

Development, Cohesion and Equity in Education

Can School be Enough?

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Abstract

It is in education that we place the responsibility to solve many of the problems and aspirations of society. Expectations are high but the results aren't the expected ones. The States, with their educational system, try to proportionate the best service for all. *Development, cohesion and equity*, in education are school goals, independently of the condition or the place we live in.

In the City case study, through the urban and school indicators and index of segregation in the territory, we will try to prove that school is not enough.

Key-words- School, City, Development, Cohesion, Equity and Education.

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1. Introduction

The relationship between school and its neighborhoods is becoming a more and more relevant factor in the speech and educational practice of which: school autonomy, educational “territorialization” as well as the municipal tendency of the educational management system, are steps in that direction. The importance of this relationship in the construction of students’ school results is pointed, by many, as a main issue, however, this is still understudied among us.

The evaluation effort produced, essentially, as a way of adjusting the school organization and management to a better performance, has reinforced the attention on the educational system itself leaving the aspects of its neighborhoods to second plan. Thus, conferring a bigger sector dimension and therefore, less integrated.

The sixties doubted the generalized hope in the post war between the scientists and the politicians, that the massive access to education, alone, could solve the social economics and cultural unevenness background allowing an effective social mobility through the school. Several studies among which the Coleman report (1966) emphasized those equal opportunities could not only be in access to school but should also be in the results produced. These should be equivalent among students from different origins: economics, social, cultural, religious or racial. Therefore, this didn’t happen. The “composition effect” (social economic status “SES” of the students) came up as more relevant than the “school effect” (human and material resources of the school. «The installed pessimism brings, according to Basil Bernstein (1970), the generalized acceptance that “education can’t compensate society”» (Lima, 2008: p.18). The School started to be seen by many as a predetermined social pattern “reproducer”, as Bourdieu (1978) concluded in the late seventies.

In the next decades this pessimistic vision was doubted by many authors, called the “effective schools” movement, which highlighted the capacity of this institution to make the difference. Therefore, there is a consensus, even inside this movement, that the “school effect”, keeping all the other factors unchanged, is responsible for only 5 to 15 per cent of the total variation of the students’ school results (Lima, 2008: p.251)

In the last years PISA² makes a comparison among the 15 year old students of the OECD countries, which has allowed a more global and consistent vision of this problematic. This

² Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)

program also studies the relationship between the “composition effect”, the students’ outcomes and the relevance of their family *background*, as well as the importance of the school resources. PISA concludes that the “composition effect” seems to be more relevant than the “school effect”, like the majority of the evidence in this issue (OECD, 2005).

Depending more on the quality of the demand (student characteristics and their families and communities) than the quality of the offer (schools, resources and means) the student school results need to be framed within the relationship of the school and its surrounding territory. The “neighborhood effect” may help to explain some of the observed realities (Ellen & Turner, 1997). A closer look at the articulation of the educational system with the urban one will open other perspectives on the educational role in the contemporary societies. As referred by Ribeiro & Koslinski (2008) «if before some educational sociological studies only dealt with the family and school effect, in a third study generation, the surroundings and the neighborhood become instances capable of generating educational unevenness also».

With the growing territorial and social disparities verified in the last decades the school as a proximity facility, has been particularly affected by these changes (Pisco, 2005). Either at its internal functional level or how the other social actors have seen it. Recruiting the students, almost at their catchment areas the school becomes dependent on the performance of the “qualities” of its surrounding community. In certain well informed sectors of the Portuguese society this reality is known, in spite of this we couldn’t find any empirical evidence on this issue. Therefore, studying the “composition effect” seems to be essential for us to frame the School Rankings. Without a larger analyses of the problem this emerge more as a result of the “school effect” which can reinforce into the sector frame of the school outcomes.

The answers expected from the educational system aren’t consensual. They start from bigger school management autonomy to the maintenance and reinforcement of the State role without having a clear idea about the consequences. In order to opt, a better knowledge of the reality is necessary.

The competitiveness is the order of the day and the needed competences and valences of the territories for its adequate answers go through the quality of the teaching in proportion to its communities (Marques, 2004). Therefore, with less resources and more social obligations the State has narrower choices. Thus, there is a need to fundament the decisions for a balance between competitiveness and equity, which also goes through education and not only through teaching.

Our lecture intends to demonstrate that the educational system, no matter how effective and efficient it may be, it can't, on its own, answer to the social aspirations it has over it. When one tries to answer to sector challenges set by the *development, cohesion* and *equity* in education it may cause more problems than the ones solved.

Let's start by defining the key concepts of our communication by explaining the presupposed methodologies that finally allow, some, yet partial and provisional conclusions.

2. Concepts

The concept of *Development* in education adopted here is closer to the Human Development concept (UNO) which is defined as the « process of the increase of peoples' choices that allow them to have a long and healthy life, get knowledge, have access to the necessary resources in order to have a dignified standard way of life while they are kept for future generations, protect personal insurance and achieve equal opportunities for all men and women » (Amaro, 2006:452).

Cohesion here is understood as the correct proportion access of the population to the benefits of the economic, social and cultural progress through education.

Equity is *equal opportunities*, fair but not equalitarian, where the means and resources are at everyone's disposal. Educational equity represents the level in which individuals can benefit simultaneously from education and training: in the access, treatment and the results of each one. A system is equitable when the outcomes are independent from the social economic environment and of other educational disadvantage generating factors and when the treatment reflects the specific needs of the individuals in learning matters (Sanchez & Teodoro, 2007).

The relationship between the "school composition" and the students' results was highlighted when the effect was made legible that the possible segregation of the students for ethnic, economic, social, cultural or handicap reasons could bring equity and cohesion to the educational system (Lima, 2008). This work is a contribution for the understanding of how *development, cohesion* and *equity* in education could accomplished through School.

We are going to present a provisional result of the Setúbal (40 Km south Lisbon) municipality research framed in a larger doctoral thesis that we are doing.

3. Methodology

To understand what is happening at a territorial and school level:

- I) To Determine the educational space distribution of the inhabitants in the territory, to understand how those have been performed to verify if the (*un*) equal opportunities are growing at education level, and see how they are revealed in Setúbal;
- II) To analyze some school indicators to contextualized schools in the city and in the municipality;
- III) To verify if the catchment areas justify the school results or if they are, on their own, generators of unevenness;
- IV) Lastly, if the study case points to a conclusive answer to the initial request; *development, cohesion* and *equity* in education, will school be enough?

There are several data fonts used (INE, 1991 e 2001, Público Journal, EPIS³, 2007/08) in the construction of our indicators. The schools analyzed were all with the 3rd Cycle (7th, 8th, 9th grade) in the municipality of Setúbal and the information was aggregated at school level. The CENSUS data were space-analyzed using the Geographic Referenced Space Base (BGRE) for 1991, and Geographic Referenced Information Base (BGRI) for 2001, and the Common Base, which make them compatible, through the ArcGIS software.

In Portugal the compulsory education is organized in three cycles: the 1st cycle (1st and 4th grade); the 2nd cycle (5th and 6th grade); and the 3rd grade (7th to 9th grade). In terms of the teaching organization by school typology, with some variations, in general, the 1st cycle the 2nd cycle have their own school, the 3rd cycle could either be associated with the 2nd cycle (Basic School with the 2nd and the 3rd cycle) or with the Secondary (Secondary School with the 3rd cycle). In some cases there are Integrated Basic Schools that join all the compulsory education (1st to 9th) in a unique building. With the introduction of the Educational Territory the schools organized in terms of management and educational project such as Vertical Gathering of Schools, which assure all the compulsory education to the student. The gathering head office is a Basic School with the 2nd and the 3rd cycle, which has several 1st cycle schools aggregated to it. The Secondary Schools are considered isolated schools or non gathering.

Each one of the Vertical Gatherings has a student catchment area in the territory, which is specified in the “school net” meeting, at municipality level and decided every year in function

³ We thank the National Statistic Institute (INE) and to the Entrepreneurs For the Social Inclusion (EPIS) for the free data for our investigation.

of the students and the school evolution facilities. The School Mapping (Carta Educativa) in Portugal hasn't had this goal, as in other countries because it is seen as a planning instrument separated from the management. There are several norms for the students to enroll at schools. But the main criteria is still residential proximity, chosen by the families and accepted by the schools, in spite of other motivations as we can see further.

Thus, we defined a catchment area (AI) for each school facility of the 3rd Cycle, in function of the educational territories that they served and cartographic information used for the school net, as these do not exactly coincide with the parish borders. However, as the Secondary Schools with the 3rd Cycle are non gathering school, they recruit students in the same AI of the nearest Vertical Gathering of Schools therefore, for the statistic and cartographic effects we considered the AI coincident –e.g. the ES+3 Bocage has the same AI as the EB2,3 Bocage (Figure 1).

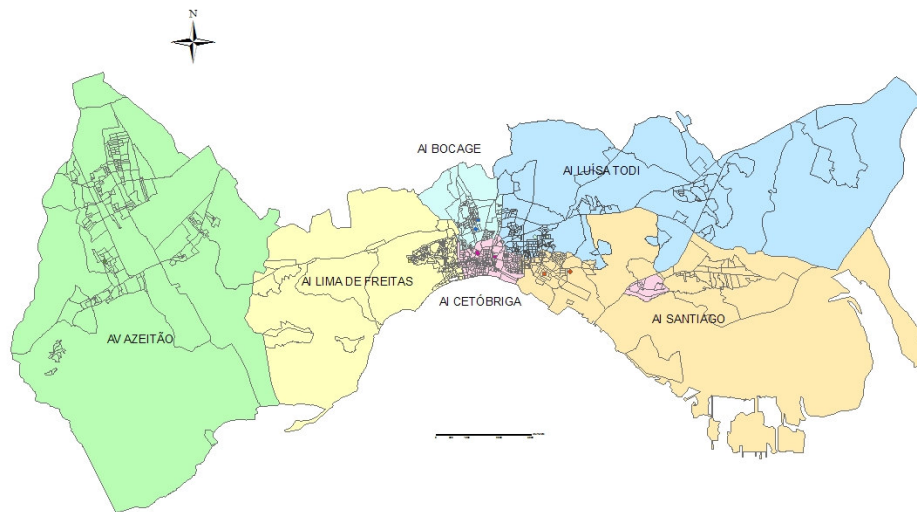


Figure 1- Setúbal Municipality with the Vertical Gatherings (AV) Catchment Areas (AI) defined previously ()

Font: Common Base, INE; Author Methodology

Catchment Areas (AI)	Schools	Parents	Parents	years	Inhabitants	Inhabitants
		Until all Secondary	Bachelor or Higher educational		Until all Secondary	bachelor or higher educational
Bocage	Escola Secundária com 3º C de Bocage	41,0%	59,0%	1991	82,4%	17,6%
	+	58,4%	41,6%	2001	82,2%	17,8%
	Escola Básica 2º e 3º Ciclos de Bocage	75,8%	24,2%	Variation	0%	1%
Cetóbriga	Escola Secundária 3º C. Sebastião da Gama	76,3%	23,7%	1991	91,1%	8,9%
	+	80,7%	19,3%	2001	88,3%	11,7%
	Escola Básica 2º e 3º Ciclos de Aranguês	85,1%	14,9%	Variation	-3%	32%
Luísa Todi	Escola Secundária com 3º Ciclo de D. João II	86,7%	13,3%	1991	97,6%	2,4%
	+	90,2%	9,8%	2001	93,2%	6,8%
	Escola Básica dos 2º e 3º Ciclos de Luísa Todi	93,8%	6,2%	Variation	-5%	186%
Santiago	Escola Secundária D. Manuel Martins	87,9%	12,1%	1991	97,6%	2,4%
	+	93,3%	6,7%	2001	96,9%	3,1%
	Escola Básica 2º e 3º Ciclo da Bela Vista	98,6%	1,4%	Variation	-1%	31%
L de Freitas	Escola Secundária 2º e 3º C de Lima de Freitas			1991	94,0%	6,0%
		88,3%	11,7%	2001	92,8%	7,2%
				Variation	-1%	19%
Azeitão	Escola Básica 2º e 3º Ciclos de Azeitão			1991	94,2%	5,8%
		66,3%	33,7%	2001	88,3%	11,7%
				Variation	-6%	101%
Setúbal Municipality	3 - Escolas Secundárias com 3º C			1991	92,6%	7,4%
	1 - Escola Secundária com 2º e 3º C	80,0%	20,0%	2001	90,5%	9,5%
	4 - Escolas Básicas 2º e 3º Ciclos			Variation	-2%	29%
Setúbal City	3 - Escolas Secundárias com 3º C			1991	91,6%	8,4%
	1 - Escola Secundária com 2º e 3º C	81,5%	18,5%	2001	90,0%	10,0%
	3 - Escolas Básicas 2º e 3º Ciclos			Variation	-2%	18%

Table 1- Municipality and City Data of Setúbal for Schools and AI and AV defined

Font: INE (1991 e 2001); EPIS (2007/08); Author Methodology (AM)

In order to study the socio-economic and educational space distribution of the inhabitants in the Setúbal territory, we chose a % of the Inhabitants' School Educational Level, in the Setúbal city and municipality, as well as by AI of Vertical Gathering defined in Table 1.

As there is no data on household incomes in Portugal, this indicator allows, simultaneously, comparing the Inhabitants' School Educational Level and their incomes at the various geographical unit levels chosen. As studied, the incomes are correlated with the educational level, and there is a strong relationship between them in Portugal (Carneiro, 2006). In a recent study, Alves (2009) says that the years spent in education are one of the most important variables in the poverty identification, where it is noticed that the poverty index consistently falls according to the school level achieved by the household representative. We have two Censuses which are space-analyzed up to the statistical subsection (a block) (BGRE, BGRI and BC) which allows us to verify the evolution of this indicator in the territory.

To understand the reality about (*un*) equality of opportunities in education we look at two indicators, usually used to measure the housing segregation: Dissimilarity Index (*DI*) and the Location Quotient (*LQ*).

$$ID = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{y_i}{Y} - \frac{x_i}{X} \right|$$

Onde

y_i = population y in i area, e.g. AI

x_i = total population in i area, e.g. AI

Y = total y in the study area, e.g. Municipality of Setúbal

X = total population in the study area, e.g. Municipality of Setúbal .

The first is a demographic measure which verifies the evenness between two groups in several units in a larger geographic unit. In a simplistic approach, it measures the population proportion (of a specific social group) which would have to change so that the distribution in each catchment area would be in proportion with the whole city or municipality. This Index varies between 0 and 1 (when it is near 0 it reflects the almost uniformity between the two

groups studied and the total segregation when it is near 1) but it may also be in percentage. This Index allows us to relate the same measurements with the two studied systems.

According to some authors' opinions (Massey and Denton, 1993; Briggs, 2001; coated by Torres, 2004), an Index from 0 to 30% is considered smooth; 30 to 60% moderate; and more than 60%, severe. This indicator is limited and could be criticized in two ways (Torres, 2004):

- This indicator doesn't measure the segregation within the larger unit (districts, quarters, etc). The population of a particular social group could live in the interior of only one building or disperse in the unit, and the indicator is the same for that geographic unit.
- The indicator varies according to the size of the unit being analyzed. In general, the level of Dissimilarity tends to be lower in bigger areas than in smaller ones, this is named as the grid problem (Sabatini, 201 coated by Torres, 2004).

To surpass these limitations, essentially the geographic ones, we use the Location Quotient (*LQ*), a classic measure of an over-represented group at a territorial unit relative to a larger territorial context. The result is generally cartographic and allows us to identify concentrated *clusters* of a specific group, or groups (Malheiros & Vala, 2004).

$$QL_{yai} = \frac{y_i}{x_i} / \frac{Y}{X} \quad (0 \leq QL_{yav} \leq \infty)$$

Onde

y_i = population y in i area, e.g. AI

x_i = total population in i area, e.g. AI

Y = total y in the study area, e.g. Municipality of Setúbal

X = total population in the study area, e.g. Municipality of Setúbal .

The *LQ* formula implicit the results: values inferiores to 1 means an expression of the group y in the territorial unit x inferior to the expression of these groups in the territorial context X ; values superior to 1 means an expression of the group y in the territorial unit x superior to the expression of these groups in the territorial context X , that is to say, group y is over-represented in that territorial unit x which means that sub territorial unit shows a concentration of that group y (DRLVT-INE, 2003; Malheiros & Vala, 2004).

4. (Un) Equality of opportunities in Setúbal

4.1- What does the territory of the City tell us?

As we can observe, the school achievement has grown significantly in Setúbal – as it happens in the rest of the country – in this period of time (Table 1). At the municipality level inhabitants with bachelor or higher educational level registered a 29% variation between the two Censuses, has increased from 7,4%, in 1991, to 9,5%, in 2001. A curious fact is this was above the city variation, only 18%, which can be explained by the dislocation of the higher staff from the city – particularly to Azeitão which has doubled this indicator in ten years – or even outside the municipality – to Palmela – in spite of still working in the city of Setúbal. The *AI Luísa Todi* was the biggest variation registry, 186% although it only kept 6,8% of the inhabitants with that school achievement. The *IA Bocage* having only varied 1% keeps its main position in the city and in the municipality with 17,8% in this indicator, in 2001, while the *AI Santiago* distanced itself from the other city catchment areas with only 3,1%, in the same year.

This reality could be explained by the urban development of Setúbal which privileged the central zone and the natural continuity towards Palmela (North), for the middle classes, leaving the hills, East and West, especially the latter, to the ill-favored populations. The “social territorial specialization” in the city has been made by the concentration *i)* Social Housing in some zones, on the one hand and *ii)* by the segmented real estate promotion, on the other. This evidence proved here has produced its own effects, even in average sized cities, as is the case. Differences of human capital were created and the imbalance produced is difficult to be solved by the school.

If we look closely at figures 2 and 3 that show the over-representation of the population in the extreme educational levels achieved, through the *LQ* we verify that from 1991 to 2001 the *AI Bocage* cluster zones were over-represented by inhabitants with bachelor or higher educational level, consolidating in the last years, its “vocation” to concentrate the most qualified population. The *AI Luísa Todi*, as mentioned before, was the one which changed its pattern the most since 1991, deriving from the conjugation of urban renovation and, because of that the increase of qualified housing that allowed the most qualified new families to find adequate housing.

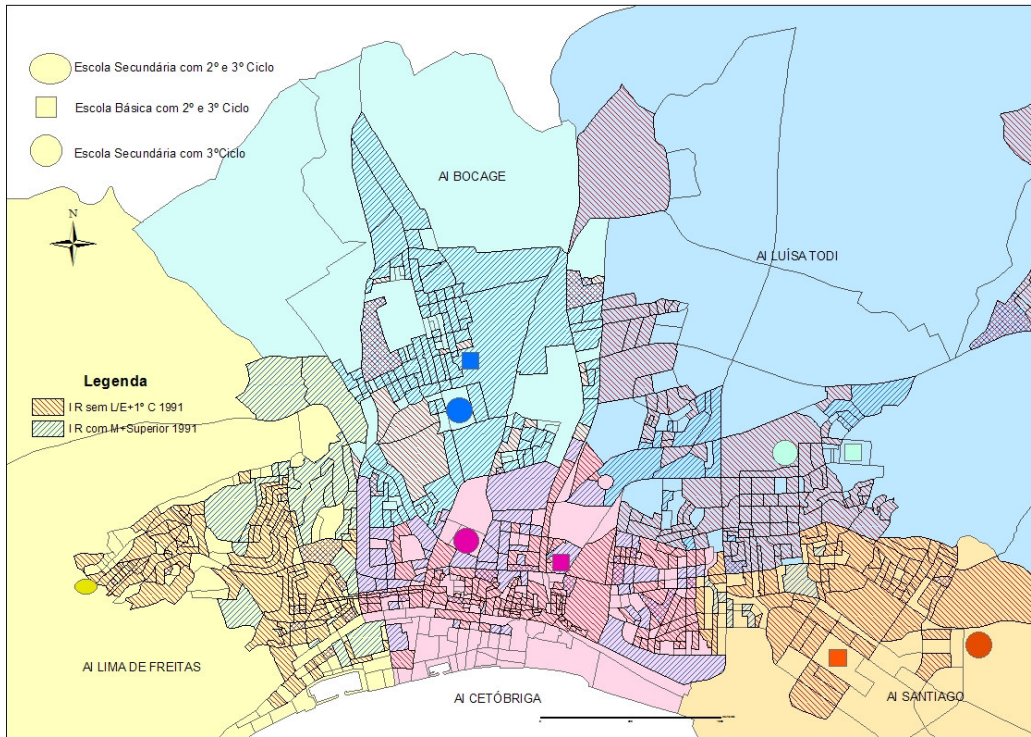


Figure 2 - City of Setúbal with the School and AI localizations of the defined Catchment areas.

Font: Common Base, INE 1991; AM

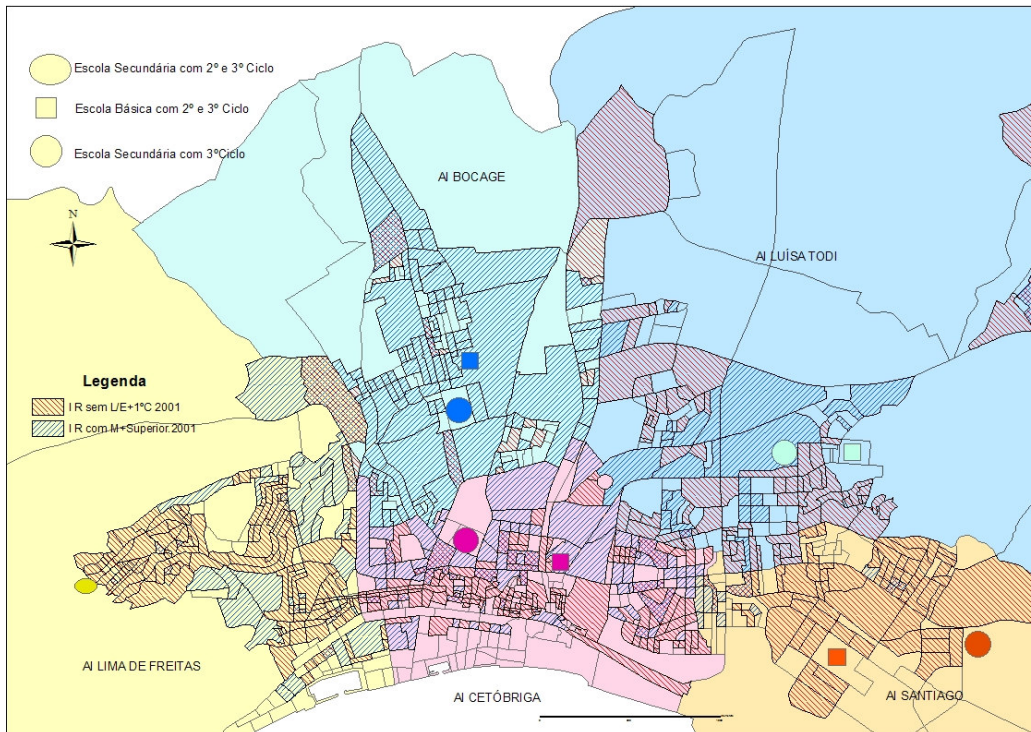


Fig. 3 City of Setúbal with the School and AI localizations of the defined Catchment areas

Font: Common Base, INE 2001; AM.

On the other hand the AI Santiago and the AI Cetóbriga, specially in the historic city center, consolidate the over-representation of the inhabitants with less education, because they aren't "open" to urban renovation processes by social and political constrains. In the first AI they didn't find answers to such vast concentration problems in social blocks, essentially with habitation, in the second for lack of concerted initiatives for the rehabilitation of the historic city, common to so many other realities around the country, which have ended up in abandonment and aging (figures 2 and 3). The concentration poverty trend in the urban space increases difficulties, because the most dynamic households leave to other neighborhoods, and the most fragile and vulnerable or without social mobility expectations stay, generating what is called the "spiral of decline" effect.

In the Setúbal municipality we have observed a positive evolution of the *DI* between 1991 and 2001 (Table 2). This fact is only a "soft segregation", as we have already seen, but this point to a strong trend in the last years. We don't have studies using this indicator, at urban or school level, in Portugal – which didn't allow us to compare. Therefore, there is literature about the increasing inequality in the last decades, whether at internal or external comparative studies (OECD, 2008). All of them point in the same way: the increase of social, economic and even territorial asymmetries, in spite of the general growth, but asymmetric, of the human capital in Portugal. Although we don't have empirical evidence relative to the urban dynamics at municipality level, particularly in a city.

	1991	2001
<i>ID</i> in Setúbal	0,20	0,25

Table 2- Dissimilarity Index (*ID*) between inhabitants with the complete secondary and bachelor and degree in Setúbal.

Font: MA

If we apply the *DI* among the individuals with diverse Educational Levels, we verify a growing segregation between them, being more striking between the extremes. The *DI* of the inhabitants who can't read or write and the inhabitants with a bachelor or a higher educational level is 0,27, in 1991, and 0,32, in 2001. These numbers confirm the increase of residential segregation between the two Census (Table 3) at the city and municipality level under study.

2001/1991	Sem L/E	1ºC	2ºC	Secundário	M +Superior
Sem L/E	-	0,06	0,11	0,18	0,27
1ºC	0,05	-	0,11	0,13	0,22
2ºC	0,05	0,04	-	0,14	0,22
Secundário	0,17	0,12	0,12	-	0,09
M +Superior	0,32	0,27	0,27	0,15	-

Table 3- Dissimilarity Index (*DI*) between inhabitants with diverse levels of education in Setúbal.

Font: INE; MA

What will the effects of this evidence in the reality of the school be? How will it reflect among the schools in the same area?

4.2 What does the school reality reveal to us?

The *DI* has also been used in the last years to verify the “composition effect” at the schools, particularly in UK and the USA, to study the consequences of the School Choice by the families in the school segregation (Allen & Vignoles, 2006). The *DI* among schools involves two student groups with diverse social economic status (or racial): several studies have used the *free school meals*, in comparison with the rest of the students. In our study, the adopted criterion was the same as the ones for the catchment areas (*AI*) but, relative to the students’ parents’ educational level, in the school year of 2007/08.

As we can see in Table 1, the indicator parents with bachelor or higher educational level shows a big difference between *AI* – 41% in Bocage and 6,7% in Santiago – but it is much higher among schools – 59% in ES Bocage and 1,4% EB 2,3 Bela Vista. Thus, as this indicator among schools is superior to urban *AI*. We could find several answers to this fact:

- i) The EPIS data register the highest parents educational level;
- ii) This data is from 2008 and the INE data is from 2001;
- iii) And the parents’ edge level, from the 3rd Cycle students, points to a higher educational level of the parents compared to the average of the total population.

Looking over to the educational level of the parents, in function of the school typology, it allows us to conclude that the families with a high educational level tend to put their 3rd Cycle children in the secondary schools. The difference of parents with bachelor or higher educational level, between the latter and the schools with the 2nd and the 3rd Cycle in the same *AI* are, in average, almost double (Table 1), which does not always reflect itself directly on the students' outcomes (Table 6). Therefore, it indicates that when the best informed parents, put their children in the secondary school, they thus assure, that their children's studies are pursued after the conclusion of the 3rd Cycle.

The differentiation among the parents of the 3rd Cycle students with several levels of education is also expressive. The schools promote, among them, higher dichotomies that are registered in the territories they serve (Table 4).

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>AI</i>
<i>ID</i> in Schools	0,41	0,38

Tabela 4- Dissimilarity Index (*ID*) parents of students with 3^oC with diverse levels of education in Schools of Setúbal

Font: EPIS; MA

If we join a group of school indicators to this information and create a hierarchy from 1 to 10 (the number of schools with the 3rd Cycle) from the highest value to the least, the result is shown in Table 6.

Schools/ <i>AV</i>	S L/E + 1^oC	1^oe 3^oC	3^oC e Secondary	Superior
S L/E 1^oC	-	0,22	0,37	0,63
1^oe 3^oC	0,29	-	0,27	0,51
3^oC e Secondary	0,50	0,25	-	0,33
Superior	0,78	0,57	0,32	-

Table 5- Dissimilarity Index (*ID*) parents of students with 3^oC with diverse levels of education in Schools of Setúbal

Font: EPIS; MA

This frame makes it clear that the relationship between “school composition” and the students’ school outcomes, raising the question: What is the role of the school system in the promotion of equal opportunities of access, treatment and results at urban level?

5. Provisional conclusions

Human capital has grown significantly in the Setúbal municipality, but their distribution isn’t uniform. As we saw the evolution of the educational space distribution of the inhabitants in this territory has grown in a bigger residential segmented sense, in function of the school educational level, in spite of being a “smooth segregation” (Torres, 2004). This has been emphasized, particularly between the most extreme trend areas: the AI Bocage and Santiago, within the city, and Azeitão, out of it.

The inequalities increased in the territory, which had consequences in the access to the educational opportunities, clearly, this reality has influencing and differentiating the families’ choices, beyond the residential proximity. Where, as Barroso (2003) tells us, it seems that we going from a “regulation of the offer” to a “regulation of the demand” promoted by the schools and spatially by the best informed and determined parents in the best choices for the projects they have for their children. The catchment areas justify part of the school results but these increase the inequalities. The ES+3 Bocage has a polarization effect among a larger number of educated parents, in spite of this it is already in a favored AI at this level. Alone it has almost half of the total amount of the 3rd Cycle students who have parents with a bachelor or a higher education. While they are almost inexistent in others. The increasing mobility and the access to information among the more “able”, increases the informal possibility of choice and access to (a better) education even outside their residential areas. In the City the most central schools, the older ones and the most prestigious fulfilled this role (Pisco, 2005). The most peripheral and recent tendency to attracting the ones to whom the proximity to an educational service is a sufficient condition.

This access asymmetry reflects necessarily on the students’ equal treatment. The “elite” schools owe their performance more to the students and their families’ characteristics than to their own intrinsic quality. Their “school composition” has an independent effect in the students’ outcomes. The school average, calculated from the total average of the students’ socioeconomic status, in many countries is more relevant in the students’ performance than their own background as PISA concluded (Perry, 2007). The “peer effect” conditioned the

school expectations on their students, committing the “school effect” margin with the predictability of the results as can be seen in this study.

As others have concluded, also in this study case, the inequality could be reproduced by the school, even when the educational system and its policies, to promote the goal of access, treatment and results with *equity* (Carneiro, 2006). On the other hand, when the opportunities emerge linked with each ones’ socioeconomic origin, we have a committed *cohesion*. Lastly, if the school doesn’t enlarge choices, the *human development* equilibrium is at risk. Lastly, considering everything we have shown we could conclude that in this city the school is not enough to guaranty these goals in education.

But the search for solutions goes through a larger comprehension and articulation with the involving territory. The public policies for education can’t only be directed to the educational system but also to the urban system. Therefore, we are trying to prove here, that the educational problems will be solved with difficulty without an urban policy articulation, of planning and management of the city, with the educational policies directed to schools.

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