) . middle management: 2.8% (1.8% Portugal) . 6.2% highly qualified professionals (3.9% Portugal) . workers' educational level (1989) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> illiterate: 2% (2.2% Portugal) reads and writes: 3.1% (3.9%) primary: 40.9% (50.2%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Years 5 to 6: 15.3% (16.9%) Lycee (3 years general course): 11.4% (8.4%) Lycee (5 years): 8.7% (5.9%) Technical school: 6.4% (4.1%) Other secondary: 1.0% (0.6%) BA: 1.2% (0.7%) University degree: 4.2% (2.2%) . Population in Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> unsuccessful completion (public, private, co-operative) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Years 5 to 9: 14.8% (15.2% Portugal) Years 7 to 9: 15.9% (17.2% Portugal) left school <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Years 5 to 9: 4.0% (4.3% Portugal) Years 7 to 9: 5.3% (5.5% Portugal) (DEPJEF, 1992) <p>Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion in public, private, co-operative schools)</p> <p>(Greater Salilos) Year 5: 15.3% (13.8% Portugal); Year 6: 11.5% (10.9% Portugal); Years 5 to 6: 13.4% (12.4% Portugal); Year 7: 17.3% (18.7% Portugal); Year 8: 16.7% (18.1%); Year 9: 14.1% (14.0% Portugal); Years 7 to 9: 16.1% (17.2%); Years 5 to 9: 15.0% (15.2% Portugal)</p> <p>(Greater Madal) Year 5: 14.6%; Year 6: 12.2%; Years 5 to 6: 13.4%; Year 7: 17.7%; Year 8: 17.3%; Year 9: 14.0%; Years 7 to 9: 16.4%; Years 5 to 9: 15.3%</p> <p>Left school</p> <p>(Greater Salilos) Year 5: 1.8% (3.0% Portugal); Year 6: 1.7% (2.1% Portugal); Years 5 to 6: 1.7% (2.6% Portugal); Year 7: 5.6% (6.2% Portugal); Year 8: 5.0% (5.3% Portugal); Year 9: 6.0% (5.0% Portugal); Years 7 to 9: 5.5% (5.5% Portugal); Years 5 to 9: 4.1% (4.3% Portugal)</p> <p>(Greater Madal) Year 5: 1.7%; Year 6: 1.4%; Years 5 to 6: 1.6%; Year 7: 5.7%; Year 8: 5.0%; Year 9: 4.5%; Years 7 to 9: 5.1%; Years 5 to 9: 3.7% (DEPGEF, 1992)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Workers' level of qualification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> managers: 3.6% (1.9% Portugal) middle management: 2.8% (1.8%)
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Portugal
Salilos City

Resident population

- . 0.6 million (1991)
- . density: highest density rate (742,6 thousand inhabitants per square Km (INE, 1992)

Salilos has been losing population (-18.35% between 1981-1991)

74.15% of the MA's population lives outside Salilos

- . Illiteracy rate (1991 census): 5.7% (11.0% Portugal)

.31.6% is aged between 15 and 18 years old

Social class (1981)

- . bourgeoisie: 7.28%
- . field workers: 0.04%
- . small traditional bourgeoisie: 4.93
- . new small bourgeoisie I: 15.45%
- . new small bourgeoisie II: 48.51%
- . proletariat (agriculture): 0.29%
- . proletariat (industry): 21.88%
- . Completion index (9 years): 61% (Regional Planning Report, 1991)
- . Enrolled (1987/88) (% of each Council in total pupils number)
 - Years 5 to 6: 21.3%
 - Years 7 to 9: 23.7%
 - Years 10 to 12: 41.3%

Schools (Years 5 to 12): 205

Population in Education

Enrolled pupils (public, private and co-operative):

Years 5 to 6: 1 448; Years 7 to 9: 23 970; Years 10 to 12: 41 028 (Regional Statistical Year Book, 1995)

(% of each level in the total pupils number in metropolitan area)

Years 5 to 6: 17.3%; Years 7 to 9: 24.9%; Years 10 to 12: 29.1%

- . Professional training

Schools: 15

Pupils: 597

(Regional Planning Report, 1991)

Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion in public, private, co-operative schools)

Years 5 to 6: 13.5%, **Year 7:** 17.6%; **Year 8:** 15.3%; **Year 9:** 12.8%; **Years 7 to 9:** 15.3%; **Years 5 to 9:** 14.6%

Left school

Years 5 to 6: 1.8%; **Year 7:** 6.3%; **Year 8:** 5.8%; **Year 9:** 6.5%; **Years 7 to 9:** 6.2%; **Years 5 to 9:** 4.5%

- . Rates of completion of resident population (District in 1989/90)

14 year olds (85.6%); 15 y.o. (90.4%); 16 y.o. (90.6%); 17 y.o. (79.7%) (GEP, 1990)

- . Unsuccessful pass rates (district, 1988/89)

Year 5: 15.7% (16.8% highest and 9.6% lowest); Year 6: 14.7% (16.4% highest and 10.3% lowest); Year 7: 22.5% (26.3% highest and 19.2% lowest); Year 8: 19.1% (27.7% highest and 19.1% lowest); Year 9: 22.5% (28.7% highest and 14.2% lowest) (GEP, 1990)

- . Pupils receiving free school meals in district (Years 5 to 9): 18 131

- . Subsidies for books and curriculum material: 17 867

- . Housing: 2

- . Transports: 153 (INE, 1991)

<p>Salilos City (cont.)</p>	<p>Teachers (Years 5 to 12) public: 6 513 private and co-operative: 1 714 (Regional Statistical Year Book, 1995)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . qualified with permanent employment contract (district) (Years 5 to 6 schools): 62.8% (Years 7 to 12): 40.2% . qualified with temporary employment contract (district) (Years 5 to 6 schools): 31.0% (Years 7 to 12): 44.7% (GEP, 1992) . Workers' educational level (1989) illiterate: 1.5% (2.2% Portugal) reads and writes: 2.5% (3.9%) primary: 35.0% (50.2%) Years 5 to 6: 14.6% (16.9%) Lycee (3 years general course): 13.2% (8.4%) Lycee (5 years): 11.0% (5.9%) Technical school: 7.4% (4.1%) Other secondary: 1.3% (0.6%) BA: 1.5% (0.7%) University degree: 6.1% (2.2%) . Workers' level of qualification managers: 5.1% (1.9% Portugal) middle management: 3.7% (1.8%) supervisors: 4.8% (3.9%) highly qualified professionals: 7.1% (3.9%) qualified professionals: 38.2% (39.3%) semi-qualified professionals: 12.5% (18.9%) non-qualified: 9.9% (11.8%) apprentice: 6.9% (12.1%) (M.P.A.T. 1992)
<p>Madal City</p>	<p>Resident population . 0.1 million (1991 census) . density: 2 161 inh/sq. Km . Illiteracy rate (1991 census): 6.4% (Regional Planning Report, 1991) . 50% is 50+ years (Camara Municipal de Madal, 1996) . 12.1% is aged between 15 and 18 years old</p> <p>Social class (1981) . bourgeoisie: 3.83% . field workers: 0.49% . small traditional bourgeoisie: 5.90% . new small bourgeoisie I: 9.87% . new small bourgeoisie II: 38.69% . proletariat (agriculture): 0.80% . proletariat (industry): 36.21%</p> <p>Schools (Years 5 to 12): 44</p> <p>Population in education Pupils Enrolled pupils (public, private and co-operative): Years 5 to 6: 4 011 Years 7 to 9: 7 580 Years 10 to 12: 11 371 (Regional Statistical Year Book, 1995)</p>

<p>Madal City (cont.)</p>	<p>. Enrolled (1987/88) (% of each Council in total pupils number) Years 5 to 6: 6.7%; Years 7 to 9: 6.3%; Years 10 to 12: 3.3%</p> <p>(% of each level in the total pupils number in metropolitan area) Years 5 to 6: 20.2%; Years 7 to 9: 25.9%; Years 10 to 12: 20.8%</p> <p>. Professional training Schools: 3 Pupils: 2 547 (Regional Planning Report, 1991) Success rate (difference between successful and unsuccessful completion in public, private, co-operative schools) Year 5: 14.3%; Year 6: 12.1%; Years 5 to 6: 13.2%, Year 7: 15.8%; Year 8: 18.6%; Year 9: 14.9%; Years 7 to 9: 16.5%; Years 5 to 9: 15.2%</p> <p>Left school Year 5: 0.7%; Year 6: 1.8%; Years 5 to 6: 1.3%; Year 7: 5.9%; Year 8: 5.3%; Year 9: 3.8%; Years 7 to 9: 5.1%; Years 5 to 9: 3.6%</p> <p>. Rates of completion of resident population (District in 1989/90); 14 year olds (85.8%); 15 y.o. (84.6%); 16 y.o. (83.8%); 17 y.o. (70.5%) (GEP, 1990)</p> <p>. Unsuccessful pass rates (district, 1988/89) Year 5: 15.5%; Year 6: 15.8%; Year 7: 19.2%; Year 8: 21.7%; Year 9: 20.4% (GEP, 1990)</p> <p>. Pupils receiving free school meals in district (Years 5 to 9): 9 908; Subsidies for books and curriculum material: 9 203; Transport: 66 (INE, 1991)</p> <p>Teachers (Years 5 to 12) public: 1 948; private and co-operative: 148 (Regional Statistical Year Book, 1995); . qualified with permanent employment contract (district): (Years 5 to 6 schools): 54.5%; (Years 7 to 12): 52.9%;. qualified with temporary employment contract (district); (Years 5 to 6 schools): 30.7%; (Years 7 to 12): 28.7% (GEP, 1992)</p> <p>. Workers' educational level (1989) illiterate: 2.3% (2.2% Portugal); reads and writes: 2.5% (3.9%); primary: 49.6% (50.2%); Years 5 to 6: 15.1% (16.9%); Lycee (3 years general course): 8.2% (8.4%); Lycee (5 years): 5.7% (5.9%); Technical school: 5.3% (4.1%); Other secondary: 0.7% (0.6%); BA: 0.8% (0.7%); University degree: 2.1% (2.2%) (M.P.A.T. 1992)</p> <p>. Workers' level of qualification managers: 1.8% (1.9% Portugal); middle management: 1.3% (1.8%) supervisors: 4.0% (3.9%); highly qualified professionals: 4.4% (3.9%); qualified professionals: 45.1% (39.3%); semi-qualified professionals: 15.1% (18.9%); non-qualified: 10.4% (11.8%); apprentice: 10.1% (12.1%) (M.P.A.T. 1992)</p>
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<p>England Tolbry City Wards</p>	<p>Ward 23: (South central)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry average) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment (October): 5.5% (below Tolbry average), 7.4% (below average) male, 2.9% (below average) female (New West County, 1994) . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 5.3 to 6.4% . Minority ethnic groups: 0.0 to 2.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 13.1 to 21.7 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 5.7 to 9.2 . "Social stress": -0.64 to -0.40 . social stress bands: 4 <p>(New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 24 (south west)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors, 8.26% semi-skilled/personal services, 2.86% unskilled (Tolbry average) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment (October): 15.1% (above Tolbry average), 19.4% (above average) male, 8.7% (below average) female (New West County, 1994) . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 6.4 to 10.9% . Minority ethnic groups: 0.0 to 2.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 21.7 to 65.5 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . "Social stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . social stress bands: 1 <p>(New Wet Council, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 25 (southwest)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors (Tolbry average) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment (October): 19.9% (above Tolbry average), 26.3% (above average) male, 10% (above average) female (New West County, 1994) . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 6.4 to 10.9% . Minority ethnic groups: 2.0 to 4.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 21.7 to 65.5 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . "Social stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . social stress bands: 1 <p>(New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 26 (southwest)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Households with 3% above 16.5% skilled manual/supervisors, 8.26% semi-skilled/personal services, 2.86% unskilled (Tolbry average) (City Council Ward Report, 1991) . Unemployment (October): 12% (below Tolbry average), 16.3% (above average) male, 5.7% (below average) female (New West County, 1994) . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 6.4 to 10.9% . Minority ethnic groups: 0.0 to 2.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 21.7 to 65.5 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 15.9 to 52.2 . "Social stress": 0.31 to 4.59 . social stress bands: 1
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<p>Tolbry (cont.)</p>	<p>Ward 27 (south, out of city boundary)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment: 2.3 to 4.4% . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 4.5 to 5.3% . Minority ethnic groups: 0.0 to 2.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 5.1 to 9.2 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 3.5 to 5.7 . "Social stress": -0.40 to -0.18 . social stress bands: 3 <p>(New West County, 1991)</p> <p>Ward 28 (southeast)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Unemployment: 2.3 to 4.4% . Residents in households under pensionable age with a long-term illness: 2.4 to 4.0% . Minority ethnic groups: 0.0 to 2.0% of total population . Households rented from local authority: 5.1 to 9.2 % of households . free school meals (% 5-15 year olds): 5.7 to 9.2 . "Social stress": -0.40 to -0.18 . social stress bands: 3 <p>(New West County, 1991)</p>
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Institutions and Interviewees

Portugal	England
Local	
Nova City	Tolbry City
<p>Nova Municipality</p> <p>▫ Female Coordinator for education (pilot)</p>	no equivalent
<p>Cima Terra Regional Department for Education</p> <p>▫ Male Head of Pedagogical Division, 4/4/95 (2 one hour tapes)</p> <p>▫ Female Coordinator of (Basic and Secondary schooling), 4/4/95 (2 one hour tapes)</p>	no equivalent
no equivalent	<p>New West County Local Education Authority</p> <p>▫ Female Assistant Director of Finances and Administration, 2/1995</p> <p>▫ Male Assistant Director Schools, 2/1995</p> <p>▫ Male Assistant Director Curriculum Advice, 2/1995</p> <p>▫ Male Local Management of Schools Accountant, 2/1995</p> <p>▫ Female School Governors Training Coordinator, 2/1995</p>
no equivalent	<p>New West District Audit Commission</p> <p>▫ Male District auditor, 2/1995</p>
<p>Teachers Union of Cima Terra</p> <p>▫ Male Union leader, National Executive Committee, member of the National Council for the Supervision and Assessment of the New School Management model, 19/4/95 (2 one hour tapes)</p>	<p>National Union Of Teachers, New West Branch</p> <p>▫ Male Regional officer, 2/1995</p>

<p>FNE (Cima Terra Union Branch)</p> <p>▫ Male vice president, member of the National Council for the Supervision and Assessment of the New School Management model, 5/1995</p>	
<p>in formation - not interviewed</p>	<p>Secondary Heads Association</p> <p>▫ Male President, 2/3/95 ▫ Male Secretary, 1/3/95</p>
<p>no equivalent</p>	<p>National Association of Head Teachers</p> <p>▫ Male Acting President, 2/1995 ▫ Male Regional Officer, 2/1995</p>
<p>no equivalent</p>	<p>New West Association of Black Parents and Governors</p> <p>▫ Male President, 1/2/1995</p>
<p>no equivalent</p>	<p>New West Federation of Parents and Teachers Associations</p> <p>▫ Female Secretary, 2/1995</p>
<p>Salilos City</p>	<p>Guestville City</p>
<p>Salilos Regional Department Education</p> <p>▫ Female Assistant Director, 5/1995 (permission to use audiotape was not granted) ▫ Male Head of Pedagogical Division, 5/1995 (permission to use audiotape was not granted)</p>	<p>no equivalent</p>
<p>no equivalent</p>	<p>North Central Council Local Education Authority</p> <p>▫ Male Head of Inspection Business Unit, 3/1995</p> <p>...</p>
<p>Salilos Municipality</p> <p>▫ Female Education Coordinator, 5/1995</p>	<p>no equivalent</p>

Portugal	England
Central	
<p>□ Male Ex-Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education, Ex Director of Office for Technical and Professional Education, Ex-President of Teachers Council, Director of Training Unit of Porto Industrial Association, 5/4/1995</p>	equivalent secondary interviews
<p>□ Male Ex-Minister of Education, 1/9/94</p>	equivalent secondary interviews
<p>Ministry of Education Finance Department</p> <p>□ Male Director, 3/1995, 4/5/195 (Coordinator of National Council for the Supervision and Assessment of the New School Management Model, National Representative at the EURYDICE Network, Ex-Secretary of State for School Administration, National Representative to the 1960S 'Mediterranean Plan' Ex-State Company General Director, Ex-Director of the Ministry of Education's Studies Department)</p>	<p>Department for Education Local (Financial) Management of Schools Team</p> <p>□ Male Head of School Funding Division, 2/1995 (2 one hour tapes) □ Male Team Leader, 3, 1997</p> <p>Funding Agency of Schools</p> <p>□ Male Planning Director, 3/1995</p> <p>National Council for Vocational Qualifications</p> <p>□ Male International Public Relations Officer, 3/1995</p>
<p>Inspection Service</p> <p>□ Female Senior Inspector, Member of the National Council for the Supervision and Assessment of the School Management Model, 29/5/95</p>	<p>Inspection Service</p> <p>□ Male Her Majesty's Inspectorate, Senior Inspector Secondary Schools Coordinator, 1/1995</p>
Other	
<p>National Federation of Teachers Unions</p> <p>□ Female Union Leader, National Executive, Member of a School Council in Lisbon, Member of the Salilos Municipality Assembly, 4/1995 (2 one hour tapes) □ Male Ex-President, 30/3/95</p>	equivalent not interviewed

no equivalent	Secondary Heads Association □ Male National Director, 2/1995
National Federation of Parents Commissions □Female President, 29/5/95	no equivalent
Commission for Educational Reform □ Male Ex- Member, University Professor, Head of Unit School Administration and presently a member of the National Council for the Supervision and Assessment of the New School Management Model 1/94, 3/95	no equivalent
no equivalent	National Association of Governors and Managers □ Female Ex-Treasurer, 7/11/94 □ Male President, 13/1/1995
no equivalent	Local Government Commission □ Male Review Director, 2/95
no equivalent	Commission for Local Administration of England □ Male Research Manager, 3/1995
no equivalent	Centre for the Advancement of Secondary Education □ Female Executive Secretary, 13/1/1995
no equivalent	Audit Commission □ Male Director of Local Government Studies, 3, 1997
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- Letter to the Secretary of State for Basic and Secondary Education from the President of the School Council, 23/11/1992
- Guidelines for the school education project
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- Letter to the National Council Supervising the Implementation of the Experimenting Management Model from Some Members of the School Council (Restricted Access)
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- Guidelines for Resources Rationing within the School
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Appendix 4

Interviews' Schedule

General Themes of Reference

- Autonomy (local government, schools, teachers)
- Delegation
- Devolution
- Decentralization
- Distribution of Power
- Participation (teachers, parents)
- Centralization
- Efficiency
- Accountability
- Democratization
- Diversity
- Selection

General Questions of Reference

- What is the meaning of the general themes in Portuguese and English politics?
- What are the interviewees' perceptions on issues of concern in school education and on the need to change provision and financing?
- What are the interviewees' perceptions on statutory reforms across the various policy levels in each/and across country/s?
- What is the impact of statutory reforms on schools, teaching and learning in each country?
- How does the impact of statutory reforms on schools, teaching and learning compare across the two countries?
- What are the common issues of concern consistently selected by interviewees in each country?
- What is the similarity/difference between the issues of concern selected by interviewees in each country?
- How do statutory reforms affect the existing distribution of power in each country?
- How do statutory reforms affect the main legal frameworks defining the distribution of power to make/influence policy in each country?
- What powers/responsibilities were delegated and what was the rationale for their delegation in each country?
- What powers/responsibilities were not delegated and what was the rationale for them not being delegated in each country?
- How do statutory reforms shape autonomy and decentralization in each country?
- What was the degree of consultation in each country?
- How are the various policy documents translated locally?
- How does the translation of similar aims and goals locally compare across Portugal and England?
- How does the interplay between local interpretations and the translation of policy compare across the two countries?
- How does the relationship between centrally prescribed policy mechanisms and frameworks of reference and local assessments of schooling compare across the two countries?

Political Aspects of Reference Affected by Reforms

- Universal provision
- Democratic Aspects of Financing (privatization of funding)
- Democratic Access (selection)
- Democratic Assessment (segregation)
- Democratic Achievement (segregation)
- Definition of Standards
- Social Right to Education
- Framework for Social Development
- Philosophy and Economy of Policy
- Social Role of the State

General Structure of Interviews

- History of**
 - interviewee in education and in the post
 - the institution
 - the role(descriptive; personal experience and views)
- The institution**
 - (schools: nr. of students, nr. of students per year, class size, school's capacity, nr. of teachers, nr. of non-teaching staff, origin of students, admission procedure, leaving routes)
 - (finances/budget and level of autonomy, school management - models -, type of meetings, teachers' groups, curriculum in compulsory and non-compulsory levels, teachers contracts, assessment, teacher's training and pay and working conditions)(descriptive)
- Problems/Difficulties** (recent, future, past)
 - with national policy
 - in management/governance
 - with pupils
 - with teachers
 - with local or central departments(as defined by interviewee according to experience in service)
- Delivery of education**
- Autonomy in delivery**
- Budget**
- Decentralization**
- Participation**
- Accountability**
- Institutional relationships**
- Inspection**

Specific Questions by Level

Schools

Managers and Governors

- How are autonomy, participation, accountability and decentralization being re-shaped? (views and positioning)
- Practice of autonomy related to management, governance, curriculum, assessment, resources and financing
- Present and inherited constraints
- Institutional relationships and distribution of power
- Informal relationships and private partnerships
- Changes to inspection
- Changes to assessment
- National curriculum
- School relations
- Pre-defined targets and roles
- Priorities and specific needs
- Culture of
 - management of teachers and the school
 - management of assessment
 - management of pupils/students
- Culture of governance
- Record on discussing/setting agendas
- Frequency of issues discussed
- Most discussed issues
- Degree of persistence of needs/'problems'
- Degree of freedom to define approach 'problems'
- Approach to problem-solving
- Record of consensus/conflict
- Practice of representation
- Managers-governors relations
- Managers-teachers relations
- Governors-teachers relations

Specific Questions by Level

Schools	
Portugal	England
Presidents of Teachers Councils Presidents of Pedagogics Councils Presidents of Management Commissions Presidents of School Councils Executive Directors	Head Teachers Chairs of Governing Bodies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> The new roles <input type="checkbox"/> Proposals for change <input type="checkbox"/> Individual references for practice from 1986 Education Act <input type="checkbox"/> New Model of Management and Governance <input type="checkbox"/> Relationship with Municipalities <input type="checkbox"/> Relationship with Regional Departments of Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> New headship <input type="checkbox"/> The impact of open enrolment <input type="checkbox"/> Between schools competition <input type="checkbox"/> Position on intake <input type="checkbox"/> Governing body/headteachers' relationship <input type="checkbox"/> Local Management of Schools Scheme <input type="checkbox"/> Opting for grant-maintained status <input type="checkbox"/> Relationship with Local Education Authorities
Local Government	
Regional Department of Education (RDE)	Local Education Authority
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> How are roles being re-shaped to support the new model of management and governance of schools? <input type="checkbox"/> How are the RDE-school relations being re-shaped? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the RDE's influence in shaping margins of autonomy? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the RDE's diagnosis of 'problems'? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the RDE' s approach to school needs? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> How did the Local Management of Schools Scheme, Open Enrolment and Opting-Out policies re-shape roles and organization? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the present links with schools? <input type="checkbox"/> What were the pre-1988 problems in secondary education? <input type="checkbox"/> How do post-1988 policy frameworks affect approach to problems? <input type="checkbox"/> Partnerships? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the approach to school autonomy? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the constraints on local autonomy?

Central	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the department/service's approach to implementation? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the department/service's role in implementation? <input type="checkbox"/> What partnerships are in place for policy formulation? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the approach to management? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the approach to governance? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the approach to the assessment of needs? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the aims of the new framework of management and governance of schools? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework where the boundaries of financial autonomy are defined? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework where the boundaries of autonomy in recruitment are defined? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework where the boundaries of autonomy in staff management are defined? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework where the boundaries of curriculum autonomy are defined? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework where the boundaries of (pupils and teachers') assessment autonomy are defined? 	
Portugal	England
<p style="text-align: center;">Department of Financing, Ministry of Education (DEPGEF)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What are the budget's objectives/priorities? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the new budgeting methodologies? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the priorities for the financial management? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the indicators for financial management? <input type="checkbox"/> Who defined those indicators? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the methodologies for financial assessment? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the strategies and forms of supervising and controlling individual (school) budgets? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the criteria for the distribution of individual budgets? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the Department's involvement in the execution and supervision of income budgets? 	
<p style="text-align: center;">National Council for the Supervision of the New Model of Management and Governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> How does the Council liaise with schools? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the framework of reference of the Council? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the approach to the definition of frameworks of autonomy? 	
Other (unions, parents associations, inspection services...)	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What is your role in making policy? <input type="checkbox"/> What was the type of participation in the process of policy formulation? <input type="checkbox"/> What is your approach to needs? <input type="checkbox"/> How are reforms re-shaping your role and influence? 	

Commission for Educational Reform (CRSE)

- What was your previous involvement in policy-making?
- What were the principles of reference for your work in the Commission?
- What were the needs/'problems' you targeted?
- What were the constraints on your work?
- What was the approach you followed to translate the following requirements into a policy framework?
 - organizational decentralisation
 - participation of community representatives
 - mechanisms to guarantee efficiency
 - predominance of educational criteria
- What is the history of the process of producing the work commissioned by government?
- What was the impact of your proposals on teachers' representatives?
- What was your relationship with government officials and Ministers during the life of the Commission?
- What was your model of school autonomy?
- What was the role of the school educational project defined by your group?

Minister/Secretary of State

- What was your involvement with the formulation of policies for the management and governance of education?
- What were the aims you tried to achieve?
- How did you translate them into policy?
- Who did you establish alliances with?
- What constraints did you face?

Appendix 5

Justification for 'Functional' Comparison

- The comparative study of management and governance of secondary education in Portugal and in England was concerned with change and transition and it was informed by the aim of illustrating the following aspects:
 - changes in the framework of provision and financing of universal secondary education;
 - changes in the scope of local democracy;
 - changes to the mandate of teaching and learning;
 - changes in the local capacity to target needs derived from intake in a framework of educational democratization and expansion of provision.

- The point of departure for the comparison was the general common political discursive objectives and ends which both the Portuguese and the English governments aimed at achieving regardless of the different national systems, traditions and histories of management and governance of school education.
- This common political discourse was taken as the object of comparison across countries and across national levels. Since the study was concerned with change and transition, the interviews were geared to capture the dynamic elements and combination of elements shaping change rather than the fixed aspects of each national system and mechanisms of management, governance, financing or provision.
- The general themes of reference^(*) used to produce the interviews' schedule were selected from the political discourse in both countries. Their definition by governments or in official texts was taken into account.

There was no definition of these themes previous to the interviews. The notions were open-ended. Interviewees were presented with questions relating to those themes and their definition was produced in the process of collecting and analysing data.

(*) Autonomy, delegation, devolution, decentralization, power, participation, centralization, efficiency, accountability, democratization, diversity, selection.

- The purpose was not to produce a quantitative national measure of the processes which constituted the themes of reference. Nor was it to establish cross-country quantitative measures or measures of policy impact.
- Since analysis focused on the early impact of reforms, it did not aim at capturing the local and the national detail embedded in the outcomes of established practices.
- Since the analysis is exploratory, the general themes were compared without imposing a definition in order to first, investigate what each concept and attached processes mean in each country and across national levels and second, to compare the national meanings and processes by level across-countries.

- The above orientation to research required considering the following:
 - answers as being related to more than one question;
 - interlinkage between questions;
 - interpretative answers;
 - contextual questions;

- The establishment of a framework for comparing reforms in Portugal and in England required taking into account the national political and historical background of educational reforms as well as, significant policy developments in education. The frameworks of reference will be found in the next pages. Since the definition of the general themes of reference was produced as the data was collected and analysed, the comparison of historical, political and policy developments was fundamental for the final analysis. The themes of reference become fully defined only after those developments have been taken into account.

- This form of comparison also required reviewing the literature in various theoretical fields and research areas: Comparative Social Policy, Comparative Education, European Social and Political History and Theory, European Welfare States, Education Policy Sociology, Economics of Education, Politics of Education, Policy Studies, Sociology of Education, comparative research in Educational Finance, School Effectiveness, Curriculum, Indicators, Assessment and Teachers.

Party Political Make-up of National Governance

Portugal	England
<p>- 1974</p> <p>1974-76</p> <p>1976 Provisional Governments Constitution Approved First Parliamentary Elections First Constitutional Government</p> <p>1978 II Constitutional Government (Socialist (PS)/Social Democrat Centre (CDS) Parties III Government (with Prime Minister nominated by the President of the Republic) IV Government (with Prime Minister nominated by the President of the Republic)</p> <p>1979 V Government (First Female Prime Minister)</p> <p>1980 VI Government (coalition Social Democrat (PSD)/Social Democrat Centre (CDS)/Popular Monarchic (PPM) Parties)</p> <p>1981 VII Government (nominated Prime Minister) VIII Government (nominated Prime Minister)</p> <p>1983 IX Government (Socialist - PS - and Social Democrat - PSD - Parties)</p> <p>1985 X Government (majority of Social Democrat Party)</p> <p>1986 (partial membership of European Economic Community)</p> <p>1987 XI Government (majority of Social Democrat Party)</p> <p>1991-96 XII Government (majority of Social Democrat Party)</p>	<p>1945-51 Labour Party Governments</p> <p>1951-64 Conservative Party Governments</p> <p>1964-70 Labour Party Governments</p> <p>1970-74 Conservative Party Government</p> <p>1974-79 Labour Party Government</p> <p>1979-97 Conservative Party Governments</p>

Significant Political Developments

European Union	Portugal	England	International
<p>(Priorities)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Investment in Human Capital . Democracy . Citizenship 	<p>1986 Education Act:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . democracy; . citizenship and efficiency <p>1987 PSD Government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . neo-classical liberal discourse and framework of regulation <p>. Constitutional requirements</p>	<p>1986 Education (nr. 2) Act</p> <p>1988 Education Act:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . economic and financial deregulation; . compulsory competitive tendering; . individual choice of school; . possibility for schools to opt out of local government control; . per capita funding 	<p>(Priorities)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . Cost-containment in public spending . emphasis on economic efficiency . World Bank and deregulation . OECD's concerns with investment in human capital, inequality and performance indicators

Discourse		
European Union	Portugal	England
<p><u>From 1976</u></p> <p><i>Education</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . improve quality of education . decentralise power . create partnerships between governments, social partners and educational institutions . consensus and consultation <p><i>General</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . cooperation . European citizenship . democracy . social justice and respect for human rights . equality of opportunity for everyone . deeper involvement in civil society . increase democratic and flexible forms of work organisation . clarify and increase citizen's awareness about existing rights in all relevant fields of social policy <p><i>Work</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . prepare young people for economic and social development . transition to working life . increase sense of responsibility 	<p><u>1976 Constitution</u></p> <p><i>Education</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . right to education . equality of opportunities in access and achievement <p><i>General</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . school education's role in preparing citizen's for democratic participation . (1986 Act) education's role in social development and democratization . education system must respond to social needs and to the imperatives of regional provision <p><i>Work</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . school education's role in decreasing the economic, social and cultural inequalities 	<p><u>1976 Education Act</u></p> <p><i>Education</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . end selective education <p><i>General</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . (from 1944 Education Act) emphasis on citizenship (rights and duties) . freedom and responsibility . human capital . community spirit . cooperation . education for all 'in accordance with the ages, abilities, aptitudes, irrespective of the accident of the place or condition of birth

Discourse (cont.)	
Portugal	England
<u>Post-1987 government priorities</u>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . improvement of educational quality . modernization of management . increase efficiency . concern with international competitiveness . expand vocational provision . reinforce educational welfare . democracy at the base and selection at the top (University) . reinforce the role of social and economic partners . associate schooling to regional needs and the world of work . 'preparing men for change' . man rely on himself . investment in intelligence . to teach is to teach about making options, to proceed alone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . educational standards (pupils' and teachers' performance) . increased central direct intervention . concern with international competition . increase influence of parents . resources contraction (teachers) . education to promote enterprise and adaptability . (from 1992) emphasis on quality, diversity, parental choice, school autonomy, accountability, excellence . encourage specialization . new structures for funding, assessment and curriculum

Significant Policy Developments

Portugal

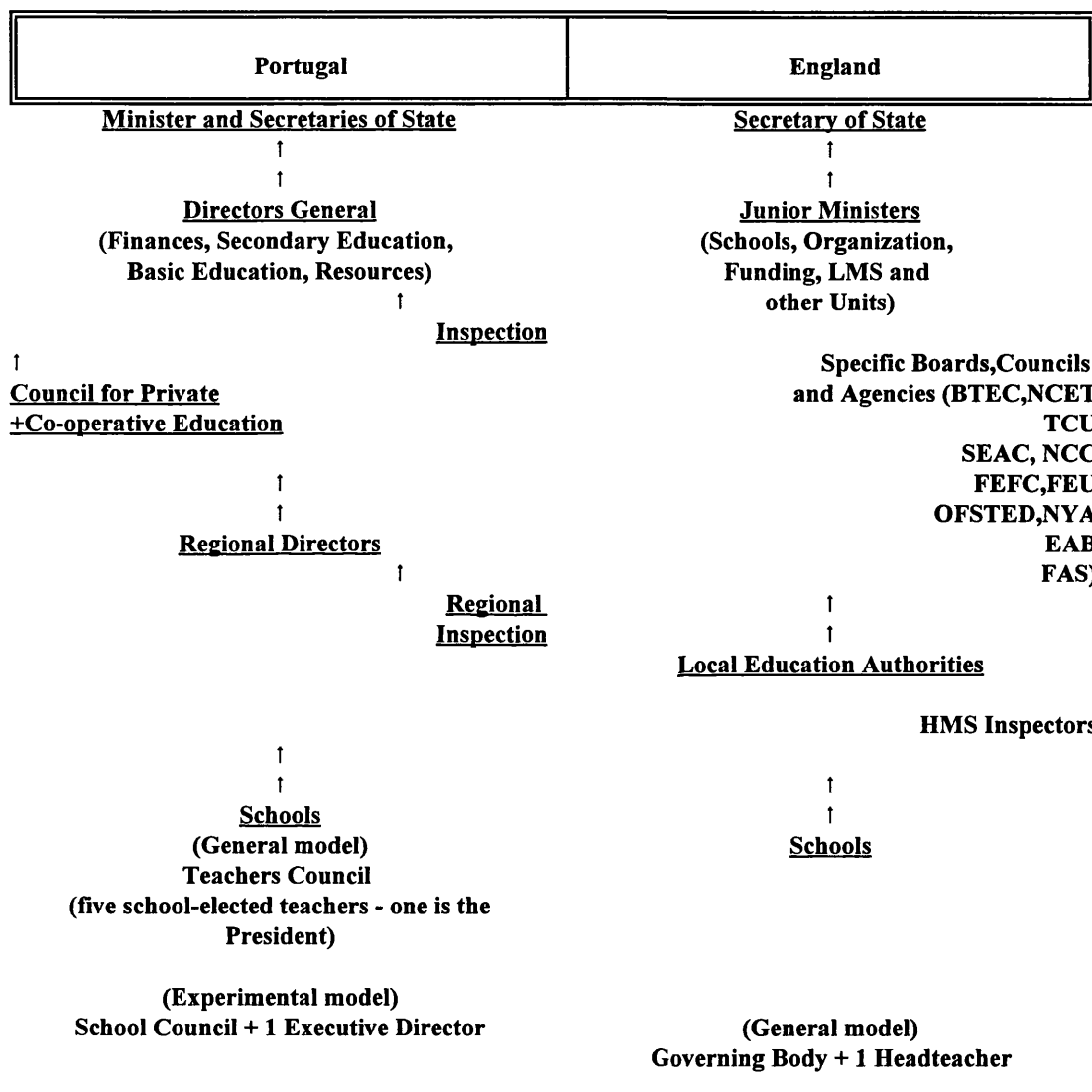
- 1986** . Education Act
- 1987** . National Council for Education
 - . Regional Education Services
- 1988** . Council for the Co-ordination of Private and Co-operative Education
 - . Interministerial Programme to increase rate of completion of compulsory education (PIPSE)
 - . Regulation of teachers' pay and working conditions
 - . Regulation of University autonomy
- 1989** . Professional Schools
 - . Decreed school autonomy and experimented in 40 schools, D.L. 43
 - . Re-organization of teachers' career
 - . Principles and plans for new national curriculum
 - . Regulation of Private and Co-operative Higher Education
 - . Regulation of initial teachers' training
- 1990** . Regulation of provision of free compulsory education and of educational complementary measures
 - . Frameworks of excellence (tables and values)
 - . Regulation of parent's associations
 - . Experimental Integrated Basic School
 - . Council to support curriculum reform
 - . Psychology and Guidance Services
- 1991** . Institute of Educational Social Welfare
 - . Regulation of public schools management and administration, D.L. 172
 - . Framework of school autonomy is regulated
 - . Decreed autonomy is extended to 80 schools
 - . Further regulation of Psychology and Guidance Services
 - . Regulation of National Council of Education
 - . 'Education for All' Programme (with Commissions)
 - . Framework for special education
 - . Technical and Professional training introduced in Basic Level
- 1992** . Regulation of (extra) educational support
 - . Further regulation of management and administration
 - . Definition of type of representatives of local social, economic and cultural interests
 - . National Council for Supervision and Evaluation of Management (Regional Teams)
 - . Experimental Psychology and Guidance Services extended to 1993/94
- 1993** . Further regulation of professional schools
 - . Definition of areas of educational complementary measures
 - . Re-organization of ministry's functions and services

Statutory Instruments

England

- 1986** . School governing bodies re-organized, Education (nr.2) Act
- 1987** . Detailed regulation of teachers' professional duties and working times: Teachers Pay and Working Conditions Act
- 1988** . Education Reform Act
 - . Local Government Act
 - . Circular 7, Local Management of Schools (LMS)
 - . Circular 10, Governing Bodies and Grant-Maintained schools
- 1989** . Circular 13, LMS and FE
- 1991** . Circular 6, Open enrolment
- 1992** . Inspection, information about schools and their pupils, Education (schools) Act
- 1993** . Education Act, grant-maintained schools

Structure of Services



Institutional Characteristics

England	Portugal
<p>Before 1986</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . elected local administration . local curriculum, assessment and recruitment . area of residence admissions system . variety of schools within the maintained sector (selective + non-selective schools) . strong elitist private sector . parental presence in governing bodies . parental right to appeal <p>After 1986/1988</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . variety of schools increased with creation of grant-maintained schools . strong elitist private sector . changes to governing bodies' composition in LEA schools . maintenance of management and governance structure in private schools . introduction of a national curriculum and national examinations 	<p>Before 1991</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . centralised administration . national curriculum, assessment and recruitment . area of residence and work admissions system . one school type . right to education guaranteed in Constitution . weak private sector with strong elitist presence in a small number of schools . 1 parent representative in Pedagogics Council <p>After 1991 (experimental)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> . - . increased for private sector . creation of school governing bodies for maintained schools . maintenance of management and governance structure in private schools . maintenance of national curriculum, exams and recruitment

Appendix 6

Portuguese Parents' Activism from 1974 Onwards

1974/1975	. First Positions of Parents' Associations
1975	. Relationships with the Ministry . Curriculum: Portuguese . School Management . The Launch of Year 7 . Freedom of Education . Banning of Books in Libraries
1976	. Quality of Schooling . Association of Minors . First National Conference
1977	. Second National Conference
1978	. Third National Conference
1979	. Classes on Religious and Moral Education . Changes in Access to Higher Education . Fourth National Conference
1980	. Fifth National Conference
1981	. Sixth National Conference
1982	. Seventh National Conference
1983	. Guidelines for Education Policy . Compulsory Schooling . Eighth National Conference
1984	. Legalization of Abortion (positioned against it) . Teachers' Strike (stress the conflict of teacher's right with the individual right to education) . School Psychologists . Access to Higher Education . Ninth National Conference
1985	. Handing Out of Contraceptives to Minors . Tenth National Conference
1986	. Assessment of Technical Education . Decree 211B/86 - Pedagogics Council . Eleventh National Conference

Appendix 7

Portuguese Political Parties

Parties traditionally identified as being Right wing:

CDS (Democrat Social Centre)

PP (Popular Party)

PPD (Popular Democrat Party, PSD's old designation)

PSD (Social Democrat Party)

Parties traditionally identified as being Centre Left:

PS (Socialist Party)

Parties traditionally identified as being Left wing:

PCP (Portuguese Communist Party)

APU/CDU (United People's Alliance)

Party Characteristics

PCP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . higher percentage of women candidates and women elected in Parliament (12, 5% and 17, 6% - 1976-1991) . 0, 0% women MEPs in 1987, 25, 0% in 1989 and 0, 0% in 1994 . higher presence of women in their national governing, executive and judicial bodies (Leite & Faria, 1999) . 3 (7%) of the articles in Bill presented for parliamentary discussion in 1986 were dedicated to participation in education and 20 (2%) to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277) . Profession of representatives to Congress of Young Communists (JCP): 6.3% middle management; 6.3% sales person/vendor; 18.8% office employees; 68.8% factory workers (Braga da Cruz, 1990: 230) . Religion of representatives to Congress of Young Communists (JCP): 3.2% Non-practising Catholic; 19.4% Indifferent; 74.2% Atheist (p. 231)
CDS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 2, 4% of women amongst their MPs in 1976 and 0, 0% from then on until 1991 . Between 1987 and 1994 CDS-PP had no women MEPs (Leite & Faria, 1999) . Profession of representatives to Congress of Young CDSs (JC): 6.7% top management; 35.6% middle management; 6.7% sales person/vendor; 35.6% office employees; 11.1% factory workers; 4.4% field labourers (Braga da Cruz, 1990: 230) . Religion of representatives to Congress of Young CDSs (JC): 46.7% Practising Catholic; 34.8% Non-Practising Catholic; 1.1% Protestant; 10.9% Christian without Church; 3.3% Indifferent; 2.2% Agnostic (p. 231)
PS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 1, 9% of women amongst their MPs in 1976 and 9, 7% in 1991 . 16% to 10% women MEPs (1987-1994) (Leite & Faria, 1999) . 4, 9% of the articles in Bill presented for parliamentary discussion in 1986 were dedicated to participation in education and 2, 4% to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277) . Profession of representatives to Congress of Young Socialists (JS): 15.0% middle management; 17.5% sales person/vendor; 40.0% office employees 17.5% factory workers; 5% service industry (Braga da Cruz, 1990: 230) . Religion of representatives to Congress of Young Socialists (JS): 5.4% Practising Catholic; 48.6% Non-Practising Catholic; 2.7% Protestant; 14.9% Christian without Church; 1.4% Another religion; 5.4% Indifferent; 8.1% Agnostic; 13.5% Atheo (p. 231)
PSD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> . 2, 7% of women amongst their MPs in 1976 and 6, 7% in 1991 . 0,0 to 1% women MEPs (1987-1994) (Leite & Faria, 1999) . 12, 5% of the articles in Bill presented for parliamentary discussion in 1986 were dedicated to participation in education and 10, 4% to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277) . Profession of representatives to Congress of Young Social Democrats (JSD): 2.0% top management; 32.6% middle management; 21.7% sales person/vendor 39.1% office employees (Braga da Cruz, 1990: 230) . Religion of representatives to Congress of Young Social Democrats (JSD): 31.6% Practising Catholic; 35.4% Non-Practising Catholic; 1.3% Protestant; 11.4% Christian without Church; 1.3% Jehovah witness; 2.5% Another religion; 8.9% Indifferent; 3.8% Agnostic; 3.8% Atheist (p. 231)

Party Characteristics

(cont.)

MDP/CDE	. 20 (6%) of the articles in Bill presented for parliamentary discussion in 1986 were dedicated to participation in education and 5, 9% to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277)
PRD	. 4, 3% of the articles in Bill presented for parliamentary discussion in 1986 were dedicated to participation in education and 10, 6% to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277)
Portugal	. 13% women MEPs - end of the scale (countries with a percentage of women national MPs below 20%) together with the United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy, Belgium and Greece - Europe's lowest percentage (6, 3%) against 40, 4% in Sweden (Leite & Faria, 1999) . In the 1986 Act, 14 (1%) of the total of the articles were dedicated to participation in education and 6, 3% to participation in management (Lima, 1995: 277)

**Party Characteristics According to MPs Sex (A); (Average) Age (B);
Educational level (C) Area of specialisation (D); Outside interests /
organisational involvement (E) and Party posts (F)**

Party	A	B	C	D	E	F
CDS	M W		SS U U+			%
1976-79	98 2	40				nx:12,8 np: 8,5
1979-80	95 5	44				
1980-83	92 8	44				nx:10,6 np: 22,3
1983-85	100 0	45	9 62 24			nx:6 np:10,7
1985-87	100 0	47	0 25 75	e:16 l:63	co: 9	nx:12 nr:12
1987- 91(/PP)	100 0	54	0 60 40	l:100	co:25	nx:50 nr: 0
1991-95	100 0	53		e:20 l:80	0	nx:40 nr: 0
PCP						
1976-79	88 12	43				nx:8,3
1979-80	85 15	43				
1980- 83/APU	85 15	44				nx:13,8 nr:29
1983- 85/APU	83 17	45	46 39 0	h:17, ec:33, e:11, l:22	un:9	nx:15,7
1985- 87/APU	82 18	48	33 47 0	h:15, ec:20, e:10, m:20, l:25	cop:7, un:23	nx:25,5
1987- 91/CDU	84 16	42	23 53 0	ec:23, l:31	cop:7, un:23	nx:17 nr:26,8
1991-95	82 18	47			cop:6, un:23	n:33 nn:20
						n:71 nn:6
PSD/PPD						
1976-79	97 3	39				nx:5,8 nr:14,5
1979-80	91 9	41				
1980-83	90 10	41				nx:9,9 nr:24,8
1983-85	93 7	41				nx:3,6 nr:21,8
1985-87		42	2 63 16	ec:17, e:19, l:43	co:4, cop:1, pa:6, un:7	nx:6,9 nr:17,2
1987-91	94 6	43	14 51 11	e:21, l:42	co:4, cop:2, pa:6, un:16	n:34 nn:18
1991-95	92 8	43	7 56 14	h:12, ec:17, e:14, l:38	co:4, cop:3, pa:6, un:9	n:30 nn:31
PS						
1976-79	94 6	40				nx:5,5 nr:25,5
1979-80	95 5	45				
1980-83	97 3	45				nx:14 nr:43
1983-85	98 2	44				nx:13,4 nr:20
1985-87	98 2	44	14 64 12	h:18, e:25, l:34	pa:6, un:10	nx:23,9
1987-91	87 13	44	17 47 17	h:20, ec:10, e:20, l:26	pa:7, un:19	nr:26,8
1991-95	90 10	47	8 54 24	h:21, ec:14, e:20, l:24	co:1, cop:1, pa:1, un:10	n:63 nn:5
						n:57 nn:6

MP's **Educational level** (C) includes secondary school (SS) and University (U) with Masters degree (U+); **Area of specialisation** (D) including Engineering (e.), Law (l.), Humanities (h.), Economics (ec.) and Medicine (m); **Outside interests/organisational involvement** (E) including companies owners (co.), cooperatives (cop.) professional associations (pa.) and unions (un.); **Party posts** (F) including national executive (nx:), national representative (nr:), national (n:) and non-national (nn:) (Adapted from Freire, 1998: 120, 121, 124, 126, 127, 135 , 139)

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