

MAPPING OF EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING IN PORTUGAL, WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON WHOLE-CHILD APPROACHES

FULL REPORT



CATOLICA

CEPCEP - CENTRO DE ESTUDOS DOS POVOS
E CULTURAS DE EXPRESSÃO PORTUGUESA



LISBOA



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1.1. Introduction

Portugal remains a very unequal society, with one-fifth of the total population living at risk of poverty (21.6%)¹. In the education system, such inequalities are very clearly expressed. For example, considering the level of education of mothers, there is a great disparity in academic success amongst students in the 5th and 6th grades: only 26% in the case of students whose mothers completed four years of primary education, versus 80% for students whose mothers have a graduate or bachelor diploma (higher education). Likewise, when families' incomes are considered (using school social support as an indicator) 63% of students without social support were able to successfully complete their schooling path until 6th grade, versus only 27% in the case of students receiving the highest level of school social support². These social and educational inequalities tend to translate into high levels of failure and early school leaving amongst students from disadvantaged backgrounds. While in the last fifteen years the percentage of 8 to 24 year olds leaving school without completing upper secondary education (12th grade) has decreased – from 39.3% in 2004 to 11.8% in 2018 - dropout levels at age 18 (the age limit of compulsory school attendance) remain high: in SY 2016/2017, failure rate amongst 12th graders was 26.2%. Students remain in school for longer, but the quality of their educational pathways is not always positive. Concretely, there is a profile that correlates to absenteeism and early school leaving: students from very low-income families (mainly with parents who are unemployed and have low levels of education) and with situations of conflict and parental negligence, by at least one parent. Therefore, while the evolution of ESL rates was very positive, there are

¹ Pordata.

² DGEE, 2016.

thousands of Portuguese youths who continue to be left behind, without education and professional qualifications.

Within this context, Porticus Iberia³ commissioned CEPCEP and Fundação Manuel Leão a report to map the problem of Early School Leaving (ESL) in Portugal, in order to better understand, characterise and prevent it, with a particular focus on whole-child approaches. The mapping has four stages, with the following objectives defined by Porticus Iberia: (i) describe the characteristics of ESL in Portugal and its evolution in recent years, (ii) typify the population at risk, (iii) examining the consequences and effects of ESL and dropout on youth employment and social exclusion and (iv) identify existing policies and programmes of ESL prevention, with a particular focus on whole-child approaches. To do this, the research team has done a literature review, an analysis of micro-data from official statistical sources and publications, collected data from different institutions regarding their formation/training programmes and conducted a qualitative analysis of the school paths of 25 youngsters who had dropped out of school and subsequently were introduced to a second chance school path at Arco Maior. To frame the research and comply with the defined objectives, we have defined the following research questions:

1. Describe the characteristics of ESL in Portugal and its evolution in recent years:

- What is ESL?
- How to measure ESL?
- What is the current situation of ESL in Portugal?
- How has ESL evolved in recent years?

³ Porticus Iberia is the entity in charge of coordinating the philanthropic activities of the Brenninkmeijer family in Iberia; the philanthropic action of the Brenninkmeijer family dates back to 1841.

- What is failing within the system?
2. Typify the population at risk:
- What is the profile and characteristics of the population at risk?
 - What circumstances have the greatest influence on ESL and school dropout (family, personal, social, educational, others)?
 - What types of educational processes lead to ESL and school dropout?
 - How do economic cycles and unemployment relate to ESL and school dropout?
3. Examine the consequences and effects of ESL and dropout on youth employment and social exclusion:
- What effects do ESL and dropout have in relation to gaining access to the labour market?
 - What impacts does this have at a personal and social level?
4. Identify existing policies and programs of ESL prevention, with a particular focus on whole-child approaches:
- What are the main ESL prevention policies and programs in Portugal? For example, CEF, PIEF, PCA, Cursos Vocacionais, Programa 20.
 - What are the main "second chance schooling" initiatives? For example, Arco Maior, ESO Matosinhos.

This report is organized in five parts. The first part, "ESL comprehensive framework of the past two decades" includes a review and analysis of existing literature and identification of risk factors and a statistical and data analysis including the evolution of ESL in the past 20

years in Portugal. The second part, “Characteristics of the population at risk”, presents the qualitative data gathered and the analysis done that points to a profile of the early school leaver and his/her relation with the school. The third part addresses the effects of ESL on youth unemployment and social exclusion. And the fourth part maps programs and interventions aimed at preventing, intervening or compensating ESL. The final and fifth part is a summary with short answers to the research questions.

1.2. Executive Summary

Tackling early school leaving (ESL) emerges in the European Union, as well as in Portugal, as a substantiated political priority that is strongly conditioned and inspired by its positive impact on the promotion of employment and the competitiveness of the economy as well as on social cohesion, cultural development and citizenship. This political determination appears increasingly as a fundamental area of action, when it comes to transforming mandatory schooling into success schooling for all. In the short term, a young person who has left school early is associated with unemployment, precarious and underpaid jobs, and obstacles in finding a place in the vocational training system.

In Portugal, this phenomenon has also been the focus of political and social concern and the country has witnessed the adoption of several measures. Though not attributable to one specific measure, the results have been very positive.

Examining the literature from the past two decades, we find several studies on early school leaving. A common denominator in these studies is the idea that school leaving does not match a single moment in time, but is rather the result of a process (Rumberger & Lim, 2008; Lamb & Markussen, 2011; González, 2015). This process is sometimes slow and extended over time; it can begin even before the student has entered school (Jimerson et al., 2000), and it is the result of growing frustration (Potvin et al., 2007). It is a process of gradual disengagement by the child or youngster, the result of the cumulative effect of multiple factors. It usually starts very early and it includes several variables (Blaya, 2010) which, combined, lead to an increasing disinvestment in school and a gradual investment in other dimensions or activities, such as work (Azevedo e Fonseca, 2007; Dale, 2010; Lamb &

Markussen, 2011). Numerous authors have approached the issue by focusing on its underlying factors and causes. They agree that the explanations for the phenomenon of ESL cannot reside in a single factor. According to Janosz and Deniger (2001), groups of students show the fundamental selectivity of the educational institution and the school processes of marginalisation and relegation. These pupils have in common the poverty of their origins and social status and the fact that they have experienced repetitive and early school failure (González, 2015). Schools create children they label as “unteachable” and creators of mayhem (Millet and Thin, 2003, p. 34). These are children and youngsters who face retention, who end up in classes with mismatched age groups, who upset the regular functioning of classes with younger classmates and have a tendency not to respect the rules. Schools, on the other hand, have difficulty in “getting them to do schoolwork” and so label them as “problematic” students instead. This “pedagogical outlook” and these difficulties create an “inner exclusion” (Millet & Thin, 2003, p. 41), a slow process which discriminates, relegates to second place and pushes students out while they’re still in school. Lewin (2007) refers to this process as “silent exclusion” and links it to children at risk, who are poor, who attend less than 90% of classes, who are one or two years ahead of their classroom peers, who have been retained one or more years and who are a year or more behind in their mother tongue and mathematics. Thibert (2013) highlights the existence of “passive leavers”, students who remain in school but who are detached from it and from schooling. Slowly, we witness the creation of “negative circles” (Markussen et al., 2011), in which students move and make choices on the basis of “because they can’t”, in other words, because they can’t reach higher levels of academic success, they can’t follow the noble academic tracks, because they can’t attend school on a regular basis, because they can’t keep pace with students of the same age, because they can’t...

School institutions may make a difference. Some do everything to avoid their students getting into the “negative spiral” which pulls them out (concerning what is taught, how they teach and how students learn, in the space and time available, within and in collaboration with groups, in the relationship between teachers and students...). This holistic approach – based on a whole child development perspective - seems to make a difference. But others see those as natural processes triggered by students who do not wish to learn and who reject the institution. This institutional “ethos” is a political decision and it translates into everyday micro-decisions, by the board or by every teacher in the classroom, who may (or may not) be aligned towards the promotion of all and every single one of their students, taking into account their differences and their situations.

Finally, there is still another dimension that contributes to these children and youngsters leaving school. What we might call the “country effect” or the public policies put in place regarding education (Lamb & Markussen, 2011). Indeed, public priorities and the current norms are linked to and influence early school leaving, sometimes in significant ways, whether in regard to the organisation of the school curricula, the autonomous management of the curricula and its adaptations, the priorities of the school’s educational activity, or the evaluation and “accountability” systems, specially external exams.

To address ESL, an indicator was created. It refers to individuals aged between 18 and 24 who have stopped studying without having completed secondary education (ISCED3) and have not been in education and training in the last four weeks preceding the survey. This indicator is retrospective (as it questions individuals about their past educational and training path) and is carried out within the framework of the Employment Survey, thus not constituting one of the indicators collected by the Ministry of Education. The retrospective character of the indicator carries a great difficulty: it identifies problems many years after

they occurred, making it difficult to assess more immediately the impact of school policies, models and practices. In addition, in Portugal, there is no statistical data regarding school drop-out produced by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education only deals with “retention and desistance rates” (dropout rates) – relation between the number of students who do not proceed to the next school year and the number of students enrolled in that school year. Additionally, the Ministry of Education’s collection and registration processes for this data do not rest on any uniform system of procedures, which allows for a clear distinction between situations when students dropout, when they are at risk of leaving and when they fail academically.

Considering these limitations, we nevertheless have seen a positive evolution of the rate of ESL. This rate has decreased overall in the European Union (28 countries). From 11,9% in 2013 to 10,2% in 2019. The countries with the highest decrease of ESL since 2011 (over 5 percentage points) in the European Union (28 countries) are Portugal, Spain, Greece, Malta and Ireland. Portugal, was the EU member country that registered the highest decrease of ESL rates since 2011 (over 12 percentage points). Gender disparity in early school leaving rates is unfavourable to males and ESL tends to affect more foreign-born than native-born.

Overall the ESL rate in Portugal has decreased, between 2001 and 2019, in the continental and autonomous regions, from 44.3% to 10.6%. In 2020, the ESL rate in Portugal has dropped further, to 8,9%. In the last 20 years, the highest decrease of ESL was registered in the North region. Madeira and Algarve are the regions which registered the lowest decreased for the ESL rates, between 2001 and 2019. Azores and Madeira are the current regions with the highest level of ESL followed, within continental Portugal, by Algarve. From 2003/2004 to 2017/2018, the actual schooling rate in upper secondary education increased in all the Portuguese continental regions, the highest rate was registered in the North and the lowest

in Algarve. This was supported, mainly, by the extension of compulsory education from 9 to 12 years of schooling in 2009.

This lack of consistency and reliability in the current data on ESL before the age of 18 makes it difficult or impossible to compare these data nationally and which makes it harder to articulate policies focused on identifying, characterizing and monitoring the situations, let alone arrange for a clear, integrated, focused and effective ESL preventive action. Consequently, an early educational intervention is compromised, when it would be the most effective step in preventing repeated academic failure and early school leaving. Also compromised are compensatory interventions, since ESL situations that take place before and after students turn 18 are not properly identify or monitored.

In the qualitative part of this research, we analyzed the school paths of 25 youngsters who dropped out of school and are now trying to complete their formal education in a last chance school. The analysis carried out allowed us trace school exclusion modes of production but also to highlight risk of leaving factors. Regarding the ESL risk factors, the survey helped to highlight the following: family setting, individual behavior, school setting and community network.

If it were possible to highlight an outcome that exponentially increases the risk, it would be the combination (the scissors effect) of low expectations on the part of schools and teachers and the low expectations that families and the students themselves have regarding school. The risk is much higher among boys. Regarding the mode of production of school exclusion, we found it can be structured into a sequence of 14 steps.

In the third part of the research, we crossed the quantitative data on ESL with the employment data, trying to understand the relation between ESL and employment/

/unemployment. The conclusions are mixed. It is hard to determine, for the Portuguese case, a correlation between ESL and employment. The youth unemployment rate is higher for those with lower levels of education (basic education – 2nd cycle). The unemployed population with the lowest levels of education (none and basic education – 1st cycle), has the largest share of long-term unemployment. The risk of poverty rate is higher for those with less education and, for these ones, has increased particularly with the economic recession.

Beyond the explanatory factors and the ESL predictors, beyond the individual, the school, the family and social network dimensions, there is still another factor that may promote or tackle ESL: the «country effect» – public policies that have an impact on education (Lamb & Markussen, 2011; Álvares et al. 2014). Policies adopted in Portugal follow the usual European typology in the field of ESL policies: prevention, intervention and compensation policies (European Commission, 2013). In Portugal, policies to hinder ESL have been put in place in the past thirty years, beginning in 1989 with the creation of vocational education and ending with a great number of compensation measures implemented in the second decade of the 21st century. Its persistence in time (the long duration of some policies, despite changes in governments) and the combination of multiple dimensions of political action (not only educational, but also social and territorial) constitute a structuring axis of the achieved success in reducing ELS in Portugal (Álvares et al. 2014).

Public policies implemented at the beginning of the current century to hinder ESL had two important features: (i) they did not include solely the Ministry of Education, bringing together a set of actors who work in social policy to promote inclusion and fight poverty; and (ii) they are prolonged in time, avoiding the stop-and-go that often affects measures of education policy (according to the political orientation of governments).

One of these policies, TEIP, has undergone several adaptations but has been in place for the last 25 years. The same happened with the Choices Program, that is also still active after 20 years, and the measures related to the recognition and certification of competences and to adult literacy, which are also about to turn 20. The latter compensation measures were developed with the aim of educating and qualifying the adult population, since it has a known positive impact also in the schooling of children and young people.

The same happened with the strictly educational public policies. Vocational training has grown since 1989 and its impact in Portuguese society is very significant. In 1989, about 7% of young people (out of the population who continued their education past the 9th grade and into secondary education), did so by choosing technical and professional courses; in 2018, they were 42%. In 2004, this alternative offer became available in every public secondary school in the country alongside with the private professional schools.

Since 1999, alternative pathways within the schools were created: PIEF – Programs of curricular adaptation of education and training (1999), CEF – Education and training courses (2002) and the Vocational Courses (in 2012). All aimed at adapting the curricula for young people, who kept failing academically before they could reach or complete the 3rd cycle of basic education. These also played an important role as a strategy for keeping these students in the schools.

It is important to underline as a crucial factor of diminishing ESL, the extension of compulsory education to 12 years of schooling or 18 years of age that ocured in 2009/2010. Students who enrolled in grades 1 to 7 in 2009/10, had to stay in school for three more years after 9th grade or until they became 18. This led to a high-pressure effect, politically,

socially (especially in families) and in schools, in favor of students remaining in school. And it ended up happening.

The rate of ESL began to go down in 2003 (when it reached 41.2%), and it improved by 10 percentage points until 2009 (30.9%), but it was between 2010 and 2015 that ESL went down markedly, from 28.3% to 13.7%. There aren't many specific analyses that allow us to understand what measures have been more effective in causing this triple pressure and positive progress, but it is likely that it will always be difficult to isolate the effects of each measure on the decision made by students and their families to remain in school for an extra three years.

Public policies have been accompanied by private initiatives. These are focused on specific issues (i.e. learning to read, family mediation) and cater for small groups of young people in small sets of schools.

The compensation measures that had a greater impact were those aimed at the adult population, the RVCC – Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences and the Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA). Between 2008 and 2012, these measures were strengthened under the «New Opportunities Initiative» policy. Other compensation measures aimed ESL are two initiatives that emerged alongside the school system in articulation with public school, offering a second educational opportunity, beginning in 2010 (the Second Chance School of Matosinhos and Arco Maior). Even though these initiatives are yet to have reached a thousand citizens, in August 2019 they were integrated in the public policy «Program 20 – A Second Opportunity Program» and they are the first step of a new public policy that seeks to promote second opportunity education, which did not exist in the country up to this point.

In more general social terms, in addition to the public policy measures, the positive evolution of the parents' schooling deserves to be mentioned. They are part of a population of young adults whose qualification levels have increased at a fast pace and this has also certainly contributed to the promotion of the importance of staying in school within the family home.

Moreover, the «positive effect» on the Portuguese economy must also be considered. Its main model stopped being the recruitment of an intensive, cheap and unqualified labor force, due to international competition and the country's position in the global economy. Small and medium-sized enterprises from the textile, clothing, shoe, construction and metalworking sectors, to name a few, do not «absorb», like they did 25 years ago, those who leave school early, which contributes to the increase in the number of young people who remain in school to complete mandatory education.

1.3. ESL comprehensive framework of the past two decades

1.3.1. Review and analysis of existing literature and identification of risk factors

Early school leaving (ESL) has been the subject of intense and varied research around the world. Notwithstanding the geographical, historical, political and cultural differences of this phenomenon, there are several similar features, having to do with the global implementation of the modern model of school education (Azevedo, 2012), and with the attempt to lay the foundations for open and democratic school systems that promote equality of opportunity. In Portugal, this phenomenon has also been the focus of political and social concern and the country has witnessed the adoption of several measures, with very positive results.

What is early school leaving? Why does it happen? Who does it affect the most? Is it possible to establish a profile of the early school leaver? Who does the school more frequently leave behind? These questions have guided the review of the literature summarized below. The main goal of this review is to illuminate the field of analysis and to guide the subsequent work, particularly the fieldwork that we will carry out with students who have left school and who might have been left behind by school.

Starting in 2000, with the Lisbon Strategy, the European Union (EU) has stressed the need to address the social and educational problem of early school leaving. The "Europe 2020 Strategy" has adopted the name *Early Leaving from Education or Training*, which refers to someone "aged 18-24 with, at most, lower secondary education and who was not in further education or training during the last four weeks preceding the survey" (Eurostat, 2019). The

EU has adopted this indicator, which is expressed as the percentage of the population aged 18-24 who meet these criteria, compared to the total population of the same age group.

Examining the literature from the past two decades, we find several studies on early school leaving. A common denominator in these studies is the idea that school leaving does not match a single moment in time, but is rather the result of a process (Rumberger & Lim, 2008; Lamb & Markussen, 2011; González, 2015). This process is sometimes slow and extended over time; it can begin even before the student has entered school (Jimerson et al., 2000), and it is the result of growing frustration (Potvin et al., 2007). It is a process of gradual disengagement by the child or youngster, the result of the cumulative effect of multiple factors. It usually starts very early and it includes several variables (Blaya, 2010) which, combined, lead to an increasing disinvestment in school and a gradual investment in other dimensions or activities, such as work (Azevedo e Fonseca, 2007; Dale, 2010; Lamb & Markussen, 2011).

When looking at the literature, we felt it appropriate not to take a chronological approach, but rather, holistically, to try and identify features that appear in the different contexts where ESL takes place and separate the authors according to their perspective: whether they focus on factors, predictors, typologies or prevention strategies.

Numerous authors have approached the issue by focusing on its underlying factors and causes. They agree that the explanations for the phenomenon of ESL cannot reside in a single factor. Several studies reassert the European Commission's acknowledgement that ESL is the result of a combination of "personal, social, economic, educational and family-related factors, strongly intertwined and leading to cumulative disadvantage" (Comissão Europeia, 2015, p. 6).

Ferrão and Honório have concluded that ESL is shaped by individual, family-related, sociocultural and school-related factors, as well as by the job market (Ferrão and Honório, 2001). In the same vein, Azevedo (1999) states that school leaving "is associated with situations such as: an academic history marked by grade retention and consecutive delays, clashes of expectations between the home and the school contexts, a lack of interest in school, learning and integration difficulties..." (Azevedo, 1999, p. 20). In the wake of these studies, ESL was also mentioned in the National Plan for Prevention of Early School Leaving (PNAPAE) as "having a lot more to do with the pupil's age than the grade he or she is enrolled in, it is generally preceded by stories of repeated academic failure and it takes place due to the attractiveness of a professional occupation still available to unqualified youngsters" (Canavarro, 2004, p. 52).

Fortin et al. (2006) have studied the profile of students who left school, concluding that the pupils display anti-social behaviour, are uninterested in education and unmotivated by school and exhibit inadequate, and sometimes depressed, behaviour. The causes of school leaving are divided between two main areas: internal or external to the school system. Among the factors internal to the school system are the school's organisation and structure (dual system, hierarchically organised courses with seriously undervalued options); pedagogical issues (the quality of the teacher-student relationship, time management in the classroom, the sense of belonging in school and the low expectations regarding certain students). Concerning the external factors, the authors point out family and social factors (e.g. the economic and cultural status of the family), as well as those linked to the students themselves, such as their behaviour, their attitudes towards others and school and their commitment and academic performance.

Potvin and Pinard (2012) conclude that “nearly 55% of the explained variance [of school leaving] refers to variables which are close to the student”. These variables belong to “four systems”: the student, the class/teacher; the school and the parents/family. The “school’s climate is the most influential variable for leavers, as it accounts for about 10% of the risk of leaving” (Potvin and Pinard, 2012, p.9). The authors emphasize the fact that schools include students in a negative spiral of decisions, following the initial detection of academic failure. They also mention the existence of a direct link between “school violence” and school leaving and they highlight situations of bullying, student labelling, the separation between classes and academic tracks, a school orientation marked by a negative mindset, based on academic failure, and the selection that results from the “decantation” of that failure, instead of being based on a “firm and early positive discrimination” (ibidem: p.11).

In their review of the past twenty five years of literature on ESL in the United States of America (USA), with an emphasis on California, Rumberger and Lim (2008) concluded that ESL stems from four major factors related with, on the one hand, (i) the individual characteristics of students, namely their academic performance (e.g. educational achievement, grade retention, involuntary student mobility), their behaviour (e.g. misbehaving in school, delinquency outside of school, drug and alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy, being part of a group of friends who display violent and criminal behaviour), their attitude towards school (e.g. absenteeism, low expectations concerning school), and their personal history (e.g. having delinquents or school leavers as friends; boys are more likely than girls to leave school early; participation in preschool; working more than 20 hours per week). On the other hand, ESL is linked to (ii) the institutional factors linked to their families (i.e. family structure: single-parent family, changes to the family structure associated with events like illness, death, and divorce; low socioeconomic status; parental

occupation; family income; parental aspirations regarding school), and also with (iii) schools, which are responsible for 20% of leaving (i.e. social composition of schools; class size, unruly and poor disciplinary climate). Finally, the phenomenon is also connected (iv) with communities (i.e. communities with few resources and negative models are associated with ESL, interactions with violent and criminal classmates; the community investment in preschool) (Rumberger and Lim, 2008).

In France, Thibert (2013) divides the factors between two categories: internal or external to the school system. Internal factors can in turn be ordered into two categories: organisational and structural factors (i.e. stratification of students according to their study plan; repetitive retention; the “institutionalization” of labelling pupils as “good” or “bad”), and factors linked to the interaction between teachers and students (e.g. the “Pygmalion effect”, that is to say, students’ performance is driven by the teachers’ expectations; management of “downtime”; the feeling of belonging in school; school climate). External factors include family and social factors and those relating to the pupils themselves. When it comes to external factors, Sparkes (1999) lists two types of social pressures: (i) the pressure by parents/families and society towards success at all costs, measured exclusively by standardised tests, and (ii) the pressure by rankings and the highly selective practices of certain schools, particularly in urban environments.

Bernot-Caboche (2016) highlights the factors which trigger disengagement with school and leaving: an early lack of interest in school, the lack of solutions adapted to their specific needs and expectations, psychiatric instability, frequently related to a devaluing of cultural ties, an unattained integration and the subsequent isolation and depression, the life of a young couple associated with complete inactivity, the complete disruption of social life and an anonymous existence at the parents’ home.

Along the same lines, in their meta-analysis of several studies conducted in Quebec, Canada, Potvin and Dimitri (2012) mention a set of interconnected factors: those associated with the student, which include, for example, whether he is a male, learning difficulties in basic subjects and behavioural problems; family factors, such as the family atmosphere, the socioeconomic situation and the relationship between parents and children; and factors associated with the teacher and the school, from the socio-educational climate at school, to the atmosphere in the classroom and the teacher-student relationship.

Potvin et al. (2007) thought it useful to mobilize into their research on ESL both the concept of risk factor, in other words, “an event or condition that increases the likelihood of the student experiencing emotional or behavioural problems” (Potvin et al., 2007, p. 17), and that of protective factor, i.e., everything that can improve or change the individual’s ability to react to risk factors (Potvin et al., 2007). Their study presents a set of risk and protective factors organised into four categories: personal, family-related, associated with the school or the social network (table 1).

Table 1 - Risk Factors and Protective Factors (adapted from Potvin et al., 2007)

	Risk Factors	Protective Factors
<i>Personal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – gender – leaving school is particularly prevalent among male students; – ineffective adaptation strategies (i.e. denial, avoidance of classes); – low self-esteem; – little trust in their abilities, feeling inadequate; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – good social skills (i.e. communication, empathy...); – effective adaptation strategies (i.e. problem solving...); – self-awareness; – high self-esteem; – trust in one’s abilities.
<i>Family</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – frequent clashes with parents; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – good emotional support from

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – few opportunities to talk to parents about school life; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> parents; particularly in the hardest moments; – a good relationship with at least one adult family member; – good parental supervision, with structured rules; – strong support and cohesion within the family; – a democratic style of parenting which promotes autonomy.
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<p><i>School</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – difficult relationship with teachers; – a negative view of school and learning (as a source of negative experiences); – weak academic performance/ academic failure; – low expectations of academic success; – low motivation to improve one’s performance; – behavioural problems: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - internalized (i.e. sadness, anxiety, fears...); - externalized (i.e. offensive actions or words, intimidation, destruction...); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – good relationship with the teachers; – participation in extracurricular activities (i.e. artistic, sports...); – to succeed academically.
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<p><i>Social network</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – they are part of a group with classmates who have had negative schooling experiences; – they are strongly influenced by that group of “friends”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – good support from friends, especially during hard times.
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It is important to note, however, that this is not, nor could it be, a comprehensive and ordered list of risk and/or protective factors that could be considered universal.

Ferrão and Honório (2001) mention that there are predictive signs that a pupil is at risk of ESL, namely the feeling of insecurity, repetitive academic failure, a lack of motivation, absenteeism and indiscipline.

In the same vein, Azevedo (1999) believes that a poor academic performance, an inadequate educational relationship, having teachers with low motivation, and being someone “who does not feel good in his/her role as student, who does not trust himself/herself, who anticipates failure and does not focus on the school work” (Azevedo, 1999, p. 20) can also be seen as predictive signs for ESL.

The PNAPAE likewise outlines a set of ESL predictors, including “learning difficulties, health issues, academic failure, poor performance on the subjects of their mother tongue and mathematics, low self-esteem; lack of interest in school; indiscipline; involvement in misdemeanours; substance abuse; early maternity or paternity” (Canavarró, 2004, p. 29).

Along the same lines, Potvin et al. (2007) outline seven ESL predictive factors, notably, the student’s level of depression, the lack of organisation within the family, the lack of family cohesion, negative attitudes on the part of teachers, the lack of involvement in school activities and a poor performance on the subjects of mathematics and their mother tongue.

Following studies in 13 Western countries, Lamb & Marzussen (2011) highlights six main factors: family-related factors (e.g. parental education and the socioeconomic level of the household), school factors (the quality of teaching and resources, the school climate and the teachers’ professional commitment), peer-related factors (the role of friends, their culture and behaviour), factors that have to do with the students themselves (absenteeism and attendance, academic performance), community factors (the social and economic make-up of the communities surrounding the school, the role of local job markets), country and

public policy-related factors (organisation of the school system, school and political management of curricula). Other studies show that there are two main sets of factors that function as early leaving key predictors: on the one hand, the family setting (socioeconomic and cultural environment, parental aspirations), and, on the other, the academic history of the student (absenteeism, academic results), combined with the conditions for the student's involvement in the school work (a school's curricular dynamic aiming at promoting learning, student progression).

Dale (2010) summarizes the key elements that lead some students to enter into the process of leaving school: they do less homework, they do not make an effort at school, they don't participate as much in school activities, they display a disengagement towards school, they exhibit difficulty with social integration and negative attitudes towards learning in school, and they are more prone to being unruly and to being suspended.

Based on a literature review, Fortin and Picard (1999) reveal that the strongest predictor for ESL are learning difficulties. For his part, Martin (2007) names as ESL predictors features such as being male, the pupil's sociocultural level or the mother's academic qualifications.

Montes and Lehmann (2004) have developed a review of the literature based on longitudinal studies of ESL. They identify predictors according to different stages of personal development and throughout educational levels. Their contribution is significant because, based on the conclusions of the studies they examined, we are able to confirm ESL as an evolving process and to identify features for each individual development and school stages.

Table 2 - ESL Predictors (cf. Montes & Lehmann, 2004)

Predictors of ESL	before entering school	1 st grade	2 nd through 6 th grades	7 th through 8 th grades	beyond 8 th grade
the quality of child care up to 42 months;					
retention;					
school performance;					
behavioural problems;					
parental involvement					
student's gender					
socioeconomic status					
stressful family change					
parents' attitude					
high mobility between schools					
Absenteeism					
disciplinary issues					
lack of dialogue with parents on the subject of school					
involvement in social activities which diverge from school					
stressful events of a more severe nature					

personal statement on whether they wish to conclude or not, whether they wish to continue in school, concerning their own expectations

multiple factors, such as: low socioeconomic level, single-parent families, students with high levels of stress...

Montes and Lehmann (2004) highlight three aspects that we believe to be relevant: the importance of early predictors, retentions as the main ESL predictor and, finally, the fact that a set of factors is more predictive than a single one. Potvin and Pinard (2012) also emphasise the significance of the school climate and the relevance of teachers' care when it comes to monitoring students with inadequate behaviour.

Following a different approach, there are several studies that set out to determine a group of features that could be used to draw a profile, even suggesting some typologies for students at risk of ESL.

According to Fortin and Picard (1999), a student at risk of ESL could be one who: exhibits low levels of participation in school activities, pays little attention in class, does not recognize much value in doing homework, has absenteeism problems, displays more serious behavioural problems (such as aggression), exhibits low aspirations of academic success, favouring having a job and available income over school.

In their attempt to draw a profile of an at risk dropout student, several authors have come up not with one, but with several profiles, which are then organised into typologies. Thibert

(2013) identifies three typologies to classify ESL students: those of Kronik and Hargis (1990), Janosz & Deniger (2001) and Fortin et al. (2006).

According to Thibert (2013), Kronik e Hargis (1990) look at three types of students at risk of ESL: i) *students with difficulties*, either concerning learning or behavioural; ii) *peaceful students*, who exhibit difficulties learning, but do not misbehave, and iii) *quiet students*, who no one notices until they fail their exams.

According to Thibert (2013), Janosz & Deniger's typology (2001) identifies four types of students at risk of ESL; a) *quiet or discrete students*, those who don't display behavioural problems, but who have weak results and a low socioeconomic status; b) *maladjusted students*, who have learning, behavioural and family problems, who have experiences with delinquency and deviant behaviour; c) *disengaged students*, who display few behavioural problems, who have low aspirations and a regular academic performance, but who do not put much value in school; and d) *students with a poor performance*, those with significant behavioural problems, a poor academic performance and retentions.

Some of the authors of the Fortin et al. (2006) typology have adapted it and perfected it to be included in the "Guide de Prévention du Décrochage Scolaire - y'a une place pour toi!" [Guide for the Prevention of School Leaving – there is room for you!]. (Potvin et al., 2007). The Potvin et al (2007) typology is organised into four types of students at risk of ESL:

- i. *students with little interest/ unmotivated* – they have little motivation and get bored in class; they perform well in school and have good social skills; they think their families work well, but add they have little emotional support; teachers think well of them and do not report any behavioural problems. Despite representing 40% of students at risk, they are the least likely to leave.

- ii. *students with behavioural problems* – they externalise inadequate behaviour, such as anti-social and aggressive outbursts, they lack self-control, they intimidate and refuse supervision, etc; they have a poorer academic performance and have several family-related problems (it is difficult to communicate, to organise and to find emotional support); teachers describe them as students with behavioural problems. They represent about 30% of students at risk.
- iii. *students with hidden anti-social behaviour* – their academic performance is close to the average; they reveal a low self-esteem and guilty feelings; there's very little parental control, the routines and rules are chaotic or non-existent, teachers think well of them, they exhibit no behavioural problems; they are involved in cases of concealed delinquency, hard to spot at school: vandalism, home burglaries and car theft, selling drugs, etc. They are about 20% of the students at risk of leaving.
- iv. *depressed students* – they represent 10% and have an average school performance; they have several family problems (communication, organisation, cohesion, emotional support); they are under strict parental control, they are well liked by their teachers, who do not report behavioural problems; they exhibit high levels of depression, even though they hide it; they display sadness and despondency; they make many mistakes and they cry easily; some have suicidal thoughts.

According to Janosz and Deniger (2001), these groups of students show the fundamental selectivity of the educational institution and the school processes of marginalisation and relegation. These pupils have in common the poverty of their origins and social status and the fact that they have experienced repetitive and early school failure (González, 2015).

Schools create children they label as “unteachable” and creators of mayhem (Millet and Thin, 2003, p. 34). These are children and youngsters who face retention, who end up in classes with mismatched age groups, they upset the regular functioning of classes with younger classmates and they have a tendency not to respect the rules. Schools, on the other hand, have difficulty in “getting them to do schoolwork” and so label them as “problematic” students instead. This “pedagogical outlook” and these difficulties create an “inner exclusion” (Millet & Thin, 2003, p. 41), a slow process which discriminates, relegates to second place and pushes students out while they’re still in school. Lewin (2007) refers to this process as “silent exclusion” and links it to children at risk, who are poor, who attend less than 90% of classes, who are one or two years ahead of their classroom peers, who have been retained one or more years and who are a year or more behind in their mother tongue and mathematics.

This silent exclusion – often supported by administrative procedures embodied in the existing rules, such as criteria for class placement, channelling of students towards special tracks and courses (some created for students with two or more years of poor academic performance during the first six years of schooling), an accumulation of retentions without any new or alternative teaching-learning plan, reducing evaluation to grades – is, for these same reasons, a socially accepted, legal and “standard” exclusion. Sometimes, this exclusion constitutes a relief or an “escape” for serious situations of conflict between children and their teachers and headteachers, or even for situations when there’s tension between the need to adapt curricula within the classroom and the rigidity imposed by national norms, which are controlled by school inspectors.

Thibert (2013) highlights the existence of “passive leavers”, students who remain in school but who are detached from it and from schooling. Slowly, we witness the creation of

“negative circles” (Markussen et al., 2011), in which students move and make choices on the basis of “because they can’t”, in other words, because they can’t reach higher levels of academic success, they can’t follow the noble academic tracks, because they can’t attend school on a regular basis, because they can’t keep pace with students of the same age, because they can’t...

Once they’re excluded, these children and youngster become part of the group that Bernot-Caboche referred to as the “invisibles”, the young people who are not in education, training, who are not employed and who are not in any way monitored (Bernot-Caboche, 2016). Society does not care for nor speaks of them, it is as if they did not exist, pushed as they are into their poor neighbourhoods.

Institutional ethos

As we’ve mentioned, beyond the consideration of the predictors taken in isolation, it is important that we recognise the vital importance of the school climate, the “educational and organisational ethos”, substantiated in values, priorities and attitudes that can make a significant difference when it comes to dealing with students with a poor academic performance, with indiscipline and with the educational actions (and omissions) taken in order to overcome those differences and difficulties.

School institutions do make a difference, since some do everything (concerning what is taught, how they teach and how students learn, in the space and time available, within and in collaboration with groups, in the relationship between teachers and students...) to avoid their students getting into the “negative spiral” which pulls them out; whereas others see those as natural processes triggered by students who do not wish to learn and who reject the institution. This institutional “ethos” is a political decision and it translates into everyday

micro-decisions, by the board or by every teacher in the classroom, who may (or may not) be aligned towards the promotion of all and every single one of their students, taking into account their differences and their situations.

Finally, there is still another dimension that contributes to these children and youngsters leaving school: what we might call the “country effect”, or the public policies put in place regarding education (Lamb & Markussen, 2011). Indeed, public priorities and the current norms are linked to and influence early school leaving, sometimes in significant ways, whether in regards to the organisation of the school curricula, the autonomous management of the curricula and its adaptations, the priorities of the school’s educational activity, or the evaluation and “accountability” systems, specially external exams.

Similarly, when public policies meet in the social field – outside of the strictly academic framework, linking not only the economy, employment, health and welfare, but also the multiple and disjointed policies aimed at young people, particularly when strong local partnerships are included – they tend to be more effective both to stem the “flow” of early leaving and to manage the “stock” of teenagers falling into social invisibility (European Commission, 2013; Bernot-Caboche, 2016).

In conclusion, we have looked at a comprehensive set of authors and studies which have deepened our knowledge about ESL as a phenomenon that results from a complex and evolving process and from the interactions between the multiplicity of factors involved. From the reviewed literature, other features strongly associated with the phenomenon emerge, despite not being considered as predictors, factors and not being included in any ESL profiles or typologies. This final set of explanatory facts will constitute the basis on

which we will build a more detailed analysis of the journeys of the Portuguese youngsters who have left school and who are gradually excluded from it.

In the summary table that follows (Table 3), we have ordered these features according to the dimensions which emerged from the literature – Individual, School, Family and Social Network/ Community (SnC) – and the interactions generated between them.

Table 3 – ESL Explanatory and Predictive Factors summary table by dimension

Dimension	Feature	Author(s)
Individual	Feeling insecure, lacking in self-confidence and feeling inadequate	Azevedo (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Potvin et al. (2007)
	Lack of motivation/ lack of interest in school	Azevedo (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Canavarro (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Bernot-Caboche (2016)
	Absenteeism/ poor attendance	Fortin and Picard (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Montes and Lehman (2004); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Lamb (2011); Markussen et al. (2011)
	Learning difficulties; “poor academic performance”	Azevedo (1999); Fortin and Picard (1999); Canavarro (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Markussen et al. (2011); Thibert (2013)
	Low self-esteem	Azevedo (1999); Canavarro (2004); Potvin et al. (2007)
	Low participation/ involvement in school activities	Azevedo (1999); Fortin and Picard (1999); Potvin et al. (2007); Dale (2010); Lamb (2011)
	Low expectations towards school/ aspirations	Azevedo (1999); Fortin and Picard (1999); Potvin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Dale (2010)

	Health issues	Canavarro (2004)
	Poor school performance (in particular, in the case of the mother tongue and mathematics)	Azevedo (1999); Canavarro (2004); Montes and Lehman (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Lewin (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Lamb (2011); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Early maternity/ paternity/ teenage pregnancy	Canavarro (2004); Rumberger and Lim (2008)
	Substance abuse (drugs, alcohol...)	Canavarro (2004); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Thibert (2013)
	Retention/ Repeated retention	Azevedo (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Millet and Thin (2003); Montes and Lehman (2004); Canavarro (2004); Potvin et al. (2007); Lewin (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Thibert (2013)
	No attendance of preschool	Rumberger and Lim (2008)
	Ineffective adaptation strategies (i.e. denial, avoidance of classes...);	Potvin et al. (2007); Dale (2010);
	Psychological problems (i.e. depression, sadness, anxiety, fears...)/ high levels of stress	Potvin et al. (2007); Montes and Lehman (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Bernot-Caboche (2016)
	Behavioural problems/ indiscipline/ violence;	Fortin and Picard (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Montes and Lehman (2004); Canavarro (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Dale (2010); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Potvin and Pinard (2012); Thibert (2013)
School	Poor relationship between the student and the teacher	Azevedo (1999); Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Low motivation/ commitment by	Azevedo (1999); Lamb (2011)

	teachers	
	Poor school and classroom climate	Fortin et al. (2006); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Lamb (2011); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Potvin and Pinard (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Stratification of students according to their study plan	Fortin et al. (2006); Lewin (2007); Potvin and Pinard (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Labels "institutionalization": "good" and "bad" students/ "unteachable"	Millet and Thin (2003); Potvin and Pinard (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Low expectations/ monitoring by teachers (affecting particularly some students)	Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin and Pinard (2012); Thibert (2013)
	Poor sense of belonging in school	Fortin et al. (2006); Thibert (2013)
	Retention/ repeated retention practices	Azevedo (1999); Ferrão and Honório (2001); Montes and Lehman (2004); Canavarro (2004); Potvin et al. (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Thibert (2013)
	Teachers' negative attitudes towards students/ negative school orientation	Potvin et al. (2007); Potvin and Pinard (2012)
	The "inner exclusion"/ "invisible students" generation	Millet and Thin (2003); Lewin (2007); Lamb and Markussen (2011); Markussen et al. (2011); Thibert (2013); Bernot-Caboche (2016)
	The "country effect"/ public policy and the organisation of the school system	Lamb (2011); Thibert (2013)
Family	Clash of expectations between the home and the school contexts	Azevedo (1999); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Lamb (2011)
	Student's involuntary mobility/ family's change of residence	Rumberger and Lim (2008); Montes and Lehman (2004)
	Changes to the family structure associated with "stressful" events like disease, death and divorce	Rumberger and Lim (2008); Montes and Lehman (2004)
	Single-parent family	Rumberger and Lim (2008); Montes and Lehman (2004)

	Family climate/ lack of family cohesion	Montes and Lehman (2004); Potvin et al. (2007); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Bernot-Caboche (2016)
	Poor relationship between parents and their children (conflicts/ lack of emotional support)	Montes and Lehman (2004); Potvin et al. (2007); Lamb (2011); Potvin and Dimitri (2012);
	Lack of dialogue between parents and their children concerning school and the student's life	Potvin et al. (2007); Montes and Lehman (2004)
	Inadequate family organisation	Potvin et al. (2007); Montes and Lehman (2004)
	Parents with low academic qualifications	Martin (2007)
	The quality of child care up to 42 months	Montes and Lehman, (2004)
	Poverty and unemployment	Montes and Lehman (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Lewin (2007); Martin (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Lamb (2011); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Thibert (2013); González (2015)
SnC	Friends who chose to engage in delinquent behaviour or who have left school	Rumberger and Lim (2008)
	They belong to groups of friends alongside classmates who have had negative schooling experiences, and are heavily influenced by them	Potvin et al. (2007); Lamb (2011)
	Delinquency, the beginning of deviant experiences	Canavarro (2004); Montes and Lehman (2004); Fortin et al. (2006); Potvin et al. (2007); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Thibert (2013)
	Attraction towards a professional occupation/ devaluing of school	Fortin and Picard (1999); Canavarro (2004); Azevedo and Fonseca, 2007; Lamb (2011)
	Poverty and unemployment	Fortin et al. (2006); Rumberger and Lim (2008); Potvin and Dimitri (2012); Martin (2007); Montes and Lehman (2004); Thibert (2013)
	Social integration difficulties/ social disruption	Dale (2010); Bernot-Caboche (2016)

Pressure by parents/families and by society towards success at all costs, exclusively measured by standardised tests;	Sparkes (1999)
Pressure by rankings and highly selective practices	Sparkes (1999)

1.3.2. Statistical and data analysis

The second part of the ESL comprehensive framework in Portugal focuses on the quantitative analysis of early school leaving, seeking to understand on the one hand the Portuguese situation within the context of the European Union and, on the other the Portuguese geographic, gender and teaching cycles distribution of this phenomenon, focusing at the country level.

This analysis is based on secondary data available from international and national sources, namely, Eurostat⁴, INE⁵, the Portuguese National Statistics Institute and InfoEscolas⁶, a platform of the Ministry of Education with statistical data on students enrolled in public and private schools in mainland Portugal. The data is also complemented with analysis from other studies mapping the ESL issue.

Along this chapter different measures and metrics to assess the same phenomenon are exposed. Although is not always the case, in order to avoid any confusion, the fact will always be described as **early school leaving (ESL)**. For example, Eurostat current reference is, **early leaving from education and training (ELET)**:

“ELET ‘encompasses countries’ own definitions of who in the national context is considered to be an early leaver. It includes, for example, countries who refer to young people who leave (or drop out of) school without completing what is considered in the national context as basic education (usually primary and secondary education), as well as those who define early

⁴ <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/>

⁵ <http://ine.pt>

⁶ <http://infoescolas.mec.pt> The data cover all cycles of basic education, scientific-humanistic and professional courses in secondary education.

leavers as young people who leave school without an upper secondary school leaving certificate'. For some, the concept of ELET is also important as it more clearly encompasses those who have dropped out of vocational training tracks.”⁷

Nevertheless, throughout the work every indicator will be properly described and identified.

The European Union (EU), based on the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, elected ESL, which is named in Portugal – *Abandono Escolar Precoce* (AEP) – as an educational and social problem to be tackled. Given the importance of schooling both for equal opportunities and social mobility and for economic and social development, this has become a problem inscribed in EU public policies. An ESL indicator was created that, as introduced on the literature review, refers to individuals aged between 18 and 24 who have stopped studying without having completed secondary education (ISCED3) and are not in education and training in the last four weeks preceding the survey. In fact, this indicator is retrospective (as it questions individuals about their past educational and training path) and is carried out within the framework of the Employment Survey, thus not constituting one of the indicators collected by the Ministry of Education.

This indicator and this definition, which will be used in this report, have some limitations that should be highlighted right away. When defining the secondary level (ISCED3) and therefore, opening to the inclusion of school and professional training paths, provided that

⁷ European Commission (2019), Assessment of the Implementation of the 2011 Council Recommendation on Policies to Reduce Early School Leaving, p.3.

they are equivalent to the 12th grade (as is, in Portugal, the case of vocational education or the training in alternation/learning regime), the indicator has improved over previous definitions too focused on school certification. It now encompassing what most countries consider to be the new "basic" schooling suitable for successful social integration and access to the labour market. It is, therefore, a statistical indicator with a strong political inclination, by instilling 12 years of schooling as the elementary level of schooling for all citizens.

However, the indicator still contains very different realities and fails to be very rigorous in terms of education and training. Thus, its retrospective character carries a great difficulty: it identifies possible problems many years after they occurred, making it more difficult to assess more immediately the impact of school policies, models and practices. By distancing itself so much from problems it also makes it difficult to correct them. In addition, in Portugal, there is no longer any statistical data regarding school drop-out produced by the Ministry of Education, which further widens this gap, making it a factor of ignorance of reality. In Portugal, when currently dealing only with "retention and desistance rates" - the value of the percentual relationship between the number of students who cannot transit to the next school year and the number of enrolled in that school year - the indicator not only counts "false positive", by including students who move to a private school or who are absent from the country with their families, as it accounts for "false negatives" when it does not consider as abandoning situations of repeated absenteeism and for "real" abandoning students just because they are administratively enrolled, because they are still within compulsory education.

On the other hand, when questioning men and women between 18 and 24 years old, it will include situations of students who completed their secondary education (ISCED3) in different ways and at different times, without the possibility of discrimination and analysis of

who did it within the “ideal” age groups, who did it through education or professional training and who did it at that time, up to the age of 18, or later, through educational compensation measures.

In addition, when inquiring individuals over the phone, the survey tells us nothing about drop out and tells us something about school certification that was or was not achieved, leaving it unclear when and how drop out occur, at what age and in what year of schooling (it may have been at 18 and only with the 7th year of schooling completed, or at 20 and only with the 11th grade completed). If more specific analyses on abandonment are discarded at the same time, as in the case of Portugal, the phenomenon is even less clarified.

This indicator only provides us with the secondary level of schooling of the young population, which to understand school dropout is very little. For the Portuguese analysis, the AEP indicator must therefore be complemented with others such as the ‘Actual schooling rate’ and the ‘Retention and desistance rate’, in order to have a slightly more completed and qualified picture about the early school leaving phenomenon, even though it is not being produced and measured, in Portugal, any indicator that directly reflects the existing drop out.

1.3.2.1. Portugal within the European Union context an overview

First, we characterise the trend of early school leaving in Europe⁸ and Portugal, to better understand the evolution of the phenomenon.

Summary findings

- ESL rate has decreased overall in the European Union - 28 countries, from 11,9% in 2013 to 10,2% in 2019 (and to 8.9% in 2020)
- The countries with the highest decrease of ESL since 2011 (over 5 percentage points) in the European Union (28 countries) are Portugal, Spain, Greece, Malta and Ireland
- Portugal, was the EU member country that registered the highest decrease of ESL rates since 2011 (over 12 percentage points)
- Gender disparity in early school leaving rates is unfavourable to males
- ESL tends to affect more foreign-born than native-born

As well as there are notorious difficulties in defining early school leaving among different EU Member States, there has been also difficulties in having a common measure that makes available, at European level, the number of students who encounter early school leaving. Eurostat indicator of early leavers from education and training, is a pragmatic solution for

⁸ For the purpose of this study it was used the European Union - 28 countries (2013-2020) reference, still encompassing the United Kingdom.

dealing with variation in the assessment of early school leaving in the member countries by defining a common measure for secondary education⁹.

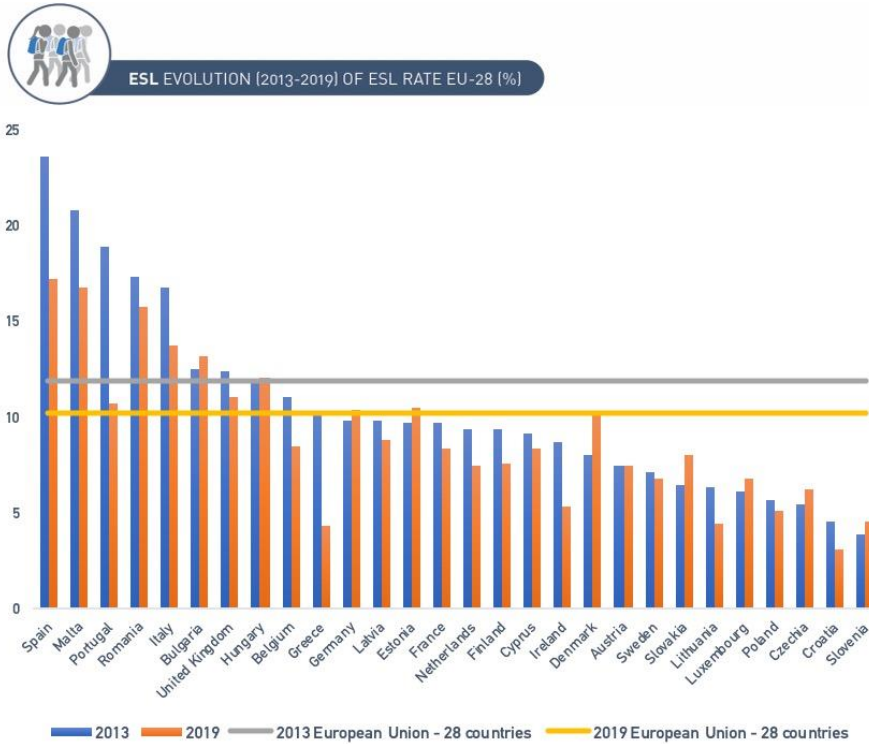
Early leavers from education and training: this indicator measures the share of the population aged 18 to 24 with at most lower secondary education who were not involved in any education or training during the four weeks preceding the survey¹⁰.

According to Eurostat data, and observing the Early leavers from education and training indicator, **the ESL rate has decreased overall in the EU - 28 countries, from 11,9% in 2013 to 10,2% in 2019**. There has been a decrease in ESL rates in 18 EU Member States, since 2013, indicating the progress made towards reaching the EU 2020 target, set by the Council of the European Union 2011 Recommendation¹¹, of reducing ESL to 10%.

⁹ <https://www.european-agency.org/sites/default/files/esl-summary-pt.pdf>

¹⁰ More information on data source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/SDG_04_10/default/table

¹¹ Council of the European Union, Council recommendation of 28 June 2011 on policies to reduce early school leaving, (2011/C 191/01) <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:191:0001:0006:EN:PDF>



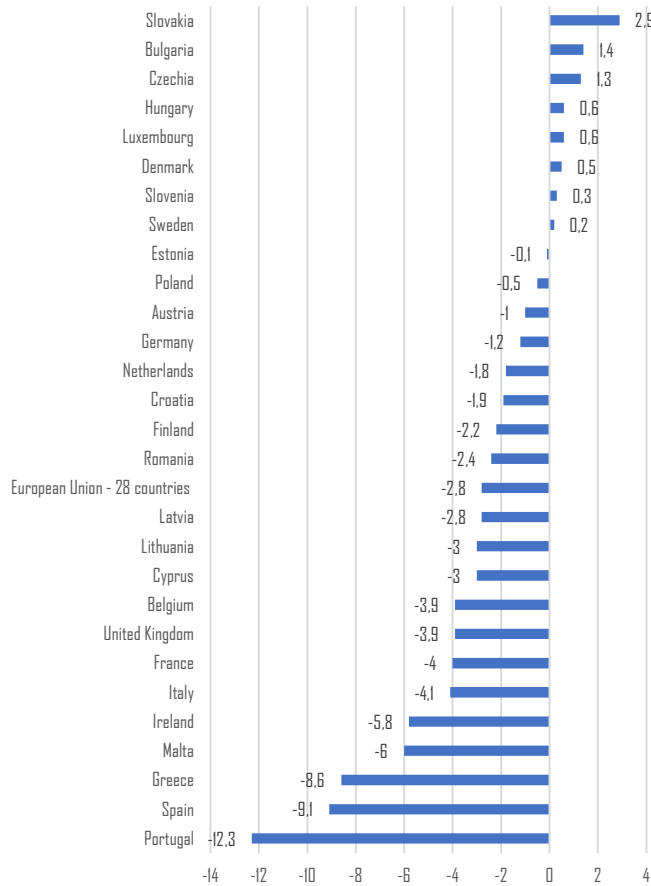
Source: Eurostat

In 2013, Spain, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Italy, Bulgaria, United Kingdom, were the seven country member States with ESL rates above the EU – 28 countries average (11,9%). In 2019, although in general the rates declined, three other countries joined the list of members with ESL rates above the EU-28 countries (10,2%), Hungary (12%), Estonia (10,5%) and Germany (10,4%). The share of ESL in Portugal in 2013 was 18,9% and in 2019 decreased towards 10,7% (and to 8.9% in 2020).

Considering all countries where Eurostat data is available there were, in 2019, 14 countries with ESL rates above 10% – Turkey (29.4%), Iceland (19.2%), Spain (17.2%), Malta (16.7%), Romania (15.7%) and Italy (13.7%) were the countries with the highest rates in 2019. In opposition, Croatia (3.1%), Greece (4.3%), Switzerland (4.4%), Lithuania (4.4%), Montenegro (4.5%), Slovenia (4.5%), Poland (5.1%) and Ireland (5.3%) were the countries with the lower ESL rates, in the same year.



INCREASE/DECREASE OF ESL - 2011 to 2019 EU-28 (PERCENTUAL POINTS)



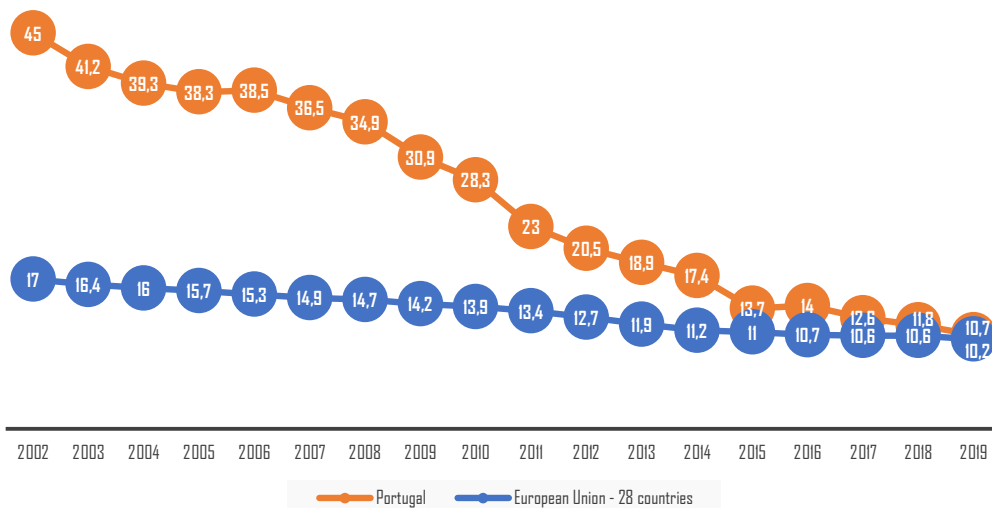
Source: Eurostat

The EU - 28 countries with the highest decrease of their ESL rate since 2011 (over 5 percentage points) are Portugal, Spain, Greece, Malta and Ireland. Yet, some of these countries (Spain and Malta) still have the European highest ESL rates. Some countries registered a slight (from 0,2 to 2,9 percentual points) increase of the ESL rate in this period, namely, Sweden, Slovenia, Denmark, Luxembourg, Hungary, Czechia, Bulgaria and Slovakia. Portugal was the EU member country that registered the highest decrease of their ESL rate since 2011 (over 12 percentage points).

Indeed, as the following graphic shows the Portuguese ESL rate is, since 2002, descending towards the EU - 28 countries average. Being the two rates, in 2019, only 0,5 percentual points apart. From 2002 until 2019, ESL rate in Portugal decreased about 34 percentual points. The only EU member country which surpasses this decreased, in the same period, was Malta (-36,5), although today still has one of the highest rates.



EU-28 AND PORTUGAL - ESL RATE PROGRESSION 2002-2019 (%)



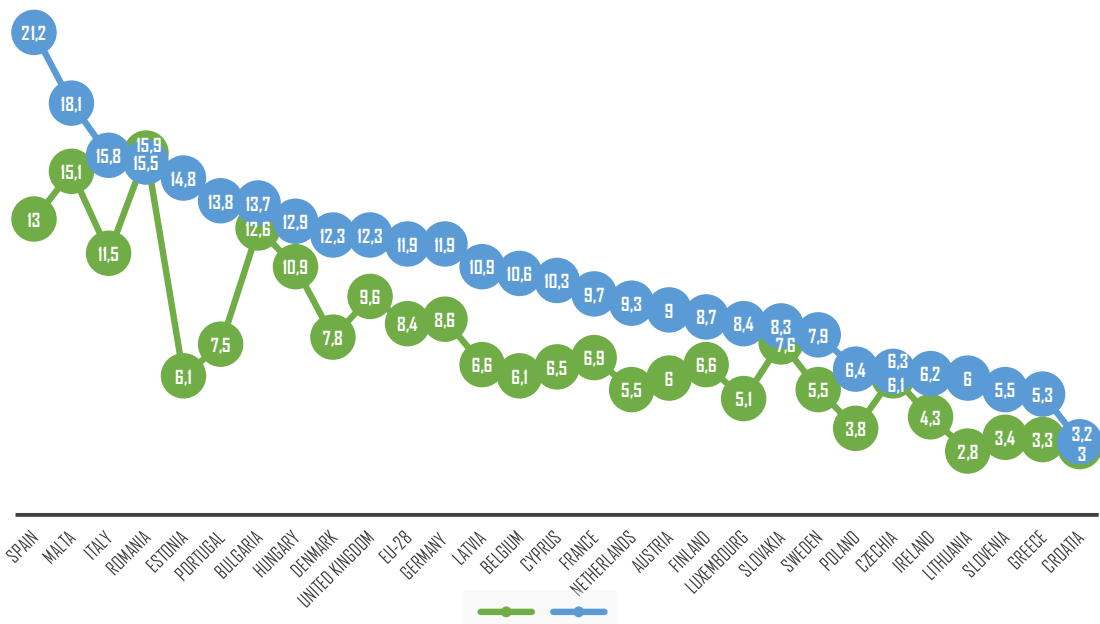
Source: Eurostat

When analysing **gender disparity in early school leaving rates**, the indicator reveals a **gap unfavourable to males**, as already highlighted by the literature review (Potvin et al., 2007). In 2019, EU-28 ESL rate for male was 11,9% and for female 8,4%. There has been, since 2002, a slightly decreased of this gap (0,6 percentual points). Within EU-28 members the gender gap is particularly marked (over 5 percentage points) in Estonia (8,7 percentual

points), Spain (8,2 percentual points) and Portugal (6,3 percentual points). On the other hand, is very residual (less then 1 percentual point) in Czechia, Croatia, and Slovakia. Romania is the only country where the gap, although very residual, works in opposite direction (ESL rate for female is 15,9% and for male 15,5%).



ESL GENDER GAP IN EU-28 - 2019



Source: Eurostat

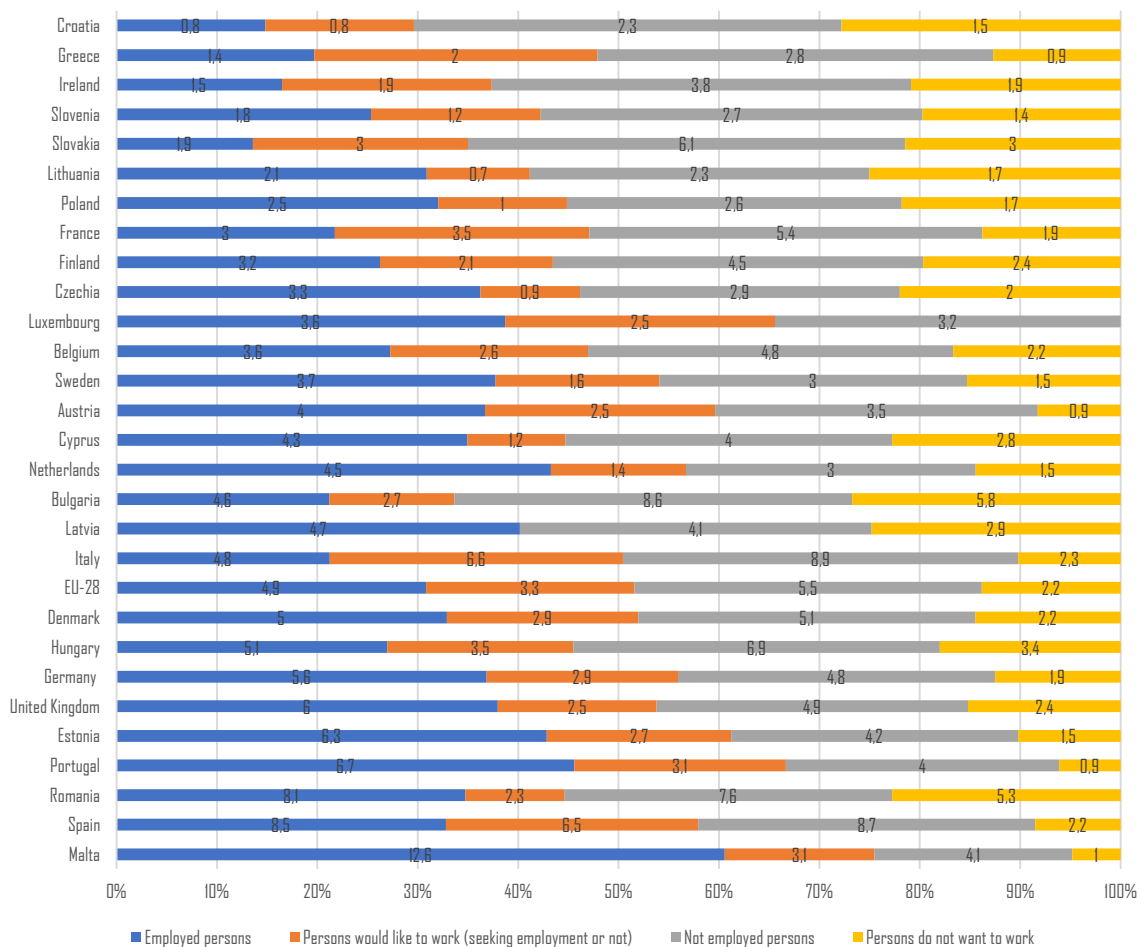
ESL tends to affect more foreign-born than native-born. In fact, in 2018, the EU ESL rate average for native born was 9,5% and for foreign-born 20,2%¹². For Italy, Spain and Germany this gap is more pronounced and in opposition for Portugal, Czechia and Malta the gap, between native and foreign-born, is very small.

¹² Eurostat data: <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

This analysis also encompassed **the labour status of the young people (18 to 24 years old) in ESL situation, concluding that there are some disparities among EU-28 countries:** 15 countries have more young people unemployed than employed – Slovakia, Italy and Bulgaria are on the top of this list; and the remaining 13 countries have more young people in ESL situation employed – underlining Malta where more than half of the early school leavers are employed. To produce more inferences on this data it will be required to take into account the market dynamics of each of these countries, such as, the existence of seasonal employment or the demanded level of expertise.



ELS AND LABOUR STATUS, 2019 (%)



Source: Eurostat

The early school leaving analyse within the EU context closes with a few additional considerations on two other rates. First, other educational trend, the NEET – young people neither in employment nor in education and training and second, the youth unemployment. It is intended to understand how these rates engage with ESL relate and characterised youth vulnerability problems on the transition between education and labour market activities.

Young people neither in employment nor in education and training from 18 to 24 years (NEET rate) corresponds to the percentage of the population of a given age group who is not employed and not involved in further education or training¹³.

The NEET rate includes under the inactive umbrella a “range of subgroups with different characteristics and needs – such as long and short term unemployed, young people with disabilities and illnesses, those looking after children or relatives, or young people taking a gap year for travelling, volunteering or for advancing their artistic skills”¹⁴. Indeed, the **NEET and youth unemployment rates**, although “define the most vulnerable group of young people, primarily in terms of labour market participation... in fact depict different groups”,

Starting by observing the evolution of **NEET rate for young people from 18 to 24 years along the past years (2013-2018) it has decreased in almost EU member countries** with

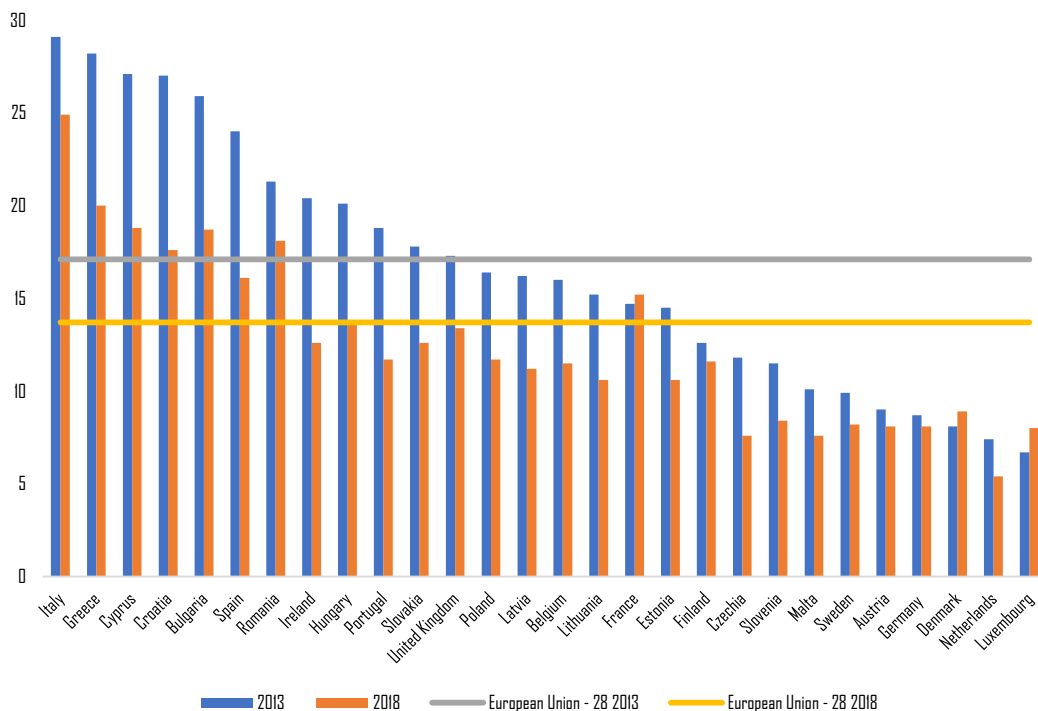
¹³ More information on data source: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=edat_ifse_28&lang=en

¹⁴ Interrogating Early School Leaving, Youth Unemployment and NEETS Understanding Local Contexts in two English Regions (2015) <https://www.fpce.up.pt/ciie/sites/default/files/ESC45Ryan.pdf> p.39.

exception of France, Denmark and Luxembourg. However, despite the slight increase registered at Denmark and Luxembourg, both countries are in the bottom part of the list, with the lowest NEET rates within the EU countries. The highest decreased, between 2013 and 2018, was registered in Croatia (-9,4 percentual points), Cyprus (-8,3 percentual points) and Greece (-8,2 percentual points). Nevertheless Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Romania continued to be the countries that registered the highest NEET rates in 2018. Romania, Italy and Bulgaria are also countries which also appear on the top of the list of the highest levels of ESL rate in the EU-28 members.



EVOLUTION (2013-2018) OF NEET RATE EU-28 (%)



Source: Eurostat, [edat_lfse_28]

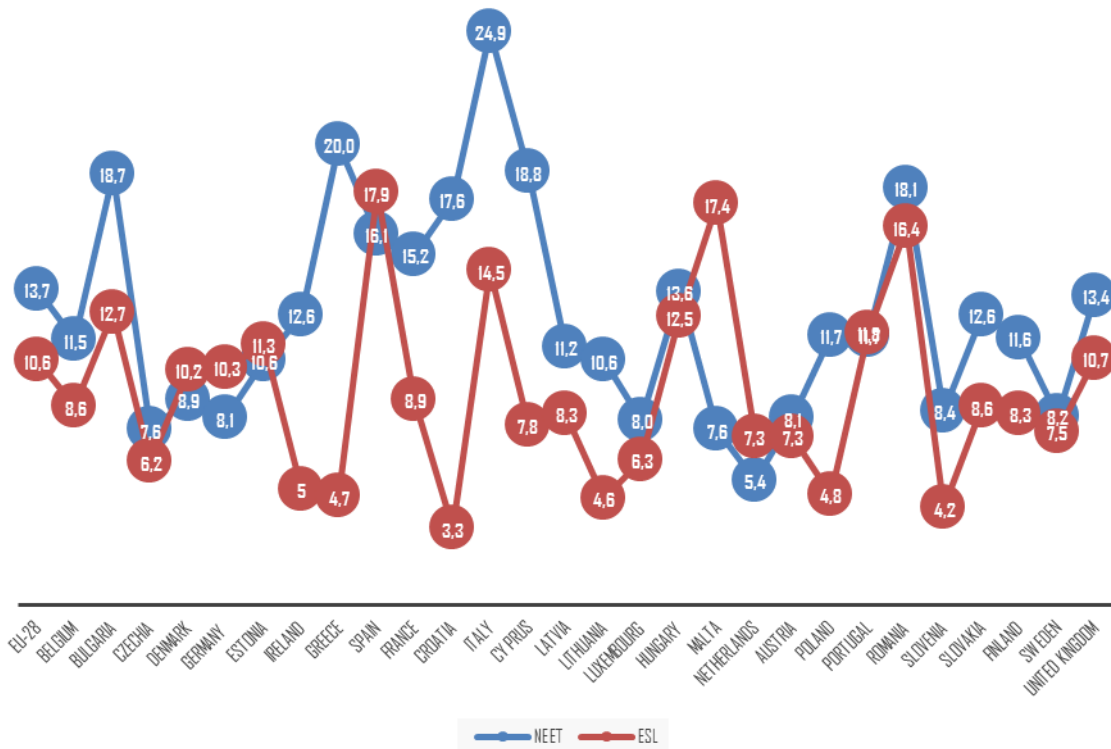
ESL and NEET rates are not coincident indicators, the first, is outlined by lack of educational involvement and the level of qualification achieved, the second, is defined by the lack of educational and labour activity. Inferences among these two rates are difficult, because though “ESL is an important characteristic and risk factor in becoming NEET, it is only one of many other factors such as disadvantaged family background, history of truanting and school exclusion, lower academic attainment”, indeed “not all ESLs are NEETs, and not all NEETs had left the education system early or with inadequate qualifications.”¹⁵

Indeed, if we observe the evolution of the two rates together – NEET and ESL – for young people between 18 and 24 years old, we can find a diverse set of situations. Netherlands, Spain, Denmark, Estonia, Portugal, Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Czechia, Luxembourg and Romania are countries that register minor differences between both rates (less than 2 percentual points). Among these, some have the highest levels of both rates, like Spain and Romania, and others the smallest, like Czechia, Luxembourg, Sweden and Austria. Other countries register the highest gaps between the two rates, like Greece, Croatia, Cyprus, Italy, Ireland, Poland, France and Malta (more than 6 percentual points).

¹⁵ Interrogating Early School Leaving, Youth Unemployment and NEETS Understanding Local in two English Regions (2015) <https://www.fpce.up.pt/ciie/sites/default/files/ESC45Ryan.pdf> p.41



EU- 28: ESL AND NEET - 18 to 24 YEARS - 2018 (%)



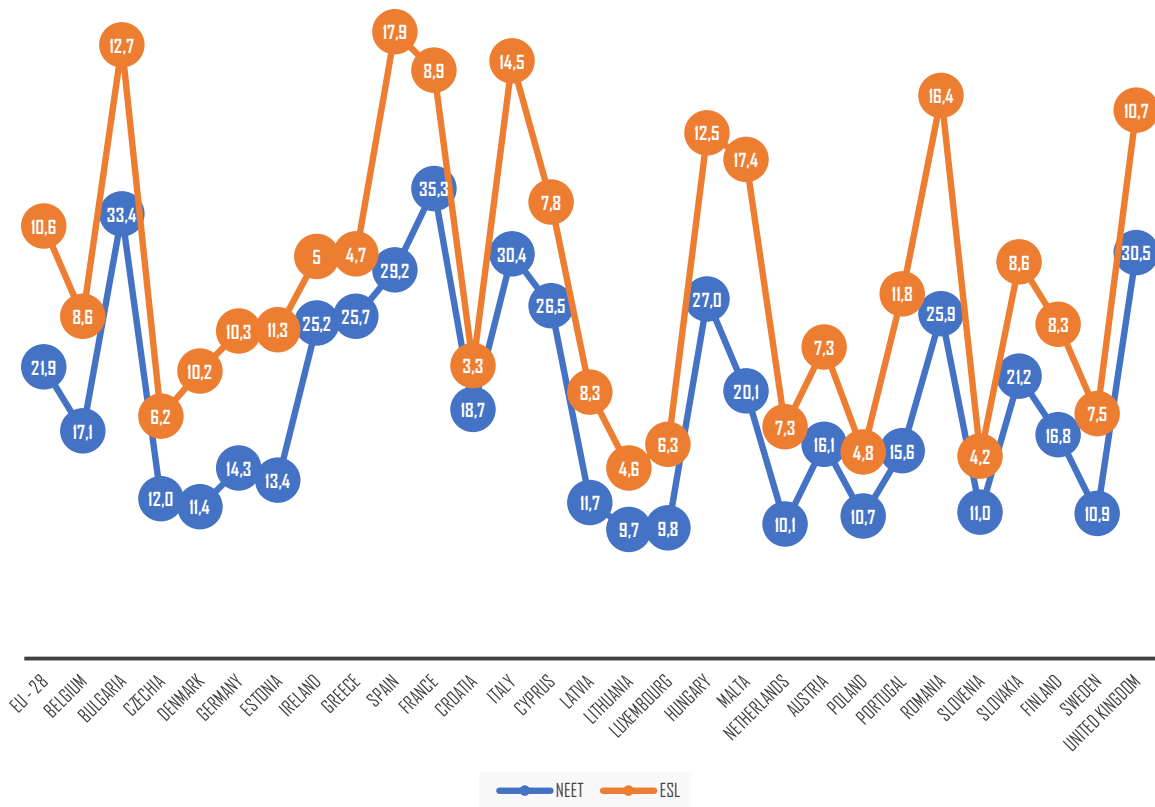
Source: Eurostat

If we narrow down the NEET rate analysis for young people from 18 to 24 years with less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (levels 0-2) the highest levels (above 25%) in 2018, were registered in France, Bulgaria, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Cyprus, Romania, Greece and Ireland. From these list Spain, Romania, Italy and Bulgaria are the countries with the highest ESL rates in 2019. Malta does not place in the highest levels of NEET rate as it does for the ESL rate. On the other hand, Greece and Ireland are among the countries with the lowest ESL rate. Denmark, Estonia, Malta, Netherlands, Latvia, Sweden, Luxembourg and Portugal are the countries where both rates, ESL and NEET for the considered age group and education level, are similar (considering a difference of less than

4 percentual points). Again, several factors might be contributing to these different data, such as, labour market access situation, country education and labour policies and unemployment.



EU-28: ESL AND NEET FOR YOUNGSTERS WITH LESS THAN PRIMARY, PRIMARY AND LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION - 18 to 24 YEARS - 2018 (%)



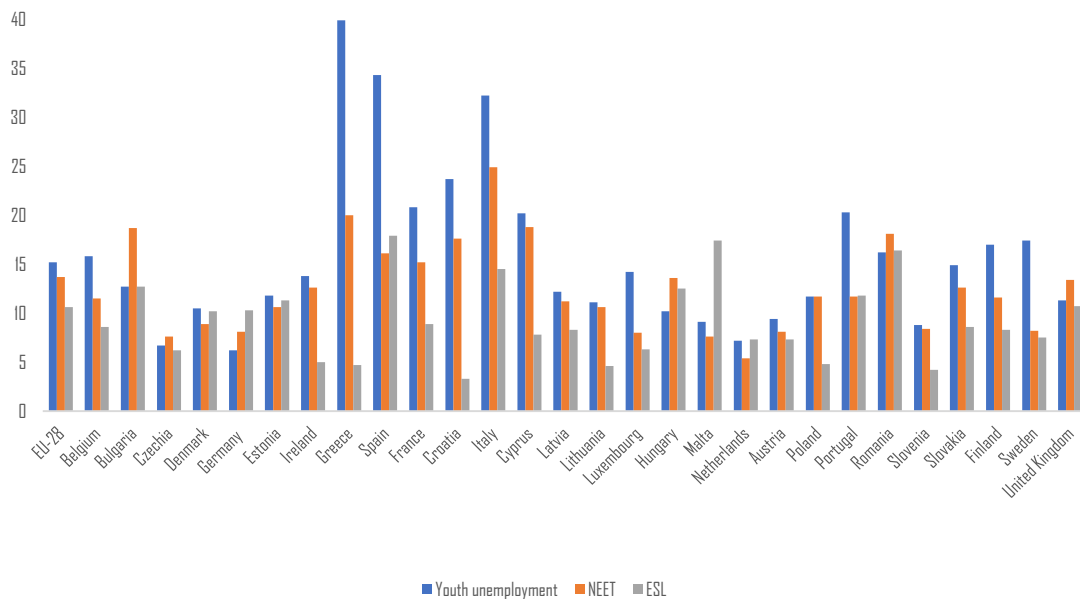
Source: Eurostat

Lastly, when adding to the analysis the youth unemployment rate (from 15-24 years old), the confrontation of the three rates point to very diverse situations: countries where the rates are similar, like Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Netherlands and Romania; countries where youth unemployment is very high compared with NEET and ESL, such as Greece, Spain, Sweden, Portugal, Italy, Luxembourg and Croatia; countries where NEET is the higher rate, like Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Romania and United Kingdom; and countries where ESL is the highest rate, such as, Germany, Malta and Netherlands.

These disparities can be attributed to the educational policies of each country, with regard to the structures and opportunities of training and qualification for young people who have abandoned the education system and also to each country labor market situation.



EU- 28: YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT (15-24), ESL AND NEET (18 to 24 YEARS) - 2018



Source: Eurostat

The next table summarises the EU- 28 member countries positioning the highest and lowest figures for the previous analysed indicators.

	Countries with highest rates	Countries with lowest rates
ESL	Spain Malta Romania Italy Bulgaria (above 12%)	Slovenia Lithuania Greece Croatia (below 5%)
ESL labour status - employed	Malta Spain Romania Portugal Estonia (above 6%)	Slovakia Slovenia Ireland Greece Croatia (below 2%)
NEET (18-24 years old)	Italy Greece Cyprus Bulgaria Romania (above 18%, data 2018)	Denmark Slovenia Sweden Germany Austria Luxembourg Czechia Malta Netherlands (less 9%, data 2018)
NEET (18-24 years old) Less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (levels 0-2)	France Bulgaria United Kingdom Italy Spain Hungary (above 26%, data 2018)	Sweden Poland Netherlands Luxembourg Lithuania (less 11%, data 2018)
Unemployment rate (15-24 years old)	Greece Spain Italy	Austria Malta Slovenia

	Croatia	Netherlands
	France	Czechia
	Portugal	Germany
	Cyprus	(below 10%, data 2018)
	(above 20%, data 2018)	

1.3.2.2. Evolution of ESL in the past 20 years in Portugal

Following the analysis of ESL within the European Union, we now frame the current situation of early school leaving in Portugal and analyse how it has evolved in recent years, taking into account the geographic, gender and teaching cycles disparities of the phenomenon.

Summary findings

- Overall the ESL rate in Portugal has decreased, between 2001 to 2019, in the continental and autonomous regions, from 44.3% to 10.6% (and to 8.9%, in 2020).
- In the last 20 years, the highest decreased of ESL was registered at the North region
- Madeira and Algarve are the regions which registered the lowest decreased for the ESL rates, between 2001 to 2019
- Azores and Madeira are the current regions with the highest level of ESL followed, within continental Portugal, by Algarve
- The Centre region is the region with the lower ESL rate
- The ESL gender gap is considerable higher in the North region of the country
- Azores, Madeira and Algarve have, in 2019, the highest values of NEET rate
- The NEET rate for youngsters with higher education is greater than for young people with basic or secondary education, yet, the three have come closer over the years
- Since 2017, the level of unemployment has been decreasing and being more experienced for those with no level of education

- In 2017/2018, the gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education was higher at Lisbon Metropolitan Area, Centre and Alentejo and lower in Azores and Madeira
- From 2003/2004 to 2017/2018, the actual schooling rate in upper secondary education increased in all the Portuguese continental regions, the highest rate was registered in the North and the lowest in Algarve
- For the school year 2017/2018 the higher retention and desistance rate in basic education was registered in Azores and Algarve and the lowest at the North and Centre regions. When considering the rate by the cycle level of education, the highest values were registered at the third cycle (ISCED 2) in Azores and Algarve and the lowest rates at the first cycle in North and Centre regions
- In the scholar year 2017/2018, the global retention and desistance rate in upper secondary education, registered the highest values at Lisbon Metropolitan Area and Algarve and the lowest at the North and Centre
- In the scholar year 2017/2018, the global transition/completion rate in upper secondary education, registered the highest values at the North and the lowest at Lisbon Metropolitan Area and Algarve

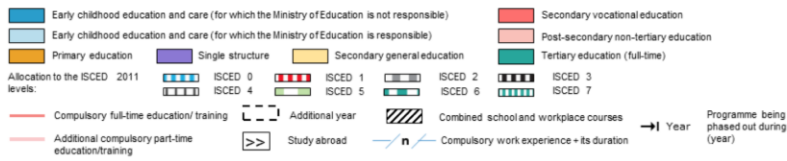
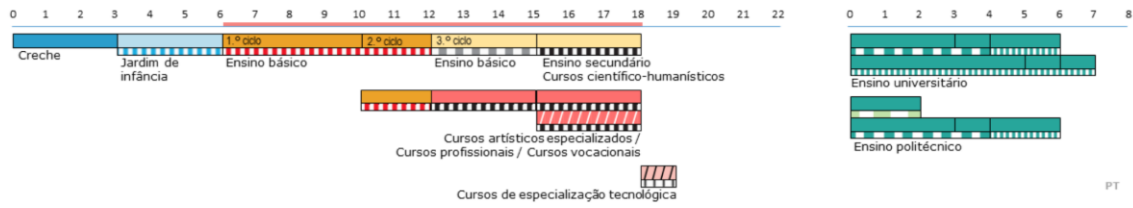
Before starting to analyse the country situation it is important to present the Portuguese education system¹⁶, which is divided in the following sequential levels of education (a corresponding diagram is presented next).

¹⁶ Information retired from: https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-education-system-and-its-structure-60_pt-pt

- Pre-school Education, an optional cycle for children from 3 to 5-year-olds.
- Basic Education that comprises 3 sequential cycles:
 - the first cycle of 4 years (expected attendance ages: from 6 to 9 years old);
 - the second cycle of 2 years (expected attendance ages: from 10 to 11 years old), corresponding to ISCED 1;
 - the third cycle of 3 years (expected attendance ages: from 12 to 14 years old), corresponding to ISCED 2.
- Upper Secondary Education is a 3-year cycle (expected attendance ages: from 15 to 17 years old) (corresponding to ISCED 3) and which includes the following types of courses: General Education – Humanities and Science courses, Vocational Courses, Specialised Artistic Courses, Programme-Specific (Science-Technology) courses and Education and Training Courses
- Higher Education is structured according to the Bologna Principles and is aimed at students who successfully completed a Secondary Education course or obtained a legally equivalent qualification and grants a level-5 or 6 qualifications.

ISCED 4 corresponds to post-secondary non-higher education, while ISCED 5 corresponds to a short cycle Higher Education programme ('Curso Técnico Superior Profissional'¹⁷). ISCED 6 comprises the 'Licenciatura' (or equivalent) programmes, and ISCED 7 the Master programmes (or equivalent). ISCED 8 corresponds to a Doctoral programme (or equivalent).

¹⁷ More information: <https://www.dges.gov.pt/en/pagina/higher-professional-education>



Source: Education and Training Monitor 2019 Portugal (European Commission)¹⁸

¹⁸ Information retired from: https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/document-library-docs/et-monitor-report-2019-portugal_en.pdf

1.3.2.3. The evolution of ESL in Portugal

Early leavers from education and training rate: [Resident population aged between 18 and 24 years old, with complete level of education until 3rd cycle, lower secondary education, who not received any education (formal or non-formal) in reference period/ Resident population aged between 18 and 24 years old]*100¹⁹.

•

Overall the ESL rate in Portugal has decreased, between 2001 to 2019, in the continental and autonomous regions²⁰, respectively from 44,3% to 10,6%. In the last 20 years, the highest decreased of ESL was registered at the North region (41,9 percentual points), followed by the Centre (33,5 percentual points) and Alentejo (30,4 percentual points). Madeira and Algarve are the regions which registered the lowest decreased for the ESL rates, indicating some territorial asymmetries in the evolution of the indicator.

Data for 2019 shows that Azores (27%) and Madeira are the current regions with the highest level of ESL followed, within continental Portugal, by Algarve (19,9%). The Centre region is the region with the lower ESL rate (7,9%), followed by the North territory (9,5%).

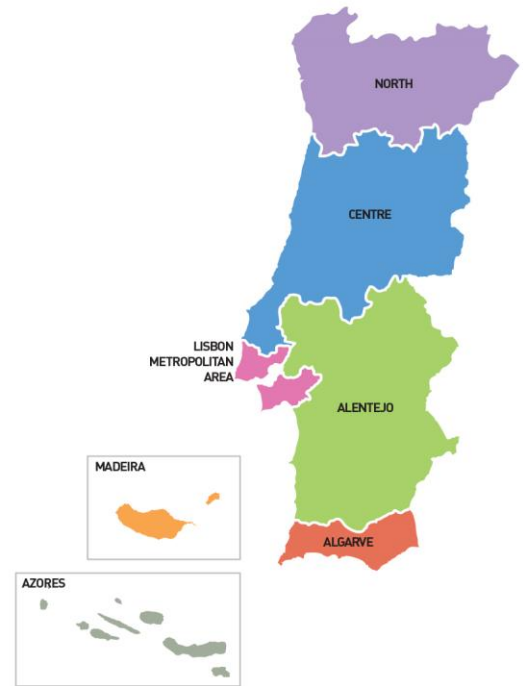
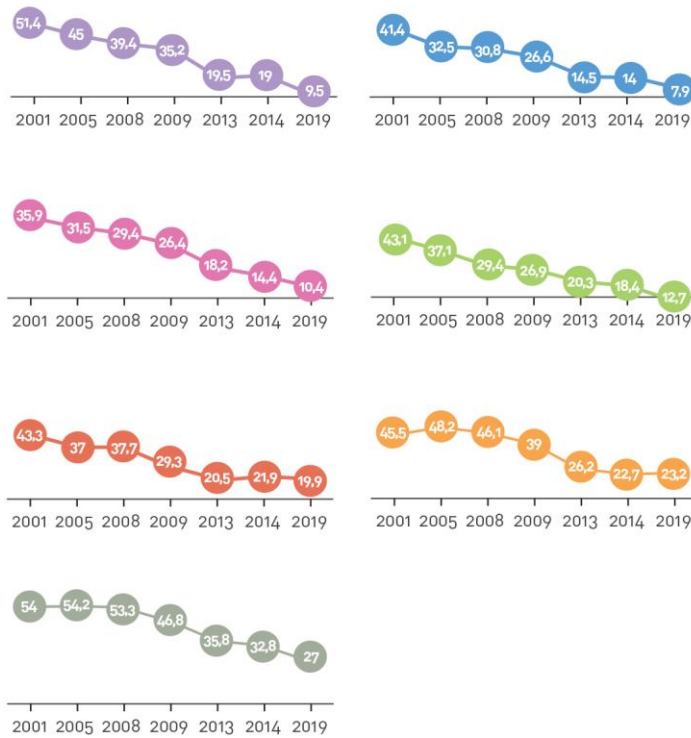
¹⁹ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006268&contexto=bd&selTab=tab2&xlang=en

²⁰ For the Autonomous Region of Madeira is used the last available data that was produced in 2016.



ESL EVOLUTION BY REGION (%)



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

Following the same trend of the EU member countries, and the literature review findings, there is in Portugal a gender gap for the ESL rate, which is independent from the region, emphasizing the rate has been higher for male (13,7%) then for females (7,4%). Still, in relation to 2001, the country gender gap has reduced by half.



ESL RATE EVOLUTION BY GENDER (%)



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

In 2019, the gender gap considerable higher in the North region of the country (of 10,6 percentual points) and smaller at the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (2,3 percentual points). Yet, from 2012 onwards there is no consistent data to track the gender gap for Azores, Madeira, Alentejo and Algarve.

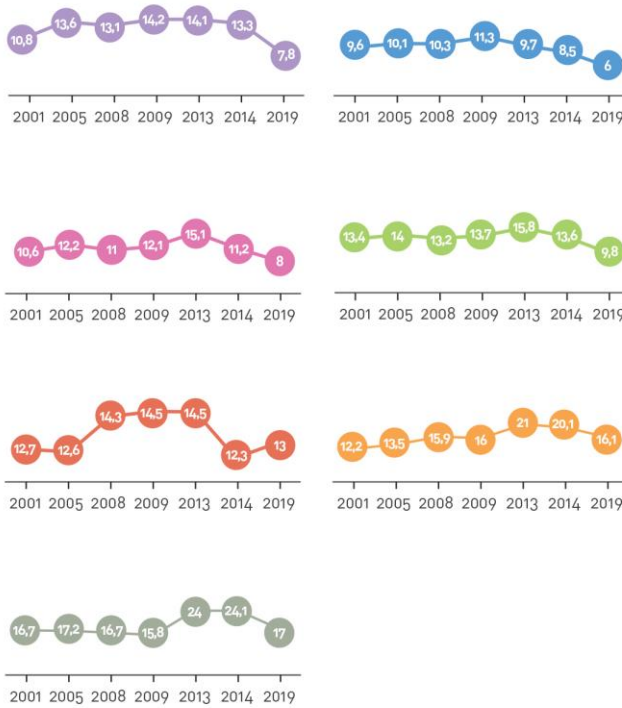
1.3.2.4. The evolution of the NEET and unemployment rates along ESL

Succeeding, it was analysed the evolution of the NEET rate for young people from 15 to 24 years, along the years 2001-2019. The rate has decreased in the Centre and Alentejo (3,6 percentual points), at the North (3 percentual points) and Lisbon Metropolitan Area (2,6 percentual points). At Azores and Algarve the NEET rate experienced fluctuations among the time, 2001-2019, remaining almost the same by the end of the period considered (increased by 0,3 percentual points). **Azores, Madeira and Algarve have the highest values of NEET rate in Portugal.** The same regions that also register the highest values of ESL.

Rate of young people neither in employment nor in education and training from 15 to 24 years (NEET rate): rate that defines the relationship between the population of young people of a certain age group not employed (i.e. unemployed or were inactive), and not in any education or training and young population of the same age group²¹.



NEET EVOLUTION BY REGION (%)



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey. Data for Algarve and Autonomous regions of Madeira was not available for the years 2017, 2018 and 2019 and is presented, for these years, the last available information of 2016

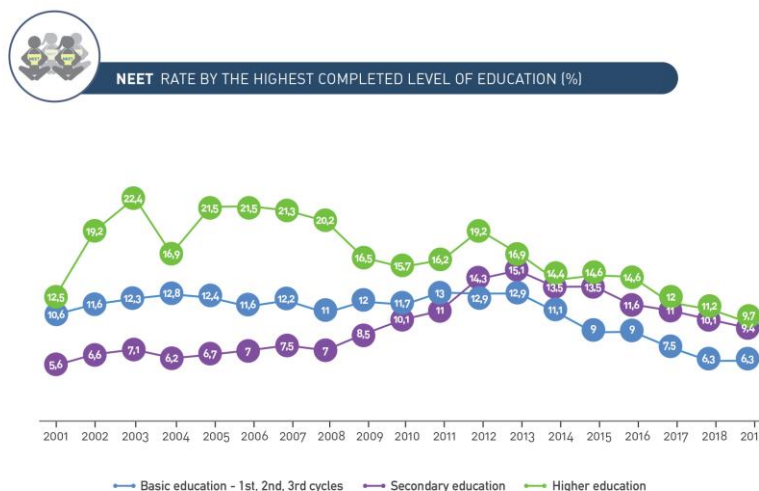
²¹ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0007476&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2

When analysing the evolution, 2001-2019, of NEET rate for young people from 15 to 24 years, at Portugal, by the highest completed level of education, a few conclusions were drawn:

- The NEET rate for young people with basic education has decreased from 2001 (10,6%) to 2019 (6,3%), yet, it has registered higher values during the years 2011 (13%), 2012 (12,9%) and 2013 (12,9%).
- The NEET rate for young people with secondary education has increased from 2001 (5,6%) to 2019 (9,4%), registering the higher values from 2012 (14,3%) until 2015 (13,5%).
- The NEET rate for young people with higher education has slightly decreased from 2001 (12,5%) to 2019 (9,7%), registering two peaks, first from 2003 (22,4%) to 2008 (20,2%) and second, in 2012 (19,2%).

The NEET rate for youngsters with higher education is greater than for young people with basic or secondary education. Still, the three rates by completed level of education, have come closer over the years. This data might be absorbing and reflecting young people taking a gap year, after higher education.

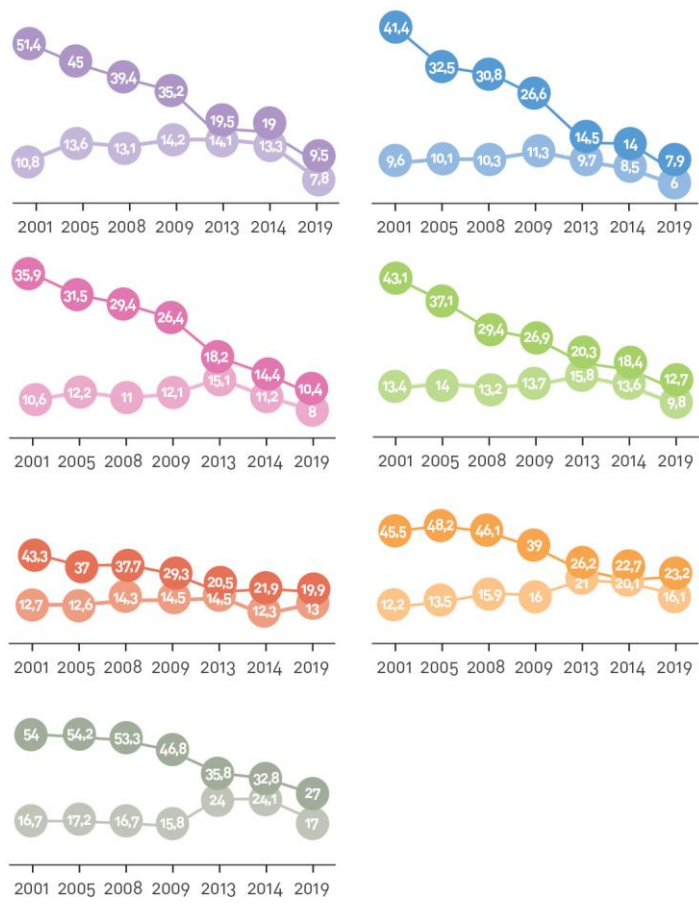


Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

As concluded when analysing both ESL and NEET rates within the EU context, Portugal was among the countries that registered minor differences between these two rates. Indeed, in 2019, the ESL rate (18-24 years) was close, yet slightly higher than the NEET rate (15-24 years) for all continental regions. Although in recent years, there is a tendency for the two rates to approximate (mainly due to the decreased of the ESL rate), Azores still has the highest gap between the two rates.



ESL AND NEET RATE BY REGION (%)



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey. NEET data for Algarve and Autonomous regions of Madeira was not available for the year 2019 and is presented the last available information of 2016. ESL data for Autonomous regions of Madeira was not available for the year 2019 and is presented the last available information of 2016.

Considering for the analysis the evolution of the unemployment rate by the highest completed level of education, data shows that from 2001 to 2007 the unemployment rate increased independently of the level of education considered, being higher for people with basic, secondary and post-secondary education and lower for people with no education or higher qualification. The year of 2013 was the peak year for unemployment rate, more felt by the active population with basic education third and second cycle, secondary and post-secondary and no level of education and lower for those with higher education. Since 2013, the level of unemployment has been decreasing reaching in 2017 values of 2007. Yet, unemployment is now more experienced for those with no level of education. The relation between ESL and unemployment rate will be analysed in detail on the corresponding chapter (3.5).

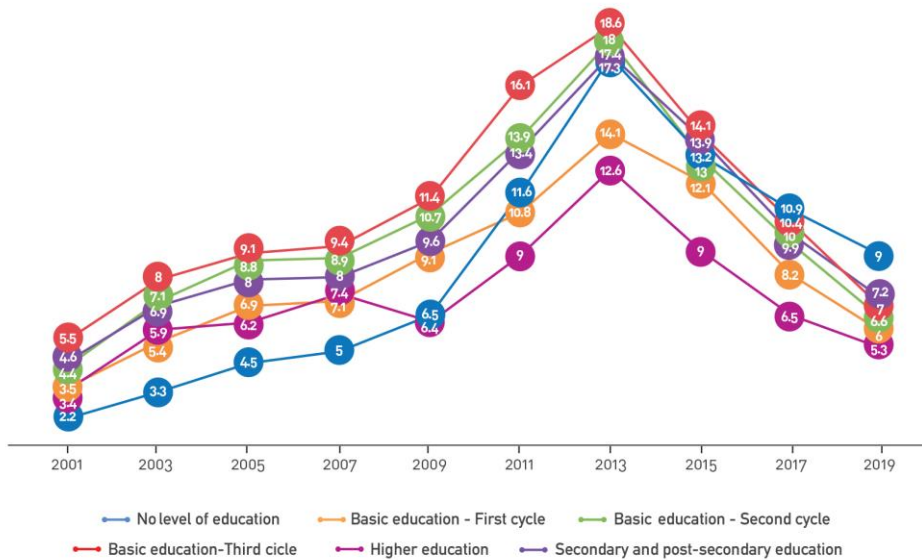
Unemployment rate by the highest completed level of education: represents unemployed persons as a percentage of the civilian labor force for the educational qualification considered²².

²² More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006192&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2&xlang=en



PORTUGUESE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY THE HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%)



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey. Unemployment data for Basic education - second cycle was not available for the year 2019 and is presented the last available information of 2018

1.3.2.5. Complementary variables to comprehend the ESL phenomenon

Additionally, due to the absence of an ESL rate at municipal level, and in order to analyse more in depth and at micro level the territories reflecting the higher incidence of ESL, a list of complementary variables was identified and studied:

- A. **Gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education** – this indicator provides information of students enrolled at regional and municipality level.
- B. **Actual schooling rate in upper secondary education**- this indicator has available information at regional and municipality level.

- C. **Retention and Desistance rate in basic education** – this indicator seeks to provide information on the cycles, regions and municipalities with higher and lower rates of retention and desistance rates in basic education (first, second and third cycle).
- D. **Retention and desistance rate in upper secondary education** – this indicator provides knowledge on the regions and municipalities with highest figures of retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education.
- E. **Transition/ completion rate in upper secondary education** – the indicator gives information on students who get school progress at regional and municipality levels.
- F. List of **TEIP - Education Territories of Priority Intervention** (*Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária*).

A. GROSS ENROLMENT RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

Gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education: The proportion of the total resident population of the normal age group for attending an educational cycle that is actually attending that cycle. (Students enrolled on upper secondary education, regardless the age/ Resident population aged between 15 and 17 years old) * 100 ²³.

From 2003/2004 to 2007/2008, **the gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education decreased, in general, in all the regions with exception of Azores** (where it increased by 10 percentual points) **and North** (slightly increased by 1 percentual point). The school year

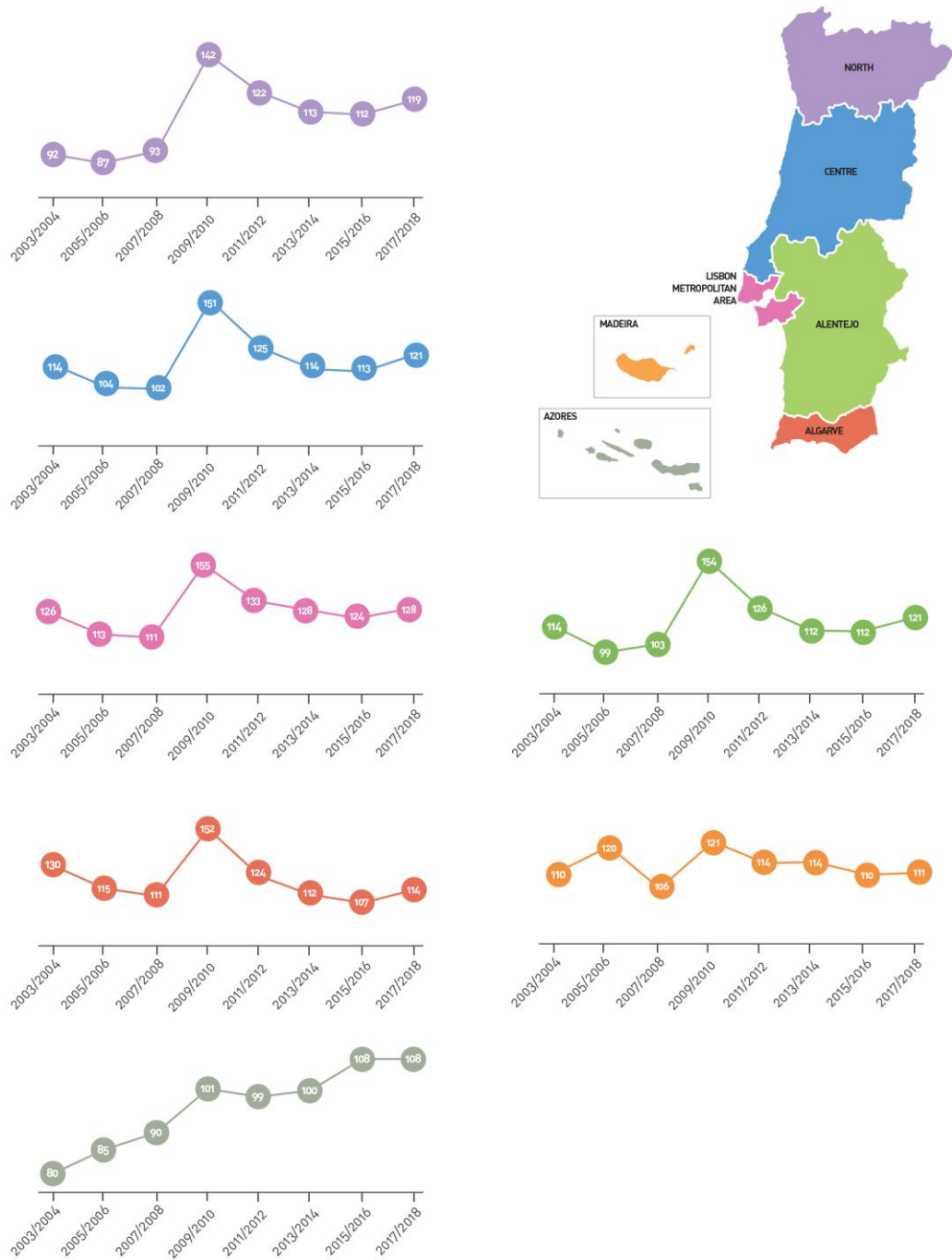
²³ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0009555&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2&xlang=en

2009/2010 was the year with the higher rates of **gross enrolment in upper secondary education for general Portugal**. An explanation for this increase in the rate will be related to a massive re-entry, in the education system, of adults who had not completed upper secondary education, under the New Opportunities initiative²⁴. Since the academic year 2011/2012 there is a drop in the rate, given the phasing out phase of this programme (more detailed information is provided on section 3.5). Since then and until 2015/2016 the rate has decreased, as the initiatives lost power, with exception of Azores, in all remaining regions, particularly in Algarve and Alentejo. In the last available data, for 2017/2018, there were, in all regions, students enrolled in schools outside the age group established as the most suitable to attend the study cycle of upper secondary education, concretely, Lisbon Metropolitan Area (127,2%), Centre (120,8%) and the Alentejo (120,6) had the higher gross enrolment rates and Azores (107,7%) and Madeira (110,8%) the lowest ones.

²⁴ ISCTE, Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (2014) 'Combate ao Abandono Escolar Precoce: Políticas e Práticas-Sumário Executivo' University of Lisbon.

GROSS ENROLMENT RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION, EVOLUTION AT REGIONAL LEVEL (2007-2018) (%)



Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

The following table describes the Municipalities with the higher and lower gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education for the year 2017/2018. This analyse does not includes values for the autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.

Gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education – 2017/2018	
Municipalities with higher values	Municipalities with lower values
Porto (380,1%) - North	Murtosa (19,9%) - Centre
Alvito (308,5%)- Alentejo	Penela (18,9%) - Centre
São João da Madeira (280,9%) - North	Freixo de Espada à Cinta (16,1%) - North
Lisboa (263,8%) – Lisbon Metropolitan Area	Portel (13,3%) - Alentejo
Portalegre (241,1%)- Alentejo	Monchique (12,8%) - Algarve
Arganil (219,7%) - Centre	Arronches (9,5%) - Alentejo
Espinho (217,9%) - North	Alandroal (7,1%) - Alentejo
Évora (203,9%) - Alentejo	
Coimbra (202,3%) - Centre	

Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

B. ACTUAL SCHOOLING RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

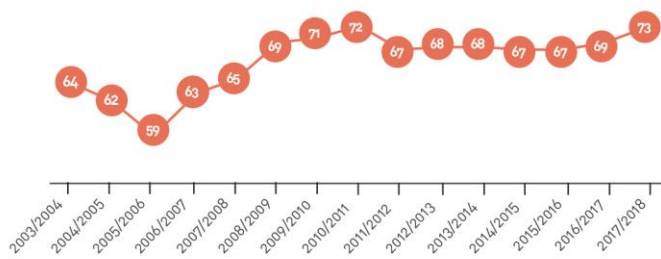
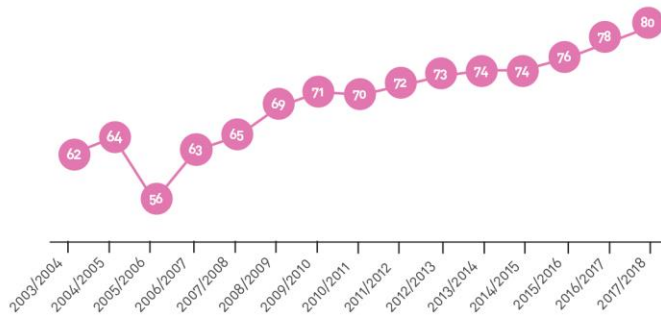
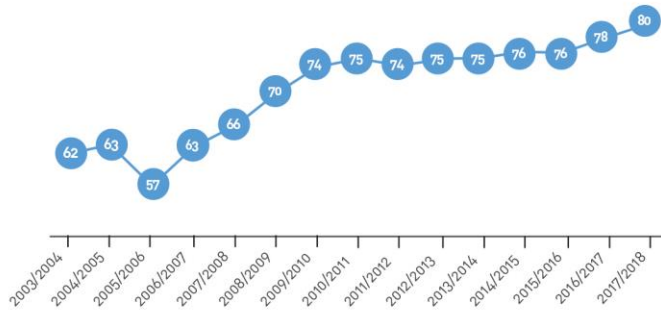
Actual schooling rate in upper secondary education: the percentage relationship between the number of students enrolled in a particular study cycle, upper secondary education, who are the normal age for that study cycle, and the resident population for the same age group.²⁵

Except from a slight decrease for the school year 2005/2006, from 2003/2004 to 2017/2018, **the actual schooling rate in upper secondary education increased in all the Portuguese continental regions**²⁶, being registered in the North the higher increase (28,8 percentual points) and in Algarve the lowest one (8,6 percentual points). In the last available data, 2017/2018, the highest rate was registered in the North (83,1%) and the lowest in Algarve (72,2%). The regional values of the actual schooling rate in upper secondary education under 90% indicate the system is still far from covering the entire corresponding population of normal age for the cycle. This may be due to failures in the study cycle in question or in previous ones. This rate has the opposite behaviour of ESL rate that identifies Algarve and North, respectively, as the regions with higher and lower levels.

²⁵ More information on data source: <https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/248/>

²⁶ There is only available data, at regional level, for continental Portugal, explaining why the Autonomous regions were not considered in this analyse

ACTUAL SCHOOLING RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION, EVOLUTION AT REGIONAL LEVEL (2004-2018) [%]



Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

The following table describes the Municipalities with the higher and lower actual schooling rate in upper secondary education for the year 2017/2018. This analyse does not includes values for the autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.

Actual schooling rate in upper secondary education – 2017/2018	
Municipalities with higher values	Municipalities with lower values
Municipalities with 100%: Viana do Castelo,	Pampilhosa da Serra (24,4%) – Centre
Espinho, São João da Madeira, Porto, Santo	Ferreira do Alentejo (23,8%) – Alentejo
Tirso, Braga, Peso da Régua, Lamego, Moimenta	Murtosa (17,4%) – Centre
da Beira, Amarante, Trancoso, Ourém, Caldas da	Penela (13,0%) – Centre
Rainha, Aveiro, Sever do Vouga, Coimbra,	Gavião (11,1%) – Alentejo
Ansião, Lisboa, Barreiro, Estremoz, Évora, Vila	Portel (10,7%) – Alentejo
Viçosa, Portalegre, Alvito, Santarém, Faro,	Avis (5,6%) – Alentejo
Portimão	Arronches (5,4%)

Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

C. RETENTION AND DESISTANCE RATES IN BASIC EDUCATION

Retention and desistance rates in basic education (%): (Regular primary and regular lower secondary education pupils who remain, for reasons of failure or attempt in improving assessment voluntarily, in the same year level/ Pupils enrolled in the regular primary and regular lower secondary education, in that school year)*100²⁷.

²⁷ More information on data source: https://www.ine.pt/bddXplorer/htdocs/minfo.jsp?var_cd=0009531&lingua=EN

By analysing the evolution of **the Retention and desistance rate in basic education**, was possible to verify an overall decreased of the rate between the school years 2003/2004 to 2017/2018, from 12% to 5,1% in total Portugal. This declined was more pronounced in the North region (7,4 percentual points). For the autonomous regions of Azores and Madeira there was only data available beyond the school year 2012/2013. For the school year 2017/2018 the higher Retention and desistance rate in basic education was registered in Azores (8,7%) and Algarve (7,1%) and the lowest at the North (3,6%) and Centre (4,4%) regions. Results that are in line with the ESL rate levels – higher for Azores and Algarve and lower for the North and Centre territories.



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

The following table describes the Municipalities with the higher and lower Retention and desistance rates in basic education for the year 2017/2018. This analyse does not includes values for the autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.

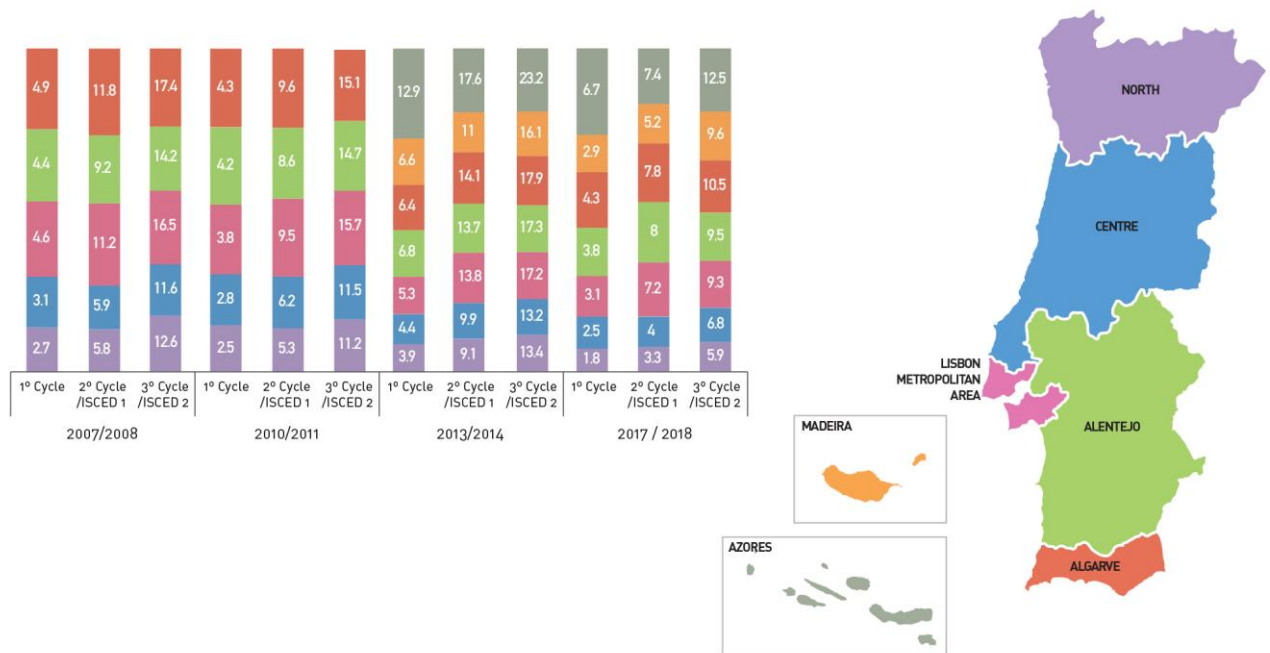
Retention and desistance rates in basic education – 2017/2018	
Municipalities with higher values	Municipalities with lower values
Torre de Moncorvo (14,6%) – North	Penela (0,9%) – Centre
Avis (14,6%) – Alentejo	Ponte da Barca (0,7%) – North
Alcoutim (14,5%) – Algarve	Sernancelhe (0,7%) – North
Celorico da Beira (12,8%) – Centre	Vila Nova da Barquinha (0,5%) – Centre
Monforte (12,5%) – Alentejo	Pedrógão Grande (0,4%) – Centre
Mourão (12,2%) – Alentejo	Santa Comba Dão (0,1%) – Centre
Vidigueira (12,0%) – Alentejo	Arronches (0,0%) – Alentejo
Idanha-a-Nova (11,9%) – Centre	
Reguengos de Monsaraz (11,3%) – Alentejo	
Belmonte (11,1%) – Centre	

Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

As the following graphic shows, when detailing the analyse by the level of education it is possible to concluded that, during the school years 2007/2008 and 2017/2018, the major drop was registered within the third cycle of 3 years (corresponding to ISCED 2) at Lisbon Metropolitan Area (7,2 percentual points), Alentejo (6,9 percentual points) and at North region (6,7 percentual points). Still, at the school year 2017/2018 **the highest values of Retention and desistance rate were registered at the third cycle (ISCED 2) at Azores (12,5%) and Algarve (10,5%) and the lowest rates at the first cycle in North (1,8%) and**

Centre (2,5%) regions. Indicating the retention and potential drop-out is, as expected, more attached to the third cycle and less to the first and second cycles.

RETENTION AND DESISTANCE RATES IN BASIC EDUCATION [%] BY REGION AND EDUCATION LEVEL



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

Due to limitations of data Azores and Madeira information is considered from 2013/2014 onwards

D. RETENTION AND DESISTANCE RATES IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

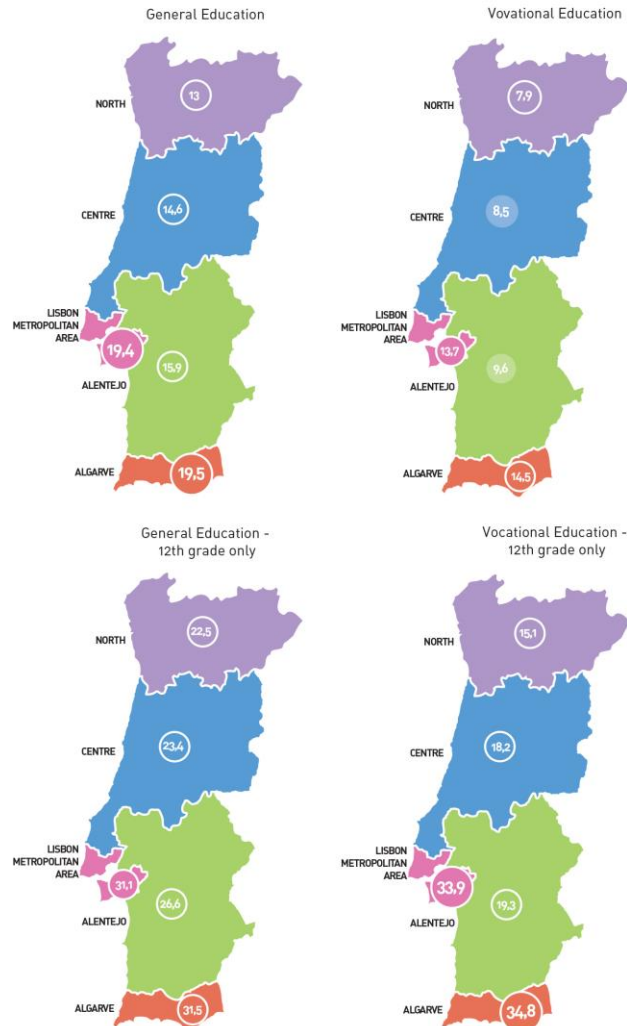
Retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education (%): (upper secondary education pupils who remain, for reasons of failure or attempt in improving assessment voluntarily, in the same year level/ Pupils enrolled in upper secondary education, in that school year) *100²⁸.

It was considered relevant to analyse first a global retention and desistance rate in upper secondary education encompassing the three years of the courses (10th, 11th, and 12th) and afterwards, the same rate for both the General and Vocational Education. This analyse does not includes values for the autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.

Considering the **global retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education**, in the scholar year 2017/2018, **the highest values were registered at Lisbon Metropolitan Area (17,6%) and Algarve (17,6%) and the lowest at the North (11%) and Centre (12,2%)**. When focusing the analyse only on the 12th grade data, the **global retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education** have the **highest values again at Algarve (32,7%) and Lisbon Metropolitan Area (32%) and the lowest at the North (19,7%) and Centre (21,4%)**.

²⁸ More information on data source: <http://infoescolas.pt/nota.asp>

GLOBAL RETENTION AND DESISTANCE RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, BY REGIONS - 2017/2018 (%)

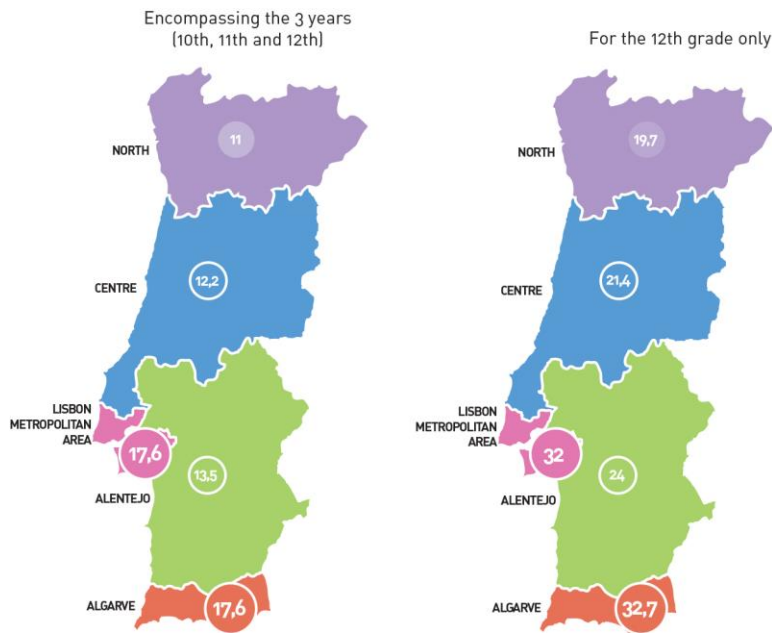


Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

When analysing the retention and desistance rate in upper secondary education for General and Vocational Education, in total and for the 12th grade, it was concluded that **for the global** (10th, 11th, and 12th) **analyse the retention and desistance rate is higher in General than Vocational education.** Yet, when centring on **data only for the 12th grade**, the **highest**

values are registered at the Vocational education at Algarve (34,8%) and Lisbon Metropolitan Area (33,9%) and the lowest at the North (15,1%) and Centre (18,2%).

GLOBAL RETENTION AND DESISTANCE RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION, BY REGIONS - 2017/2018 [%]



Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

This data was subsequently analysed in order to identify the municipalities with the highest retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education. The following table list the municipalities which have the highest and lowest figures in the scholar year 2017/2018.

Global Retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education – 2017/2018

Municipalities with higher values	Municipalities with lower values
Ferreira do Alentejo (30%) – Alentejo	Sernancelhe (4%) – North
Nisa (29,2%) – Alentejo	Sardoal (3,9%) – Centre
Miranda do Douro (23,5%) – North	Arraiolos (3,6%) – Alentejo
Albufeira (23,4%) – Algarve	Penela (0%) – Centre
Amadora (23,2%) – Lisbon Metropolitan Area	Portel (0%) – Alentejo
Tavira (23,0%) – Algarve	Sousel (0%) – Alentejo
Mesão Frio (22,4%) – North	
Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo (22,4%) – Centre	
Odivelas (22,4%) – Lisbon Metropolitan Area	

Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

E. TRANSITION/ COMPLETION RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

Transition/completion in upper secondary education (%): [Upper secondary education pupils who, in the end of the school year, get school progress (being able to transit for the next school year)/ Pupils enrolled in the upper secondary education, in that school year] *100²⁹.

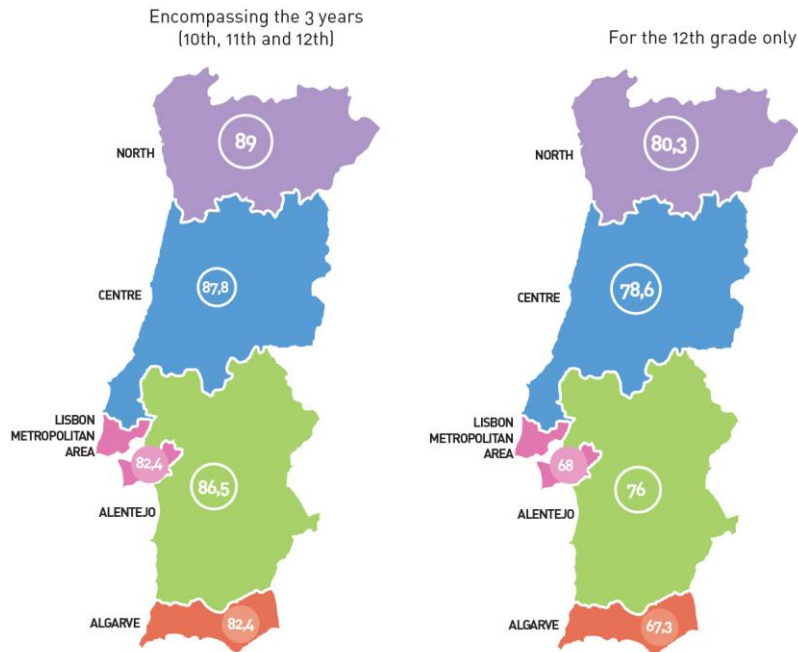
It was considered relevant to analyse also the global transition/completion rate in upper secondary education encompassing the three years of the courses (10th, 11th, and 12th) and, the same rate for both the General and Vocational Education. Again, due to data limitations, this analyse does not include values for the autonomous Regions of Azores and Madeira.

Considering the **global transition/completion rate in upper secondary education**, in the scholar year 2017/2018, **the values were very similar among the regions. Still, the North registered the highest values of the rate (89%) and at Lisbon Metropolitan Area (82,4%) and Algarve (82,4%) the lowest ones.** When focusing the analyse only on the 12th grade data, the **global transition/completion in upper secondary education** have the **highest values at the North (80,3%) and Centre (78,6%) and again the lowest at Algarve (67,3%) and Lisbon Metropolitan Area (68%).**

²⁹ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0009534&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2

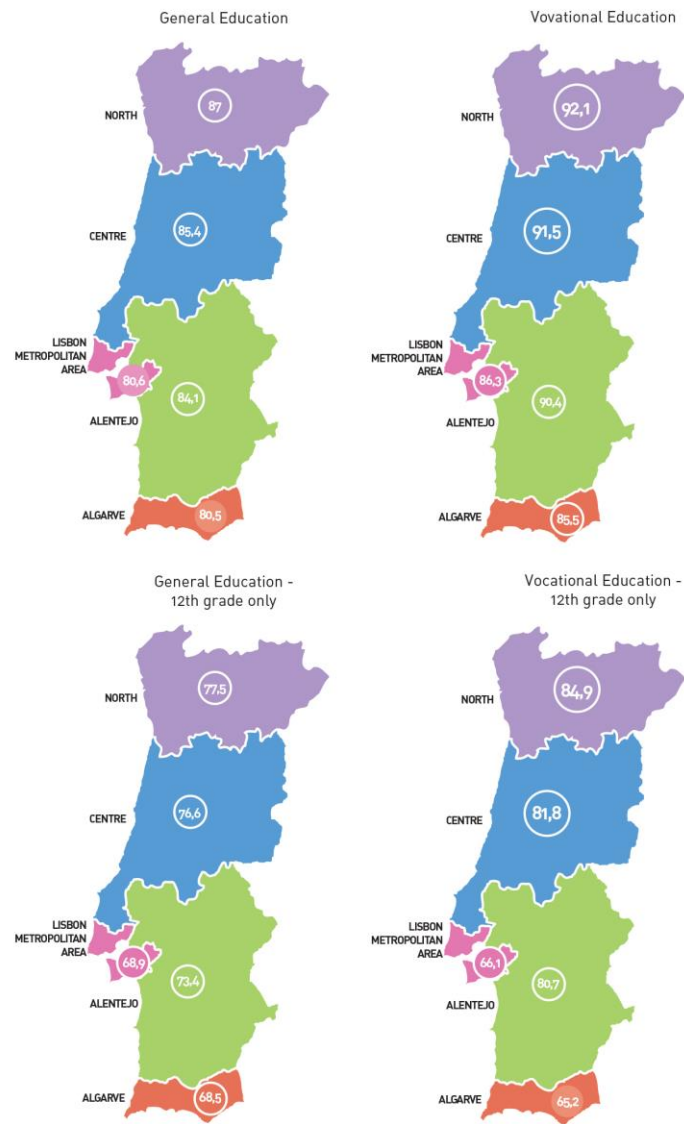
GLOBAL TRANSITION/COMPLETION RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION BY REGIONS - 2017/2018 [%]



Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

When analysing the transition/completion rate in upper secondary education for General and Vocational Education, in total and for the 12th grade, it was concluded **for the global analyse that the transition/completion rate is higher in Vocational than General education**. Yet, when centring on **data only for the 12th grade**, the **highest values are registered for the Vocational education at the North (84,9%) and Centre (81,1%) and the lowest at Algarve (65,2%) and Lisbon Metropolitan Area (66,1%)**.

GLOBAL TRANSITION/COMPLETION RATE IN UPPER SECONDARY GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION BY REGIONS - 2017/2018 (%)



Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

This data was subsequently analysed in order to identify the municipalities with the highest transition/completion rate in upper secondary education. The following table list the municipalities which have the highest and lowest figures in the scholar year 2017/2018.

Global transition/completion rates in upper secondary education – 2017/2018	
Municipalities with higher values	Municipalities with lower values
Penela (100%) – Centre	Mesão Frio (77,6%) – North
Portel (100%) – Alentejo	Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo (77,6%) – Centre
Sousel (100%) – Alentejo	Odivelas (77,6%) – Lisbon Metropolitan Area
Arraiolos (96,4%) – Alentejo	Tavira (77%) – Algarve
Sardoal (96,1%) – Centre	Amadora (76,8%) – Lisbon Metropolitan Area
Sernancelhe (96%) – North	Albufeira (76,6%) – Algarve
Pampilhosa da Serra (95,7%) – Centre	Miranda do Douro (76,5%) – Douro
Ferreira do Zêzere (95,3%) – Centre	Nisa (70,8%) – Alentejo
	Ferreira do Alentejo (70%) – Alentejo

Source: Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics

F. TEIP – Education Territories of Priority Intervention

TEIP³⁰ is a government initiative, created in 1996, currently implemented in 137 schools (grouped or non-grouped schools), located in economically and socially disadvantaged territories, marked by poverty and social exclusion, with marked contexts of violence, indiscipline, school dropout. The main objectives of the program are the prevention and reduction of early school leaving and absenteeism, the reduction of indiscipline and the promotion of the educational success of all students (the chapter mapping the programmes counteracting ESL explores more in detail this measure 3.6).

³⁰ More information at: <https://www.dge.mec.pt/teip>

Next, we present a list of the municipalities that have schools under the TEIP program, for each of Portugal continental regions. There are 49 initiatives in the North, 13 in the Centre, 46 in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 18 in Alentejo and 11 in the Algarve. The North region concentrates the higher number of TEIP schools currently under intervention and over the last 20 years, has registered the highest decrease of ESL in the country.

North	Centre	Lisbon Metropolitan Area	Alentejo	Algarve
Baião	Águeda	Almada	Alcácer do Sal	Lagoa
Braga	Castelo Branco	Amadora	Aljustrel	Lagos
Cinfães	Coimbra	Barreiro	Alter do Chão	Loulé
Felgueiras	Estarreja	Lisboa	Avis	Olhão
Freixo de Espada à Cinta	Idanha-a-Nova	Loures	Beja	Portimão
Gondomar	Leiria	Moita	Coruche	Vila Real Santo António
Guimarães	Marinha Grande	Oeiras	Elvas	
Maia	Pampilhosa da Serra	Palmela	Estremoz	
Marco de Canaveses	Peniche	Seixal	Évora	
Matosinhos	São Pedro do Sul	Setúbal	Monforte	
Mesão Frio	Viseu	Sintra	Moura	
Mogadouro		Vila Franca de Xira	Mourão	
Murça			Ponte de Sôr	
Oliveira de Azeméis			Portalegre	
Paços de Ferreira			Serpa	
Paredes			Sines	
Penafiel			Vendas Novas	
Peso da Régua			Vila Viçosa	
Porto				

Resende				
Tarouca				
Viana do Castelo				
Vila Nova de Famalicão				
Vila Nova de Foz Côa				
Vila Nova de Gaia				
Vila Real				
Vila Verde				

1.3.2.6. Summary of the territories with the higher incidence of the phenomenon

Assembling the previous indicators analyzed, the next table summarises the regions identified with the highest and lowest incidence of each of the main rates covered. The North and Centre appear as areas with less early school leaving and retention and desistance rates; in opposition, Azores and at continental level, Algarve, as territories with higher ESL and retention and desistance rates.

	Regions with highest rates	Regions with lowest rates
ESL	Azores Madeira Algarve (data 2019)	North Centre (data 2019)
NEET (15-24 years old)	Azores Madeira Algarve (data 2019)	Centre Lisbon Metropolitan Area (data 2019)
Gross enrolment rate in upper secondary education	Lisbon Metropolitan Area Centre Alentejo (data 2017/2018)	Azores Madeira Algarve (data 2017/2018)
Actual schooling rate in	North	Algarve

upper secondary education*	Lisbon Metropolitan Area Centre (data 2017/2018)	Alentejo (data 2017/2018)
Retention and Desistance rates in primary and lower secondary education	Azores Algarve Alentejo (data 2017/2018)	North Centre (data 2017/2018)
Global Retention and desistance rates in upper secondary education *	Algarve Lisbon Metropolitan Area (data 2017/2018)	North Centre (data 2017/2018)
Global transition/completion rate in upper secondary education*	North Centre (data 2017/2018)	Algarve Lisbon Metropolitan Area (data 2017/2018)

*Only data for continental Portugal is considered

Moreover, the analyses at municipal level, through complementary variables, allow to identify in the absence of an ESL rate at this level, the territories reflecting the higher incidence of dropout. The following municipalities were identified: Albufeira, Amadora, Avis, Ferreira do Alentejo, Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo, Mesão Frio, Miranda do Douro, Nisa, Odivelas, Tavira. These municipalities correspond to the regions indicated in the next table.

Municipalities with incidence of the phenomenon

Albufeira - Algarve

Amadora – Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Avis - Alentejo

Ferreira do Alentejo - Alentejo

Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo - Centre

Mesão Frio - North

Miranda do Douro - North

Nisa - Alentejo

Odivelas – Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Tavira - Algarve

1.3.2.7. Conclusions of the quantitative assessment

If we take as reference the definition that the Court of Auditors applies to the data collection on Early School Leaving (ESL) – as having to be «rigorous, consistent, comprehensive and timely» – then it becomes clear that data available in Portugal on the issue of ESL does not fulfil those requirements.

ESL is understood to be the situation of people who have left schooling and training systems without having completed the secondary level (12 years of schooling, which are mandatory in Portugal) and who are not attending any education or training program.

As the data show, dropout rates have been gradually and steadily decreasing: in 1992, the rate was still at 50% and in 2019 it was 10.6%, almost in line with the European Commission's goal (this is one of the indicators used for monitoring the Europe 2020 strategy), which is to reach a maximum of 10% by the year 2020. Despite the remarkable progress of the past few decades, Portugal is still in a weak position in European terms, as the 21st out of 28 countries. In the Azores, the rate remains high, at 27%, in the Algarve it is still at 19.9%, in the Alentejo region it is at 12.7%, and in the Central Region we find the lowest rate: 7.9%.

In the case of non-compliance with the obligation of attending school between the ages of 6 and 18, in which situations can we speak of school leaving? When has a student left school and when is he or she merely «at risk of leaving»?

As we have seen, the two indicators used in Portugal are the «rate for early leaving», for young people between the ages of 18 and 24³¹ (used by the INE – National Statistics Institute) and the «retention and dropout rate» (used by the DGEEC – Ministry of Education)³². These mix the data concerning academic failure with data specifically about early school leaving, and so they end up not measuring early school leaving rigorously. This results from the absence of a clear definition that can be applied by the administration services and by schools. Different institutions register and report very different situations, they adopt different classifications, depending on the definition they have adopted, which prevents the data on ESL in Portugal from being reliable. Whereas the first rate (the early leaving rate) focuses on the individuals aged 18 to 24 who completed, at most, the 3rd cycle of basic education and who are not attending school or training, it is not clear whether that is because they left school before they reached the expected age or if it is because they have failed to successfully complete the 3rd cycle of basic education; the second measure (the retention and dropout rate) includes academic failure and it is not aimed at a

³¹ The «Early School and Training Leaving» indicator, processed by the INE, based on the Employment Survey, considers individuals aged between 18 and 24 who have completed, at most, the 3rd cycle of basic education and who are not attending school or professional training. This is the procedure adopted by the Eurostat and therefore national data can be compared with that of other European countries.

³² The retention and dropout rate, processed by the Directorate-General for Education and Science Statistics, refers to the ratio of the number of students who were unable to move forward to the following school year, because of retention or dropping out, to the total number of students enrolled in that academic year. This indicator does not include the autonomous regions of the Azores and Madeira.

retrospective and evolutionary analysis of leaving school. This latter indicator also mentions each school year and not the students' path throughout mandatory schooling, and it fails to identify who the students are who, having reached the age of 18, are no longer legally bound to stay in school and leave without completing the secondary education, either through school or through training.

On the other hand, as we have mentioned before, this rate can point to «false dropouts» (Álvares et al. 2014:7), when students move forward, at the end of the school year, from a public to a private school; when children accompany their parents in emigration processes and when actual leaving situations are diluted by local population growth phenomena.

Additionally, the Ministry of Education's collection and registration processes for this data do not rest on any uniform system of procedures, which allows for a clear distinction between situations when students dropout, when they are at risk of leaving and when they fail academically. This would be fundamental for the production of reliable and useful leaving indicators, for both the population aged between 6 and 18 and those who have prematurely left school at 18 years of age or older.

The Clusters of Schools and Schools use very different ways of identifying, flagging and acting when presented with the non-compliance with attendance obligations.

In some cases, one criterion is applied: for example, having been absent for more than 60 business days; in others, this criterion gets mixed up with situations of «deregistration», «exclusion due to absences», «retention for too many absences» and even «did not complete/did not move forward to the next grade».

Even though, for over two decades now, every EU recommendation directs countries towards the need to identify students «at risk of leaving», by studying the specific causes

and acting locally on the issues, promoting more «customised» education and training³³, schools are not clearly guided towards establishing a barrier between the risk of leaving and the actual leaving. The immediate consequences of this are the existence of an enormous disparity in the criteria for measuring ESL and the actions taken to tackle it and the effective impossibility of truly knowing what the ESL reality is in Portugal.

All we need to do is think of a very frequent situation: a student leaves school on the day in which he or she turns 18, meeting the requirement for school attendance. He or she is not considered or reported as a leaver, even though he or she did not complete the 12th grade (the final grade of mandatory schooling since 2009), which means it is also unnecessary to flag the situation to the CPCJ – Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People.

All this leads to a lack of consistency and reliability in the current data on ESL before the age of 18 and data on those who leave at 18 without having completed mandatory schooling, which makes it difficult or impossible to compare these data nationally and which makes it harder to articulate policies focused on identifying, characterizing and monitoring the situations, let alone arrange for a clear, integrated, focused and effective ESL preventive action.

In fact, as all the literature on school leaving posits (and as we mentioned in part 1), early school leaving is a slow process that starts in school and manifests itself in a lack of interest, in academic failure and gradual absenteeism, and that evolves until the student effectively leaves school. By not having a rigorous and distinctive view of these situations, from their

³³ European Council (2015). «Council conclusions on reducing early school leaving and promoting success in school» of 15 December 2015.

onset and during their evolution, it becomes difficult, both at the school and the national levels, to identify the problems that underlie each type of situation and to develop more appropriate policies towards solving them. Consequently, an early educational intervention is compromised, when it would be the most effective step in preventing repeated academic failure and early school leaving. Also compromised are compensatory interventions, since ESL situations that take place before and after students turn 18 are not properly identified or monitored.

Indeed, measuring ESL is not an easy task. Over the years, educational and training paths become more diversified and dynamic, the boundaries between being inside and outside of school become more flexible, and the chances to monitor school dropout diminish.

The development of quantitative and qualitative in-depth studies on the factors that interfere in the abandonment process is therefore crucial.

1.4. Characteristics of the population at risk

1.4.1. Qualitative analysis of leavers profile and risk factors: method

After presenting the literature review and the quantitative trend of early school leaving in the past 20 years, we undertook a qualitative approach to the population «at risk of early leaving», as requested in the contract. For this analysis, the contract mentioned the need to: (i) have more information about the profile of leavers, (ii) identify the factors that contributed the most for the decision to leave (personal, family-related and school-related) and (iii) understand the educational models that might be contributing to early school leaving. In terms of methodologies, the idea was to create a focus group of youngsters from the areas with higher rates of ESL, as well as to use the life stories methodology. The goal was to improve our knowledge of reality, so that we could be better at preventing ESL.

1.4.2. Building the research sample

Given the pandemic situation, which affected the regular development of this study, and faced with the impossibility of going to the places we had identified as the ones with higher rates of ESL to carry out focus groups or in-depth/life stories interviews, we found an alternative: to study a smaller population, from Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia, the cities where we work. After making this decision and given the aforementioned difficulties in contacting young people, because of the need for confinement and social distancing, we chose to focus on the analysis of the

academic paths of those who have left school and who are now enrolled in alternative and compensatory schooling, at the Arco Maior project³⁴.

This is a population whose academic paths have been marked by failure and conflict, and who have ended up leaving school. They were at high risk for social exclusion and were later referred to this social-educational project by several protection and support systems (Courts, foster institutions, Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People – CPCJ, etc.). The project allows them to complete their schooling through very flexible training arrangements and it invests in rebuilding life projects, aiming at the social reintegration of these young people.

Due to the limitations imposed on personal and face-to-face contacts, we have examined their academic paths by looking at their Student's Personal Files (SPF). These administrative files contain the student's academic history, with significant detail. They register every single assessment carried out throughout their academic path, highlighting and documenting the more problematic situations (absenteeism, lack of family support, academic failure, disciplinary procedures, technical reports of individual assessment, technical and specialized interventions).

Once we were given permission by the schools' boards, since these are individual and confidential data, we undertook the examination of the SPF solely for academic purposes, preserving at all times the anonymity of students and schools and creating fictitious names for every case.

³⁴ Arco Maior is a socio-educational project that welcomes young people who have left the school system early and who suffer from social exclusion. The project takes place in Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia. It began in 2013 and it has already hosted 330 youngsters.

Thus, we conducted an in-depth analysis of 25 cases, within the constraints we unfortunately found ourselves bound to respect throughout the undertaking of this study.

The sample of the SPF under examination was built out of convenience. We chose a group of young people, born between 1996 and 2003 – because Arco Maior runs from 2013 to 2020 –, living in Porto or Vila Nova de Gaia. These 25 cases were distributed by 20 schools in the region of Porto. The files we examined were the ones which were completed and ready to access in a timely manner, between June and November 2020.

After a critical and comprehensive reading of the first three dossiers, an analysis grid was built, which comprised, firstly, the collection of elements for characterising the students: year of birth, last school attended, parents' schooling, parents' profession, parents' occupational situation, guardian, identification of factors that could aggravate the family situation – such as parents' death, domestic violence, early pregnancy, detention, drug consumption, minority ethnicity –, monitoring by the CPCJ, by Social Security and by the Courts, passing and failing grades, first detection of maladjustment between students and schools, beginning of absenteeism, acts of indiscipline committed by students – disrespect/disobedience, conflicts with colleagues, verbal and physical offences, consumption, theft and vandalising of premises –, disciplinary measures adopted and their sequence, pedagogical recommendations issued by the school bodies, pedagogical and tutorial support measures adopted, age and year of leaving school and age mismatch; secondly, it allowed the construction of the following categories of analysis: (i) when do schools register the first signs of "inadequacy" between the student and the school and how do they do it; (ii) what did the non-compliance with the established rules consist in and what type of educational-corrective action was developed by schools; (iii) what individual school paths were taken (transitions, failures, course and school changes), what was the

school year of exit and what age mismatch was recorded for each student; (iv) what kind of recommendations have been made by the pedagogical bodies of the schools in face of disruptive behaviours and unsuccessful school paths; (v) and, finally, how, as a result of the school practices analysed, the early school leaving of each student is progressively built.

We looked at the files of 9 girls and 16 boys, a proportion which matches that of the indicators, showing ESL affects boys more often than girls (ESL rate in Portugal, in 2019, was 7.4% for girls and 13.7% for boys).

These youngsters, as similar studies have showed (Hammond et al. 2007; Dale, 2010; Gonzalez, 2015), come from poor families, usually earning the national minimum wage (when they are not informally employed), with jobs as cleaning staff, construction workers, masons, window washers, kitchen helpers, mechanics, locksmiths, waiters and shop assistants. In the case of mothers, 6 defined themselves as «staying at home». In 12 of the 25 cases, there are reports of unemployment among the parents.

The qualifications of the parents are very low: only 3 have more than 6 years of schooling and 11 have only four years.

The family units live predominantly in social housing and are often (19 of the 25 cases, who will be presented under fake names), involved in situations which make the poverty framework even worse: drug consumption and drug trafficking (5 cases), alcoholic parents (5 cases), early pregnancy (2 cases), parents are separated and either the mother or the father is absent (8 cases), domestic violence (5 cases) and death of the parents (4 cases).

All these students were accompanied by the CPCJ and in 14 of the cases, the students were also accompanied by Social Security technicians and 9 of these cases were followed up in the Family and Minors Court.

This sample is therefore not representative of the academic path of leavers or of youngsters with serious problems in their family and social environments. In fact, not every student who leaves school has this type of path and not every student who comes from an environment with severe social problems will enter this type of pathway or leave school.

Let us then look at the analysis carried out and at its results

1.4.3. Early detection of school maladjustment processes

Inadequacy issues (lack of interest in school, difficulty concentrating and paying attention, absenteeism), academic failure (serious delays in initial learning), and situations of conflict between students and the school (students enter into verbal or physical conflicts with teachers, staff and their classmates) appear usually very early.

In most cases (20 out of 25: 11 in the 1st grade, 2 in the 2nd and 7 in the 3rd and 4th grades), these inadequacy processes are initially reported during the first cycle of education, and many of them are reported as early as the 1st and 2nd grades. Others studies reached the same conclusions, for example, Dale (2010) and Justino et al. (2014).

This leads us to the understanding that school and its pedagogical bodies identify pretty clearly, and from an early stage, several problems experienced by these students, describing these situations as different/«irregular» and worthy of special attention on behalf of the school. Since these SPF are built chronologically, by an accumulation of documents, and as there are no retrospective corrections of school paths or of decisions and actions taken by the schools, it is possible to verify, through an investigation, that the process for detecting problems and identifying different/«irregular» situations takes shape very early and that

these problems describe an arch that grows slowly at first, and which then sometimes explodes, after the 5th or 6th grades (as we will see later in detail).

So that we can better understand this precocious detection and the forms it takes, we will look closer at some cases.

Timóteo and his family, following his September enrolment in the 1st cycle of basic education, receive this «message» from his teacher in December, written in upper case and bold: «It is URGENT that Timóteo improves... HIS BEHAVIOUR NEEDS TO CHANGE». The teacher goes on: «Every day I hear complaints from other students about his behavior. These include: constant aggressions, rudeness, pushing others down the stairs, putting shoes in the toilet, destroying school equipment, among other things. As his guardian, you are responsible for Timóteo and it is essential that you make him see that keeping up this bad behavior is unacceptable in a school setting».

This child, the school knows, was born when his mother was 14 years old and his father 18, and he lives with his mother and her family in a very fragile financial situation.

At the end of that first year of schooling, the teacher will reaffirm all these aspects and will add, in his «global assessment»: «he has not acquired the required essential skills... his school performance in all areas has worsened slightly... he is at a stage where he refuses to perform the majority of his school work. He only does it when forced, and not always, as he often sulks». In his 2nd year of schooling, Timóteo will already have psychological support outside of school, he will benefit from individual remedial classes, there will be a «Recovery Plan» and he will be flagged by the Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ). He will be retained several times, he will be suspended often, including the maximum punishment of 12 days, and he will later be institutionalised.

In the first school term of the 1st grade, Nicolau, whose parents are addicted to drugs, has already been the subject of a report by the Psychology and Orientation Service (POS) that states the child comes from «an extremely deprived family», that the student struggles with every subject, «showing a taste for mathematics». It adds that «the boy was hit by a car when he was four and a half years old and he has revealed difficulties in articulating words since he was five and a half. We wonder if the accident might not have had repercussions on the brain, with consequences for his learning ability and behaviour».

After examining the POS report, his teacher, in a first report about him written in October of that year, writes: «Nicolau is 6 years and 4 months old, his mother is ill, which creates instability for him, he likes to grope girls, he lives in a room with his parents, who live off the council's food baskets, he is sometimes confrontational with his classmates, there are complaints from and about him every week». These brief quotes are enough to account for a set of data that called for the school to pay special attention to this child. He will have a bumpy learning pathway, to which we will return later. He will be retained in the 2nd, 5th and 6th grades and he will leave school, after being referred to a vocational course.

At the end of the first term of the 1st grade, in January, Filipe's teacher writes an «individual report», in which, after describing that «there is no nuclear family, Filipe lives with his maternal grandparents, his mother does not offer any support and she lives elsewhere with a younger brother», she adds: «the student is immature, he has trouble expressing himself, his vocabulary is very poor and it is very difficult to have a conversation with him; he barely participates in class, he hasn't improved his writing and reading skills, he shows a deep and continuous lack of interest for activities that demand reading, writing or simply paying attention and focusing: he is constantly getting up and distracting his classmates, he reveals a significant lack of interest and unwillingness to learn, he has little autonomy; when it

comes to artistic expression, he shows interest in the activities, he gets along well with his classmates, he is a gentle child, caring, and reveals no signs of aggressiveness; he loves to play during recess; he has trouble with assimilating and respecting the rules of the classroom and with performing the school work; he is disorganized and has yet to acquire any work practice; above all, he is very immature, lacks interest and willingness and has yet to acquire a sense of responsibility. For him, school remains «only» a playful space, in other words, a space where he can play, play, play». The amount of problems and inabilities that characterize Filipe, in an analysis performed after just one term, is extensive and it is once again clear that we are before the early detection of a different and «irregular» student. He will be retained once again in the 2nd grade, twice in the 5th grade and once in the 6th grade, after which he will leave school after a troubling history.

In the case of Benjamin, by the end of the first school term, his teacher wrote: «He is not organized or careful in the way he presents his work. He is sometimes aggressive towards his classmates. He is constantly distracted and works slowly and with little care. He needs to focus more in class». The following year, the same teacher wrote some more: «He is very lazy: he shows a lack of commitment and of study and he has no interest in school matters. He must also strive to be less confrontational with his classmates». He will benefit from a Student Recovery Plan, beginning in the 3rd grade and an Increased Pedagogical Support Plan from the 5th grade onwards. He will be enrolled in the 5th grade for three years and he will be retained again in the 6th grade, which he will never complete, leaving school at the age of 16, having completed the 5th grade.

In the 3rd grade, Adília's teacher wrote on her individual assessment: «Adília has showed little interest and commitment in school activities. She is not very concerned with the presentation of her work. She has little autonomy carrying out the planned activities. She

shows difficulty in developing academic skills successfully in the different curricular areas. She has managed to follow the curriculum with difficulty. She is often distracted and she is very talkative. She ought to study a lot more and work harder».

Adília's father is absent, she has been «under the protective measure of institutional sheltering», and she now lives only with her mother. The CPCJ had informed the school, in the 2nd grade, and both institutions were in dialogue with the family.

The mother, the school registers in the same year, was absent and left Adília with family members; the mother stayed in contact with the teachers, according to the school. The «student does not attend school regularly, but the mother justifies her absence with sickness». The mother is unemployed and is addicted to alcohol.

In 5th grade, the Family and Juvenile Court asks the class head-teacher for a report on the progress of the student and on her relationship with her mother and her teachers. The school seeks to understand, through several technical evaluations, the profile of this student and what it ought to promote more appropriately. A technical report by the psychologist of the Psychology and Orientation Service highlights that the student «comes from a dysfunctional family environment, having at one point been under the protection of institutional sheltering. This family rupture triggered disparaging and self-deprecating thoughts, which still play a major role in the formation of her personality and, consequently, of her attitude. She receives frequent warning calls and shows low indicators of resilience in the face of frustration. She has appropriate coping skills, which allow her to respond effectively and assertively to obstacles, difficulties and challenges related with her school and social life. This is why she resorts to disruptive behavior». And there is more: the «student's academic failure can be explained by contextual factors and by a lack of previous

stimulation, accentuated by a lack of organization and planning, immaturity and emotional instability. The student's academic success depends on a series of factors which demand a multidisciplinary and systemic intervention». It goes on to add that in «school it is important to work on the relational interface, the metacognitive skills, on a willingness to learn and on strategies to implement in the classroom». The mother, the psychologist suggests, «should be guided towards valuing the positive points, rather than the negative, and should systematically monitor the student's progress...» and «the class head-teacher must be an essential bridge with the structuring of these strategies at home».

In other words, the academic failure is explained by the context, by the inexistence of care and support at home, and success depends on a multidisciplinary and systemic intervention. But who will promote this intervention? Who, within the school, will promote «the relational interface, the metacognitive skills and the willingness to learn»? Who will offer «guidance» to the mother? What concrete steps will the class head-teacher take? There is no mention of that.

Now that we have looked at these five cases of early detections of different/«irregular» situations, it is important to note some ways of interpreting the early detection of these students' «school problems», and of situations that keep getting worse and which lead to effective «school leavers».

A first conclusion we could draw from the analysis is that the investment made by the schools in this type of description is very significant. The descriptions about what goes on at every moment are also detailed, and they reveal the slow growth of authentic «snow balls» of maladjustment. These descriptions are often supported by comprehensive reports, written

by teachers, about what is happening and why, often together with technical and specialized reports, usually prepared by psychologists or, sometimes, even by a children psychiatrist.

We can conclude, then, that schools and teachers detect, identify and seek to understand the inadequacy problems that some children reveal early on.

When looking at these SPF retrospectively, something becomes very clear: it wasn't for a lack of identification, analysis, attempts at understanding and intuition that the initial inadequacy situations turned into much bigger snow balls. It had already been written, often and in several pages, with a significant degree of detail, in the 1st, 2nd or 3rd grade, that these children lived with a different set of problems, which required a different type of action.

In every case reviewed in the study, early detection did not lead to an education that was able to accommodate and include these children, allowing them instead to forge paths of academic failure, conflict and early leaving.

We must therefore wonder: what is the function and the use of early detection and of these detailed descriptions?

The first use is of a practical nature and it has to do with the grounds for the options taken by the school pedagogical bodies, the Class Council and the Pedagogical Council, to activate special mechanisms of «increased pedagogical support» and of «curricular adaptations», as well as of the potential enrolment of the child in «special education» (which has implications, such as the need to reduce the number of students per class).

These reports pile up at SPF and remain archived there, just in case, since they can be necessary, administratively, to support the schools' future decisions. The relationship between them and any specific educational action is limited. These reports («information

forms», «comprehensive reports», «psychological reports») provide very specific elements about the way schools make their own educational offers to these children, but, more than that, they are used to support these decisions concerning the so-called «reinforcement» of the pedagogical support to a certain type of students.

By increased pedagogical support we mean a set of measures aimed at «reinforcing» teaching in the curricular domains where weaknesses are identified: more hours of teaching, mainly on the subjects of Portuguese and Mathematics, support when doing practical exercises and an increase of the use of «work sheets» and related activities. Schools activate a set of Action Plans, with very different names, which evolve throughout the years, while remaining focused on this same goal: PEI – Individual Educational Plan, PIT – Individual Work Plan; Individual Monitoring Plan, Student Recovery Plan and Individual Recovery Plan, Increased Pedagogical Support Plan and even Pedagogical Monitoring Activity Plan.

A second use, close to the first, lies with the need to protect the decisions taken, whether before the families or the administrative authorities at the Ministry for Education.

A third function is not as clear and needs to be unveiled.

This language, with more or less technical formulations, that identifies early on situations of inadequacy, built by teachers and complemented by psychologists and doctors, is of a general nature, it is almost always focused on the children's deficiencies (we will see more endless descriptions of inabilities later). It aims to be careful in its identification of the environmental elements that explain the «school problems», but it is almost always lacking when it comes to the actions that schools can and will undertake in those cases, since the cases are detected and dealt with by their difference/abnormality and it is that difference/abnormality that, once registered, justifies them.

The reported problems are rooted in domestic and individual flaws, they are not school problems, since despite manifesting themselves in school, the institution can do very little beyond taking note and referring students to a special framework of support and to a set of exceptional and legally outlined measures.

The lists of weaknesses are very detailed, even those written shortly after the children were enrolled in the schools.

Thus, these documents must also be seen as building a wall that catalogues the child, creating a stigma about his or her differences, pulling him or her away from the group and what is regarded as «common», which helps to justify their «being behind in school» and their «academic failure».

Slowly, a bypass valve is created in the students' history, not long after they begin a schooling path that will last at least twelve years. This leads them to a separate group, of those with serious family-related problems, those who do not know how to behave or to abide by the rules like the others students, those who do not take advantage of their schooling the way others do.

These descriptions and these technical documents also demonstrate the schools' inability to put in place truly different educational actions, when faced with these situations, that go beyond the previously mentioned Plans. This will become clearer later, once we focus on the analysis of the type of recommendations the school bodies draft for these students at each pedagogical meeting of the Class Council.

A fourth goal of the creation of abundant documentation concerning early detection of inadequacy issues is the technical certification of certain pathologies (Collares & Moysés, 1996; Tarabini, 2015). Technical reports, that are often requested and welcomed by teachers

and by the schools' pedagogical bodies, establish the types of pathologies that children suffer from (a set of technical classifications, created after a sequence of tests has been administered and applied both to behaviours and to reading, writing and calculus). They illustrate perfectly the schools' difficulty, and even the impossibility of them doing more or doing something different than what they decide to do.

Adília's case is a good example of this. The school's psychologist, who monitors her, suggests to teachers that her mother be «guided towards valuing the positive points, rather than the negative». Unfortunately, the teachers are not advised to do the same.

In Américos's case, for example, there is a technical assessment by the Multidisciplinary Support Office, which provides teachers with this classification of weaknesses: «The student hurts the proper functioning of classes, in as much as he gets distracted and distracts his classmates with inappropriate playing. He reveals difficulties in concentrating, he has very little autonomy, no work habits and he lacks resilience when it comes to school work».

The second «assessment report» by the Psychology and Orientation Service of Timóteo's school recognises that, despite his work with a psychologist and a child psychiatrist, «no improvement has been noted in his behavior». This report once again catalogues, and now attests clinically, before the student and the team of teachers, a set of weaknesses: «He reveals difficulties in handling frustration, in managing his emotions and his behavior. He exhibits great anxiety, agitation, behavioral instability, he has difficulties accepting limits/rules; he finds it extremely difficult to get involved in tasks and in persisting with them, and so the results are often affected by his high impulsivity... He often exhibits challenging and opposing behaviours towards teachers and classmates and he is frequently

involved in conflicts during breaks... Despite being subjected to disciplinary measures and working with a psychologist, no improvements in his behavior have been noticed».

Consequently, having traced this technically sustained weaknesses catalogue, the Class Council decides what to do: retain him, with a fail grade in every subject except Music and Physical Education. And so Timóteo will go through the exact same 5th grade curriculum for the whole of the following year.

These technical reports help to substantiate the divide that gradually grows, from a very early stage, between school and these children and their specific contexts, and they allow schools to justify referring children to «pedagogical support» and «curricular adaptation» solutions or, later, to different courses (PIEF, CEF, vocational, PCA, etc.³⁵).

1.4.4. School inadequacy processes: absenteeism

Let us look now at other expressions of school inadequacy in the cases we are examining, starting with absenteeism.

Not going to class is a breach of the duty to attend, and places the student in a problematic setting, because when children aged between 6 and 11 do not go to school it means there are potentially serious flaws concerning family support and protection.

The studied SPF reveal that absenteeism is higher in the 2nd cycle of education, in the 5th (11 cases) and 6th (5 cases) grades. In four cases, the problem begins in the 1st cycle and in two others it occurs throughout the 3rd cycle.

³⁵ These offers will be presented in detail in the section on the policies tackling ESL currently in place in Portugal.

The transition between cycles, particularly between the 1st cycle, which lasts for four years (in Portugal, this cycle corresponds to «primary education» and there is only one teacher, with support in specialized subjects) and the 2nd, which lasts for two years and in which the curriculum expands to 11/12 subjects/curricular areas that are subjected to summative assessment. This has been identified as a particularly sensitive moment for students with different/«irregular» schooling paths.

Once the individual monitoring and the control over their progress is diluted, going from a reference figure to a large group of very different adults, even if they are led by a class head-teacher, the students tend to lose their footing and to take advantage of every new opportunity and new ground to provoke others and to test their limits.

Following the 5th grade, individual resistance to a certain type of schooling can take the shape of a refusal of school, of that kind of school; it can now present itself in various guises and this new and vast field tends to be «taken advantaged of», and this leads, among other things, to children not attending class, even when they are in school. Individual monitoring and the control of different situations become very different than those in place during the first cycle years, and sometimes the transition generates a fast and exponential growth of inadequacy situations and of «disciplinary procedures».

Absenteeism leads, by normative imposition, to the establishment of a dialogue dynamic between schools (through the class head-teacher) and families, looking to understand what is going on and to get past this non-compliance of an elementary school duty. In extreme cases of reiterated absenteeism, schools are obliged to inform their municipality's CPCJ, which always happens.

However, in none of these cases did these actions have the desired effect: absenteeism just got worse from one year to the next. Some students end up missing most of the year, they are retained and remain enrolled because of mandatory schooling, and they cannot be legally considered as having left school.

What appears to happen is that these students and teenagers progressively affirm their lack of interest in school, which means they are unable to identify with it. For their part, when schools focus on identifying and describing these students' inabilities, exposing and even humiliating them through formal and public processes, they feed the students' revolt, and it just keeps growing as time goes by, as we will see in more detail next.

1.4.5. Inadequate behavior in the classroom

Reports about disruptive behavior in the classroom are the most helpful when identifying tension and conflict situations and understanding the way schools act when faced with these issues.

Unfortunately, we do not have the students' versions concerning these problems, the SPF only registers what the school says and does, and the school's perspective on what the students and their families say and do.

These conflicts are not all the same and they generally begin with small issues in the classroom, which then gradually get bigger, more aggressive and frequent, and they can lead to very violent outcomes.

The legislation which frames the rights and duties of students has been tied, during the period under consideration, to two Orders, one from 2002 and one from 2012 (the latter

was adopted in the academic year of 2012/13)³⁶. When it comes to the issue of disciplinary measures against disruptive behaviours, the Orders are similar: there are corrective measures (previously referred to as «preventive and integration measures») and sanction provisions. The first include measures such as warnings, the order to abandon the classroom, prescription of tasks and integration activities at school and in the community; the latter include measures such as registered reproach, up to three days suspensions, 4 to 12 days suspensions, school transfer and expulsion. According to these Orders, «the disciplinary measures seek pedagogical goals», and both the corrective and the sanctioning measures aim at (Article 24º of the 2012 Law) «guaranteeing the normal undertaking of the school's activities, the correction of the upsetting behavior and the strengthening of the student's civic education, with a view to contribute to the student's balanced development of personality, the student's ability to relate to others, his or her complete integration within the educational community, his or her sense of responsibility and his or her learning». Besides, sanctioning measures «given the special relevance and gravity of the infringement, also seek punitive ends».

We will examine three types of records concerning these conflicts: the orders for students to abandon the classroom, the «disciplinary procedures» and the «suspensions».

The orders for students to leave the classroom are the result of very different kinds of inadequacies, from the «lack of classroom materials», to continued inattention, from the non-compliance with established rules to disrespectful, aggressive and violent behavior, towards teachers, staff or classmates.

³⁶ The Orders are the Government's Decree-Law 30/2002, of 20 December, and the Parliament's Law 51/2012, of 5 September.

Among these behaviours, the most relevant are: disobedience (23 cases), provocation and disrespect towards teachers (22 cases), verbal offences against teachers and school staff (21 cases), conflicts with classmates (16 cases), physical offences (in 13 cases towards classmates and one case towards a teacher), drug consumption (10 cases), theft at school (7 cases) and bullying (3 cases).

These conflict situations are almost always registered only from the 5th grade onwards (22 out of 25 cases, and the 5th grade is when they begin, in 18 of the 22 cases)³⁷, because the practice is not yet established in the 1st cycle. Once it becomes possible, inadequacies and conflicts begin to take on a clearer expression, with administrative consequences that include a dialogue with parents and – frequently, and as these orders to leave the classroom recur – the involvement of psychologists and other specialists.

These orders may or may not be connected with the launch of «disciplinary procedures», depending on the quantity and the seriousness attributed to the situations. The procedures, concerning the cases under review, have also been adopted mostly in the 5th and 6th grades.

Accumulated corrective «disciplinary procedures» may sometimes lead, depending on the quantity and the seriousness of the facts, to sanctioning disciplinary measures and to a more severe punishment.

In the cases we are examining, suspensions were almost always used (in 19 out of 25 cases) and these took place for the first time in the 5th grade (6 cases), 6th grade (11 cases) or 7th and 8th (2 cases). The fact that the most serious sanctions affect 6th graders more than 5th

³⁷ The 3 cases in which these conflicts are absent are: a Roma student, a student who became pregnant at 13 and a student who is considered a «passive leaver», he is unmotivated and decides to disconnect from everything and everyone.

graders is the result of a progressive worsening of disruptive situations that leads to increasingly serious conflicts. In every case where orders to leave the classroom and disciplinary procedures pile up, the adoption of the suspension measure is a constant (there are only 2 cases in which a collection of disciplinary procedures does not lead to suspensions). In 5 of the cases we witness an explosion of suspensions: the sanctions begin at two- or three-days suspensions and escalate towards 12-days suspensions, the maximum.

Let us look at four specific situations.

Filipe, whose 1st cycle teacher, after just three months of classes, gives him an unfavourable diagnosis, writing that he behaves as if school were a place where he can just «play, play, play», begins, after six years in school, to see his file thicken from the 5th grade onwards, with 87 pages of reports of disruptive behavior and disciplinary procedures in that year alone. He gets suspended and is retained once more. In the following year, there are 42 more pages of participations, incidents and proceedings, focused on disobedience, insolence and disrespectful behavior. He is retained again. By the end of the year, a report by the class head-teacher and by the Special Education teacher recommends something that everyone knows is unreasonable and lacking in any practical sense: «The guardian must monitor the student assertively when it comes to school activities in the next academic year». In the 1st grade, his teacher wrote that he had «no nuclear family».

João's first cycle teacher, when time comes for him to move forward to the 5th grade (he had already been retained in the 2nd grade because of an illness), in order to justify the granting of additional psychological support, writes that he lives only with his mother, who is separated from his father because of his abusive behavior. The mother works at night and the boy stays with his godmother, in a living room. The father is in prison and the son visits

him. In other words, the climate of insecurity and danger around him gets worse. The Family and Juvenile Court grants temporary guardianship to his sister, who lives abroad. He spends two years with her, who is only seven years his senior, and then returns to his school. He enrolls in the 8th grade and is retained, failing every subject and gathering many unjustified absences. In the following academic year, he remains in the same school, with the same curriculum and the same evaluation. In that year, he gets a 10-day suspension for disruptive behavior in October. In November, he gets suspended for three days, again for the same reason. In mid-December, at his term evaluation, his class head-teacher wrote the following under «global assessment»: «João does not like school and has no expectations about the future. We are in the presence of an extremely problematic element, who is confrontational and who often acts aggressively, provocatively and disrespectfully towards members of the educational community, in the classroom and outside of it». Among other things, this evaluation turns the student into an «element» and not only that: an «extremely problematic» one. The following month, the Court orders him to be institutionalised due to the incompatibility with his mother. He joins organized crime and starts using. He repeats the 8th grade in a different school and is retained again. The Court orders him to be placed in a Therapeutic Community, which ends up happens during the following academic year. Per the institution's choice, he does not attend school.

Carmo started having trouble in school early. She was retained in the 3rd and 5th grades. She benefitted from several «curricular adaptations» and was referred to the Special Education programme at the end of the first cycle of education.

When she is repeating the 5th grade, her Special Education teacher calls her «a very immature student, she shows a relevant motor restlessness, especially in small groups. She is rude and used to threatening other classmates, saying she will hit them; she even threatens

older students by saying she has x brothers and that they will be waiting for the other children. She is the child of a separated mother, and there are no limits imposed on her behavior. She is unmotivated, she skips school to play football with her brother's friends. The school lightens her curricular burden, she attends the 6th grade and is retained again. The snow ball can only grow: she begins collecting disciplinary actions and suspensions.

At the age of 14, her class head-teacher writes a report in which she traces the following profile:

«Carmo continues to skip classes often; she does not perform the tasks that are part of the ARA – learning recovery activities, and which are offered for every subject and include simple activities; she has a bad relationship with her classmates, she is confrontational, there have been complaints of violence. Her attitude towards teachers and staff has become worse... She does not pay attention in class nor is she committed, she is constantly distracting her classmates, her behavior remains disturbing, she answers rudely to teachers and staff (in May 2015, she was suspended for having activated a fire extinguisher in a hallway); she reveals a complete lack of interest and commitment in school work, she does not overcome her learning and concentration difficulties... The students does not study, nor does she do her homework, and she remains completely unmotivated (she has been telling her classmates, since the first term, that she is sure she will be retained), her mother has been called and shows up in school. When her mother is called and is presented with situations involving her daughter, she frequently says she has no idea what to do, «there's nothing left to do but to kill her». And that is all she says.

The second time she is enrolled in the 6th grade, as a Special Education student, the school offers her some adaptations to the enrolment and individual curricular adaptations to her

enrolment process (DL 3/2008). She benefits from pedagogical support in Portuguese, English and Mathematics. Her class head-teacher registers: «Carmo does not show any interest in the activities of the different subjects and she does not pay attention or concentrate since the beginning of the year». The teacher goes on: «since the beginning of October, the student has adopted disruptive behaviours in several classes, upsetting their regular operation, provoking and challenging the teachers' authority. In three days, she gathered five disciplinary actions». The class head-teacher met with the mother to suggest a referral to a vocational course, but the mother did not authorise. By the end of the first term, in January, the class head-teacher registers 11 mentions of being late, 24 mentions for lack of school materials, 72 unjustified absences and 17 disciplinary procedures, for «aggressive attitudes towards adults, incorrect and unruly behaviours». She has been the subject of a corrective measure, two sanctioning disciplinary measures with a three-day suspension. She is monitored by a Social Security worker and she benefits from psychological support offered by the School Cluster. She is retained again and transfers to a new school. She enrolls in a PIEF and is retained again, with nine fail grades, because she stops attending school.

Noé reveals several inadequacy problems in the 1st cycle, he benefits from a Pedagogical Monitoring Plan since the 3rd grade, and from tutorial support since the 5th; by the end of this year, his «global assessment» reads «the student has showed a lack of interest, he does not study and he does not do his homework. He must be monitored more closely by his guardian». There is nothing else in the report, despite the school being aware of the huge challenges he faced concerning his home life. During the following year, his inadequacy issues persist and he gets suspended for a day. He is retained. His father dies in a car crash. His «lack of interest» increases, and so do the disciplinary measures; he is flagged by the

CPCJ as an at-risk student and the school paints this portrait: «Noé has been retained twice (3rd and 6th grades); in the past year he has exhibited a confrontational behavior and a lack of self-control; he has difficulty interacting with his classmates and teachers, he behaves aggressively, both physically and verbally, he reveals a lack of study and a lack of concentration in class, he does not complete the proposed activities, he regularly skips classes, without any justification, while being within the school grounds, his upsetting behavior is getting worse, he does come to class often and is frequently late, he lacks interest and motivation concerning school activities, he does not obey when called by his teachers to change his behavior, he repeatedly asks to leave class for a few moments, disrupting the normal operations of activities, alleging that he does not feel well (headaches, nausea...), but he does not always return to class; he refuses to complete the tasks; his mother exhibits a feeling of powerlessness concerning her son's attitudes». They add that, following his father's passing, «the mother comes to school and says her son is outraged». In that academic year, in September, October and January he receives notes for inappropriate behavior. He gets suspended for 8 days. He is also subjected to a «corrective measure»: cleaning the school. In that same year, there is another report concerning Noé, in which the class head-teacher adds to the previous list: «When he comes to school he does not bring the necessary materials, he does not write what teachers tell him to write, even when his classmates provide him with paper and a pen to write with; he has never showed up to his tutoring appointments and he does not attend his remedial classes.»

By the end of the year, his evaluation chart shows he got a 1 grade in all subjects. The following year he is obliged to attend the 6th grade for the third time and he will be retained again, by the same school, where he was offered the same exact curriculum, even

after everything the school knew and everything that was written in the previous «reports». This time he will leave school.

It is now important to summarise and analyse what we were able to gather in the SPF about disciplinary procedures adopted in response to disruptive behavior in the classroom.

It is difficult, in the cases we looked at, to confirm whether the Law is being followed, in other words, that the sanctions seek pedagogical ends and that they contribute to changes in the behavior of students, to the strengthening of their civic education, to the students' balanced development of personality, and to their complete integration within the educational community. If the sanctions adopted aimed at meeting these goals, they are very far from having succeeded, in the cases we examined. Conversely, they often lead to a continuous increase in the distance and lack of dialogue between the students and the school, and in the conflicts and the violence, in what constitutes a sort of «snow ball».

Indeed, being able to momentarily stop an disruptive behavior does not mean questioning the reasons that underlie it, nor does it equate establishing the necessary connection and dialogue with the student and actively contributing to a new behavior. This becomes clear once the punished behavior is repeated and growing in frequency and intensity. What happens, in fact and beyond what the law might intend, is that sanctions lead to new and more severe sanctions and, despite not suggesting per se that students ought to leave, they push them increasingly harder and gradually towards leaving.

When faced with problems of disruptive behavior and non-compliance with the rules, schools clearly adopt a sanctioning logic, a lot more than a corrective one. Moreover, we do not find in the cases we looked at, as was to be expected in an environment of mandatory and inclusive schooling which aims to reach the noble goals quoted above, any situation

where the school opted for a positive education strategy, i.e., the identification and strengthening of these children's abilities and talents, the joint analysis of the problems that took place and the focus on the student's ability to find a solution to those problems, in an environment of cooperation and encouragement.

As Nelsen et al. (2017) has written, everything seems to be in the service of the principle that children ought to feel worse, being punished repeatedly and in an «exemplary» fashion, in order for them to behave better. Punishment can sometimes be effective in the very short term, when trying to stop an disruptive behavior, but it reveals itself to be ineffective in the long run and when repeated often, because it is based on a logic that is alien to the students and in which they are not encouraged through cooperation to learn and to behave better. The relationship that is established is always focused on the problems, the indiscipline and the corresponding punishment, and not on the solutions which could transform, since its early detection, each disruptive behavior into a learning and personal development opportunity.

The school model rests on punishment as the best method to deal with disruptive behaviours and with the disrespect concerning established rules. What becomes clear is that punishment leads to the gradual escalation of those behaviours, as if it were the substance on which the inadequacy and conflict snow balls feeds in order to grow in size.

On the other hand, this procedure contributes to the stigmatization and the continuous exposure of children and their families to the endless lists of weaknesses and inabilities. It is not enough for schools to know these children are poor, that they live in poorly educated environments (as we have seen), where they are often exposed to violence, and where that are very low expectations concerning their education. This ostensive and offensive expose

can only make conflicts between children (and families?) and schools worse. By cataloguing these children as being «unteachable» (Bernot-Caboche, 2016), the school is digging a bigger gap, which gradually renders moot any possibility of listening, dialogue and joint creation of a customised training and education pathway. No matter how much pedagogical and tutorial support the school subjects a child to, no matter the curricular adaptations: the so-called inclusive and democratic school publicly humiliates and expels those it deems «unteachable», through the micro-decisions of its pedagogical bodies.

The lack of motivation and the indiscipline will be joined by distrust, refusal and conflict; we need to recognise an individual resistance to the school's institutionalised violence and to the stigmatisation and marginalisation, in a vicious circle of negative expectations and humiliation.

The seriousness of this procedure is even more severe in a mandatory schooling system. There is nothing the student can do but to follow the path the school sets for him or her, and this is made worse by the fact that failure to reach this minimum schooling requirements (6th or 9th grades) is a major contributing factor in social exclusion. This, in conjunction with the loss of family income due to non-compliance with the duty to attend school, means that leaving formally and definitively gets postponed, and children must face unbearable situations.

As Bernot-Caboche (2016) writes, by participating this way in the creation of underachievers and delinquents, school is also participating in the construction of marginality and juvenile delinquency.

Unlike what the Law states concerning the «status of the student», the results of these educational procedures end up being chronic «academic failure» and the gradual exclusion of these students, as soon as possible, from school.

1.4.6. School maladjustment processes: academic failure

Retentions are a consequence and a constant in the cases under review. Every student is retained at least twice. Retention leads to the need to repeat the whole academic year that was «lost», even the subjects in which the student had received a pass, and it often generates further retentions.

Pascoal is retained in the 4th grade and then again four times in the 5th grade. Benjamin is retained three times in the 5th grade and another three in the 6th. Isaiás is retained four times in the 6th grade. Nelsa is retained once in the 5th grade and another three times in the 6th. Gabriel is retained three times in the 6th grade and twice in the 7th. Carmo is retained once in the 3rd grade, once in the 5th and twice in the 6th. Célia is retained once in the 2nd grade, once in the 4th, once in the 5th grade and twice in the 6th. Nóe is retained once in the 3rd grade and another three times in the 6th. Paulino is retained once in the 2nd grade, once in the 5th and three times in the 7th. In other words, retentions are a constant and brutal educational practice in many of the cases we examined, and they serve to dig an even deeper hole between school and these students.

In the 25 case studies, that include schooling paths that never went beyond the 7th grade, 2 of the students are retained 6 times, 3 are retained 5 times, 10 are retained 4 times, 9 are retained 3 times and 1 of them is retained twice.

Retentions and the subsequent academic year repetitions just add to the lack of motivation, because the curriculum is the same, the student is forced to repeat every subject, even those he or she passed, and the gradual increase in the age gap between these students and the majority of their classmates enhances the lack of interest and the disruptive behaviours.

Teenagers end up leaving school at 15, 16 or 17 (only one of them leaves at 14), after having completed at most the 5th grade (14 cases), which is usually completed by the age of 10, the 6th grade (6 cases) or the 7th (5 cases).

It is as if the school lacks other additional or alternative educational «resource» beyond retention and year repetition, once, twice, three and even four times in a row, as in the case of Pascoal. Repetition constitutes another punishment, even more severe than suspension. It becomes the maximum penalty adopted by schools and, to make matters worse, the same student can be the subject of this punishment several times in a row. The severity of this procedure means that, as mentioned by Montes & Lehmann (2004), retention and repetition are the most relevant predictor of ESL.

It is therefore important to understand what educational logic underlies this recurrent practices, in which the curriculum is used as an penalty instrument, because the clearest results are the worsening of the problems the punishment ought to be solving, the gradual stigmatisation and marginalisation of these students in the school environment, and the subsequent realisation that the only path left for these children is leaving mandatory schooling. This ends up being the true logic underlying the school's actions, even if it is concealed as such.

Before we move to a more comprehensive analysis of the results, let us look at what schools, teachers and pedagogical bodies recommend to their students and their families.

1.4.7. School recommendations when faced with inadequacy and academic failure

We have already mentioned some forceful and premature recommendations, as in the case of Timóteo (after three months in school, his parents receive a document that tells them, in bold and uppercase, «IT IS URGENT that Timóteo improves... HIS BEHAVIOUR MUST CHANGE»), alongside other somewhat unreasonable recommendations, given what the school knows concerning the environment at home, as in the case of Filipe, who received, by the end of the 5th grade, when he is retained for the second time, a recommendation from his class head-teacher and his Special Education teacher: «The guardian must monitor the student assertively when it comes to school activities in the next academic year.»

We have also looked at the technical interventions in the cases of Adília and Nicolau.

A child like Nicolau, whose living arrangements we have already described, after having repeated the second grade, inspires his teacher to write in his global assessment, based on annual reports from the psychologist who works with the boy: «The psychologist argues that the student's learning difficulties stem from the "growing destabilisation and disruption at home, which hasn't allowed him to get the necessary safety to be able to absorb the work he carries out"». He characterises the support from the family as «a permissive parenting style, where the lack of rules, the avoidance of conflict, the overprotection and the excessive tolerance are significant and have created added difficulties to the work he has done». In that year's final assessment, the teacher writes that «Nicolau reveals an emotional instability and an inability to comply with rules, which does not allow teachers to work with

him consistently. He is sometimes interested and does the work, but other times he simply refuses to work. (...) He urgently needs another type of parental support. Despite the difficulties, he progressed throughout the year and has acquired some skills in different areas (...). He will move forward to the 3rd grade». But, his teacher recommends, «he must not forget to do some studying and some reading during the Summer holidays, as a way to enrich and diversify his vocabulary. He must continue to receive socio-educational support». By crossing the psychologist's information with his daily work at school, it is hard to understand how a teacher could find it possible to make this sort of recommendation for the «Summer holidays».

A few years later he successfully completes the 5th grade. In April of that year, his class head-teacher produces a report in which she suggests to the school principal that he should be suspended for 2 days; there she traces his profile in a page and a half: «he does not heed any reprimand, he is constantly disrupting the classroom operation, he speaks loudly, makes inappropriate comments, answers inappropriately and aggressively when called to reason, he refuses to complete the tasks he is assigned by his teachers, he replies provocatively, disrespectfully and aggressively, he uses offensive words and threatens his classmates during class, his behavior undermines the operation of the class every day, his attitudes are getting worse, and so is his lack of manners and aggressivity... he is on a downward path and has never given any inkling that he is sorry or that he wishes to change».

Even after noting this set of weaknesses, the Class Council will, at the end of the year, decide that he has completed the academic year, with a fail mark in History, Mathematics and Technological Education. The Special Education teacher writes the following in his end of the year chart: «The student is under the Decree-Law 3/2008, of 7 January, with

customised pedagogical support measures, individual curricular adaptations, adaptations in his enrolment process and adaptations to the evaluation process». All these adaptations, all this support from the Law and, at the same time, the student is only capable of generating «emotional instability and disorderly behaviours».

Gabriel attends the 6th grade for the first time and is retained. His class head-teacher writes in his first term assessment: «Gabriel does not behave appropriately in the classroom. He interrupts the teacher and his peers too often for silly things that add nothing to the class. He does not always perform the tasks assigned to him... He must change his upsetting behavior. He will get better results if he applies himself, if he studies and if he concentrates in class». The third term final assessment reads only: «he must work a lot harder next year at every single task. He must be careful with his attitudes and behaviours». He is retained.

It is important that we notice the language, which clearly demonstrates the school's attitudes: the student, and only him, must change his behavior, for he will be able to improve his performance if he applies himself, if he studies harder and if he concentrates more in class; in the following year, he needs to work harder, he must be careful with his attitudes and behaviours. But how can the student study more, how can he concentrate more in class? What can the Class Council think of to offer?

How is it not clear that the student needs another kind of educational intervention by the school, a different kind of personal monitoring and another sort of curricular proposal? The best offer the school has to give him, when faced with this scenario, is to retain him and force him to attend again the same subjects, following the same pedagogical approach.

He attends the 6th grade again and gets suspended for two days in December and for three days in March. He is frequently absent, so much so the school is unable to assess him by the end of the year. The CPCJ begins monitoring him.

His end of the year assessment reads only: «the lack of control over his behavior and attitudes, his predisposition to challenge the authority of adults, as well as his irregular attendance, coupled with a lack of commitment and resilience in the performance of his tasks (when he does show up) have undermined the success we expected to see this year». He is retained again. And again, the school offers a total repeat of what he has just gone through. It will be the third time.

It could only go wrong, of course. If nothing changes, how could it go any better? How can you expect the student to improve his behavior, his attendance and his performance if nothing changes on the part of the institution, from the dialogue established with him to the educational offer he is given?

In education, what doesn't get better gets worse. This new academic year is like a tsunami: he receives eight «disciplinary participations» before December, for challenging authority and for being late all the time, for running from the staff member who accompanies him, for being rude in class, for laughing at everybody, for breaking into a classroom while a class was taking place. He is consequently suspended for two days. In March he is suspended again for another two days and in April he is sent home for a day. School continues to offer him study support and a «Pedagogical Monitoring Plan», but they realise, and write down, «that nothing works».

One is impressed by the impotency and fragility of such a powerful institution, with its mandatory character, its hierarchical power, the power of its knowledge and of the «powerful» within it!

This impotency and fragility will manifest themselves exuberantly at the end of the year: the student completes the grade. Indeed, at the end of the year, in the school's «global assessment», tired and blocked, the institution writes: approved. The school writes, for what purpose and to whom, no one knows, that «the student will have to change his attitude towards school and become interested in school activities if he wishes to acquire knowledge and obtain satisfactory results». That is all.

Elisa, who has a very irregular pathway and who changed schools four times because of the different processes of institutionalisation she has gone through, due to family negligence, will be retained again after attending the 6th grade, the last time she will be in school, after being retained twice before. She will receive the following global assessment: «The student lacks interest and reveals a complete lack of responsibility towards her schooling. She often skips class; she is not committed and does not do the work regularly. She must change her behavior or she will compromise her academic success». Yes, that is clearly a risk in the case of Elisa.

During the academic year of 2013/2014, Isaiás attends the 6th grade, in the same school, for the fourth time. In November of 2013, the school says «Isaiás does not work and does not allow others to work. He reveals a complete lack of interest in the subjects. He does not have the necessary materials and he is always distracted and talking. He does not complete any task and he disrupts the class».

A report by his class head-teacher says that «following 16 written admonitions and 12 orders to abandon the classroom he was suspended for a day». He is retained again.

The following year he will attend the 6th grade for the fifth time, in the same school. But something changed: he enrolls in an alternative Curriculum Pathways (PCA) class, which in this case included training areas such as «Gardening, Restoration and Conservation, Environment and Citizenship Workshop». He still skips many classes. In December of that year he is suspended for two days. The Police files a suit for theft at the school. The CPCJ performs a special kind of monitoring of this student. In March, he gets suspended for two days and is later suspended for another three. The escalation is brutal.

The PCA class head-teacher writes the following global assessment, after five years in the 6th grade: «Isaías does not take advantage of his abilities. He could perform much better and have an academic history that meets his real abilities. He has surpassed, without much effort, some of the difficulties that he faced concerning the curriculum. In the future, he MUST make a much bigger effort and be much more ambitious». He can now move to the 7th grade, after five years in the 6th and many inabilities later... He never sets foot in school again.

Timóteo, who we have already mentioned over the early detection of a «problematic» situation, has a troubled schooling. He is retained once in the 2nd grade, twice in the 5th and once again in the 6th grade. As soon as he begins the 5th grade, the disciplinary procedures pile up and so do the suspensions, and this becomes even worse the second time around. In that year, his global assessment reads: «Timóteo was unable to overcome his difficulties due to his lack of commitment, work habits, attendance, lack of materials and non-compliance with classroom rules. He must commit to working harder next year. He must

improve his behavior and attitudes». And that it all, no more, no less. School further suggests, in complementary notes, that he «will be referred to remedial classes for English, Mathematics and Sciences the following year». What is written could apply to any other student, it has no real connection to Timóteo. But it is his assessment and it is meant to be read by his mother.

The only clear result is that he will enrol in the 5th grade for the third time, to do the exact same thing, and to take every subject again, even those he completed successfully.

And so it goes. At the end of this third attempt he is allowed to move forward, but the assessment is written in the same detached, technical, inhuman language meant for no one: «Timóteo skips many classes and rarely comes on time. He must register classes in his notebooks and he must always bring the necessary materials to school. He must comply with classroom rules and study. (...) He needs to control his attitudes both in and outside of the classroom. Timóteo has acquired the necessary 5th grade learning. Next year, he must study, he must pay attention and concentrate, he must work harder and he must temper his behavior. He benefits from a Pedagogical Monitoring Plan».

He attends the 6th grade in the same school. In November of 2017, he is suspended for three days and the «corrective disciplinary measure» notes that «during the suspension period, the student must copy «The Student's Conduct Code» 72 times. And here's the reasoning behind the decision: «This measure aims to correct his upsetting behavior and to reinforce his civic training, with a view to a balanced development of his personality, of his ability to relate to others, of his complete integration in the educational community, of his sense of responsibility and of his learning». In the first eight months of the school year he will gather 14 disciplinary participations, in March he will be suspended for 12 days, the

maximum penalty, with a communication to the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Juvenile and Family Court, and he will get another 3-days suspension in June. He will be taken from his mother and placed in an institution.

In the case of Américo, the global assessment at the end of the 6th grade read: «Américo exhibits a lack of interest and no effort, so he must improve his attitude if he wishes to get better results next year». He completes the year successfully.

The following year he enrolls in the 7th grade and is retained. At the same school he gets a fail grade of 2 (out of 5) in every subject, except Physics-Chemistry, for which he gets a grade of 1. In the middle of the school year, in February, he is suspended for 3 days. His teacher's global assessment for that year is the following: «Disruptive student, he is often distracted in class. He must improve his punctuality and his posture in class and outside of it. He has not studied in order to overcome his difficulties».

The following year he enrolls again in the 7th grade. Again, he retained, there are many unjustified absences. Teachers say he has failed to abide by what was offered in his «Individual Pedagogical Monitoring Plan». The work proposals included in the Plan are mostly the following: «copy to notebook», «complete the exercises sheet», «complete the worksheets», «present the notebook», «deliver the notebook». At the end come the results: «He did not fulfil his obligations».

The global assessment for this new year reads: «Américo has exhibited an interest in things completely removed from the school environment, and that has made it impossible for him to succeed in school. The student must reconsider his views of school, seeing that he has the abilities to succeed academically, if he wishes».

In other words, the problem is not how the school sees the student, it is just the way the student views the school!

To conclude the presentation of these results, it would be interesting to know more about the intervention of a different person, a child psychiatrist from a hospital in town. This report follows a different one, and two more will be produced two years later. It reads: «The student has a cognitive potential, but he exhibits a significant lack of affection and insecurities related to the problematic family disfunction. Nicolau suffers from low self-esteem and anxiety, particularly during the school terms. He is insecure, afraid of rejection... He reveals sadness over the absence of his mother, and his need for affection is clear». Later, after listing some support he might receive, the doctor adds: «He may benefit from the naming of a teacher-tutor, with whom he may share greater affinity and who might be able to offer some guidance, promoting his self-esteem and self-control, avoiding putting pressure on him and stigmatising him». This analysis could be crucial, both to the identification of underlying problems and to the proposal of a tutor. The pain of having been abandoned by his mother is a terrible sorrow which, according to him, affords him the right to hurt those around him.

1.4.8. Discussion

In view of the above, it is imperative that we catalogue and briefly discuss the main results of the research carried out, by describing the same arch as the initial questions.

1. We concluded that there is often an early detection of disruptive situations between children and school, which usually happens in the 1st or 2nd grades. This detection is usually extensively documented, with teachers' reports, later accompanied by reports from psychologists and, sometimes, even by doctors.

The abundant data gathered by schools about these students serves four main purposes: (i) to support pedagogical and administrative decisions that can trigger extraordinary mechanisms of support to students in trouble, through a menu of predefined instruments (from study support to the inclusion in the «special education» category); (ii) to safeguard the justice and legality of the adopted actions, before the families and the Ministry of Education; (iii) to label children who exhibit learning and disruptive behavior, placing them in a different group of unsuccessful and at-risk students, which gives them the «right» to be treated differently; (iv) in some cases, the technical reports by psychologists and doctors reinforce these children's segregation around a set of diagnosed and certified pathologies.

We can also conclude that, in this sample, there are only two situations of identification involving ethnic minorities or migrants (a Roma girl and a black boy). These children and adolescents are almost always white and native, but end up set aside in a group for at-risk and endangered students.

The early detection of the first signs of inadequacy, between the children and school and between the children and the schooling processes offered by schools, which is considered to be decisive for the implementation of timely educational action (Pagani et al. 2001; Flores et al. 2014), can also be seen as the establishment of a curtain that labels and abundantly justifies these students' exceptionality; a curtain that becomes thicker, as it rests more and more on their inabilities. The manifestation of disruptive behaviours, that usually takes place

afterwards, will also contribute both to pushing the students away from the general and common educational offer and to gradually stopping them from being seen as they are, in all their potential.

It is as if, as they look at them and as they build a more extensive understanding about these students' inadequacies, those eyes stop being able to see them, to see the real students; it is as if they become prisoners of the routine description of their faults, they become stuck by the numbing of their ability to see attentively. This way of looking also misses two very important things: inadequacies are two-faced and they are not just about the child's relationship with school. There are inadequacies in the way the school relates to these students and they must not be forgotten, since it does not allow the institution to see the complexity of these children, who are declared inappropriate, incapable and unsuccessful. This way of looking increasingly prevents proximity and attention, as well as awe.

Gradually, individual students remain in the classroom, but not as they are, with their limits and potential, with family problems and an ability to feel awe and wonder, with their capacity to grow; they are transformed into students who cannot read, write, do math, behave, comply with the rules, speak correctly and who are, therefore, slowly pushed away from the school's universe.

2. In every case we examined, we witnessed, in the social and family environment (in the social housing where most of them live) situations of poverty and low qualifications, coupled with other situations which worsen living conditions (in 19 of the 25 cases), such as teenager parents, domestic violence, negligence, absence of the father or of the mother,

abuse, separation from the parents and siblings through institutionalisation, parents' alcoholism, drug abuse and trafficking, parents in prison, the death of parents or grandparents. These help to contextualise the inadequacies detected early.

3. In order to understand the inadequacies of these students and of their schools, we have performed an analysis of the absenteeism, of the «orders to abandon the classroom» and of sanctions that are generally applied to disruptive behaviours.

Absenteeism begins in the 5th grade, the first after the first cycle with its one teacher regime. Disciplinary procedures take place from the 6th grade onwards, from requests to leave the classroom to suspension measures. We can see that the corrective and sanctioning measures start by being small and infrequent, but the tendency is almost always for these measures to acquire a growing and exponential gravity. There is an effective snow ball effect.

Absenteeism and the disruptive behavior that follows must also be seen as external manifestations of the lack of interest and motivation of these children, when faced with what the school has to offer, whether it is the general and common curriculum or the set of special mechanisms for «increased pedagogical support». The constant acknowledgement that students do not take advantage of these mechanisms that are made available to them proves this point and it becomes another fault they are responsible for.

4. We also concluded that punishment constitutes the preferred educational procedure, when schools are faced with persistent disruptive and conflict situations. It is crucial that we

question the extent to which the systematic punishment is a pathway to implicate students in their learning process, to allow them to grow and to develop skills, since schools choose to make children and adolescents feel worse in order to be able to feel better in the future, to study and to behave as they are supposed to (Nelsen et al., 2017).

The execution of sanctions, in the cases under review, is very far from meeting the educational goals prescribed by the Law.

5. The transition between cycles, mainly between the first and second, which implies going from primary school, with its one teacher regime, to having to deal with more than ten, is a clear point for the worsening of disruptive behaviours. It is as if a dam of contention bursts and the inadequacy just overflows uncontrollably. Several studies flag this problematic transition situation between the 1st and 2nd cycles which, in Portugal, breaks into two, when students are aged 9, the schooling period that in other European countries is usually longer and leads students through to the end of childhood, from 6 to 11 (Montes & Lehmann, 2004; Saragoça et al, 2013; CNE, 2015; Claro, 2017).

6. Academic failure ends up affecting all these students, more than once and, in some cases, too many times. Failure begins in the 1st cycle (14 out of 25 cases). Retention almost always led to the complete repetition of the previous year, even in subjects where the student succeeded, and there are several cases of successive repetitions of the same grade.

The literature is clear on the subject of the negative impact of retention and successive repetitions for the self-esteem and the pleasure children derive from studying (Pagani et al.

2001; Rebelo, 2009, Flores et al., 2013), particularly when it affects students during the first cycle (Justino et al, 2014), weakening their bond towards school and promoting a tendency to interact with deviant peers (Simões et al. 2008). Retention is usually associated with negative thoughts, such as humiliation and shame, that undermine future behaviours and the educational progression of students (Pagani et al. 2001; Rebelo, 2009).

Repeated academic failure has, in the cases we looked at, several consequences: (i) it never constituted an element of correction of schooling trajectories, because the first retentions are always associated with subsequent ones; (ii) the permanent struggle with the same contents and curricular proposals, year after year, is a permanent inducement to the lack of interest and the disengagement with the commitment to learning; (iii) the age gap between these students and those in the same classroom gradually increases, as the retentions pile up, which tends to promote a lack of interest and feeling of repulsiveness for the atmosphere in the classroom (Lopes, 2013) and, consequently, it also promotes inadequacy and acts of indiscipline. This may be the result of the provocation that being publicly exposed as being behind and being incapable of moving forward constitutes, which invites them to act out the part they are given, that of the devil among the angels.

7. We can conclude that, as disruptive behaviours and conflicts emerge, the way of looking at these students is usually based on negative pedagogical appreciations, methodically built on an extensive set of weaknesses and inabilities, on what each of them is «unable to do». Before and beyond the school's actions and omissions, the language used hurts and mistreats.

Thus, when faced with the difficulties these children have when it comes to integration and the disruptive behaviours that they generate, which are but the manifestation of a growing discomfort, schools tend to perform an analysis of the situations based on their disqualification as students and as people. The emphasis placed in the weaknesses and inabilities is permanent, and it affects almost every case we looked at (except that of Maria, who had an early pregnancy). Berridge (2000:5) refers to a «dark catalogue of misery».

It would be important to ask how we can rebuild the commitment towards a schooling pathway that is long, demanding, and which requires stability and self-esteem, attention, permanent encouragement and emotional well-being. The disqualifying and humiliating descriptions constitute an institutional educational inability: schools have trouble dealing with these situations and they reveal serious limitations when it comes to integrating poorer students from socio-cultural contexts which are distant from the dominant school culture (Tarabini, 2015).

8. Besides, it is clear that the pedagogical recommendations that schools issue are characterised by a generic, repetitive, hermetic and impersonal language. This language integrates them into an abstract collective of «at-risk and unsuccessful students», as being incapable, violent and lacking family support. These students' catalogue of weaknesses and miseries ends up denying their individual existence and the school that came up with it refers to its administrative role of managing and framing those who are different, more than building appropriate pedagogical pathways with each of them (Millet & Thin, 2003).

It is easier to declare these students as «unteachable» than to pay attention to their faces and their wounds, to listen to them, to get to know their contexts and building, with each of them, the customised access to the knowledge socially valued by the school.

9. What we can see is that the «school of inclusion» includes the denial of some students, not only because the «inclusion strategy» generally includes depleting the curriculum (making it shorter in the less demanding parts, without altering its configuration, in other words, its context and purpose, the school work proposals, the curriculum, the evaluation), but also because it includes reducing the «inclusion» and the academic justice effort to a few study support techniques and to practices of so-called «pedagogical differentiation».

All that is truly structuring, such as the blind adoption of the «program that was sent by the Ministry», the inflexible management of the curriculum, the hermetic way the subjects are organised and the inability to create interdisciplinary projects that promote significant learning for these students, the rigid organisation of groups of students and classes, the normalisation of pedagogical procedures, and the permanent competitiveness among students, the selective promotion of a small nucleus of human abilities, the lack of time for encouraging dialogue, for caring, for trusting and for attending to the interests and abilities of these students and for building other work habits alongside them, the abstract, general and guilt-apportioning «pedagogical» language: all these remain the same. The school does not abandon its educational standardised processes and the students are gradually placed in a position where they fall outside of school.

What is in fact in question is a certain «mode of educational production», a certain rationality, that attacks and corrodes the anthropological foundations of education. By

looking more attentively at the excluded, we can conclude that we must look more attentively at the modes of educational production, so that we can get to know them in detail or so that we can gradually eliminate them.

10. Through the analysis of the decisions made by the schools' pedagogical bodies, we can see that the educational processes are never put into question; they are partly and slightly reformulated and adapted, so that in essentials they can remain the same. It is always the students who don't study, don't do the work, who make no effort, who are not interested, who cannot change their attitudes and behaviours, who do not improve punctuality, who fail to take advantage of their abilities and... who do not change their view of school.

The school says that Nicolau «really needs to have more support at home», in other words, he needs to change families so that school can provide its educational mission.

Class Councils recommend, impersonally and systematically, that students do this and that, next term, next year, during the holidays, as if these students weren't their students and weren't sticking around the following year. They assign these students «curricular adaptations», all sorts of pedagogical support and tutorials, a paraphernalia of mechanisms that gives out the idea that schools are greatly concerned with them. However, this is done alongside a great ability to deny these students their individuality, even when the recommendations invoke a singular name.

The conviction that students have every opportunity and that, besides not taking advantage of them, they are uncooperative and ungrateful, is thus cemented. The appeal, also common, to the fact that «the student is full of potential and is perfectly able to achieve good results» reinforces this mechanism that blames the student and pushes aside the need

to question anything regarding the school's educational actions, i.e., to reinforce that potential.

We can conclude that the way schools deal with students with difficulties integrating leads to the victimization of students as the main authors of their own failures (Collares & Moysés, 1996; Martins et al. 2020).

Thus, the strength of the «meritocratic ideology» (Tarabini, 2015:358) tends to omit the effect that the relationships, identities and subjectivities of students from disadvantaged and discriminated environments have on the academic success or failure, and it puts the responsibility for their fates and their academic history solely on their shoulders.

11. Moreover, referring these students to technical specialized monitoring, either by a psychologist or a doctor, places them outside the field of a predominantly pedagogical intervention, risking stigmatisation, sometimes labelling them based on the diseases they are diagnosed as having. This helps justify successive retentions and generalised academic failure. This «pathologisation» of the non-compliance with the expectations regarding behaviour and performance on the part of some students also leads to a gradual externalisation of the possibility of reverting the processes of inadequacy (Tarabini, 2015) and it partly «frees» schools from carrying on with the construction of concrete pedagogical responses when faced with the concrete problems these students exhibit.

12. Thus, these students' stigmatisation is constructed by small decisions by the school bodies, who relegate them, while still in school, to the margin, where situations of lack of interest and conflict abound.

On the one hand, in an apparently benign way, the selection processes are hidden, which produces an effect of social legitimation. On the other hand, it generates a climate of aggression and punishment, which is sometimes violent, opening school-related wounds on top of the family-related and the abuse ones. Conflict becomes the mark and the expression of a certain «pedagogical way of looking» (Millet & Thin, 2003:35), of an institutional «ethos» that humiliates these students. School slowly builds, in what it does and in what it writes, the category of the unteachable student at risk of leaving; a student who will distance himself from school, at the hand of a school that keeps pushing him towards the margins.

13. It turns out schools practice a model of selectivity that particularly affects the students who come from poorer environments, with low qualifications (as we have seen, out of the 21 known cases, in 11, the mother completed 4 years of education and in 7 cases the mother completed 6). These are accompanied, more often than not, by health issues, the absence of a tranquil and encouraging atmosphere at home, negligence problems, and domestic violence and addiction, as we have mentioned.

This selectivity is, in the words of Bordieu & Champagne (1993:73), «continuous, gradual, imperceptible, unnoticed, both by those who exert it and those who suffer from it. A school that is supposed to be open to all is banned for others, and the commitment towards the

equality of opportunity and equity is undervalued in favor of every other commitment, often to do with a rhetoric of quality (Esteban, 2008).

A democratic school that is open to all gives in to selectivity and social reproduction, so that we are faced with an attempt to reconcile that which can never be reconciled, through processes of dissimulation and various loopholes: the students' academic failure, blaming students for their own failures, punishing indiscipline, the relegation of some students to support systems and training pathways with special curricula or to vocational courses.

14. Some authors refer to these processes of educational action by schools as a silent exclusion (Lewin, 2007; Millet & Thin, 2003; Sparkes, 1999). Schools keep within themselves those that are being «internally excluded» (Bourdieu & Champagne, 1993: 74), by making sure that the students can complete mandatory schooling, whether they are submissive and hidden (Oliveira, 2019) or outraged and more or less violent.

This way, the school grants these internally excluded a triple assurance: to the students, who are allowed to attend school without any interest or sense of commitment, and who can be in school while not being really there; to the parents, who know that the children and adolescents are under someone's care; and to the school administrators, who are allowed to retain these students in school without contributing to the numbers on ESL.

We can conclude, then, that the silent exclusion becomes naturalised and is accepted, after many years and ways of practicing. Schools place a veil between their own responsibility in the students' flaws inventories, once again distancing themselves from students and from their own ability to create other educational responses, whereas the student grows further apart from the school, reacting against it and refusing it.

15. What is put into question is a certain model of schooling. These students' disqualification is continuous and deep. Florence Piron, invoking A. Margalit, speaks of an «institutional humiliation» (2002:192), carried out by an institution that was built by the community as an essential part of the common good, under the principles of the equality of opportunities and the promotion of all citizens.

1.4.9. Final summary: risk factors and the production of exclusion from school

In conclusion, the qualitative analysis carried out allows us not only to highlight the risk of leaving factors, but also to trace the school exclusion modes of production.

Regarding the ESL risk factors, the survey helped to highlight the following:

1. Family setting
 - poor academic qualifications
 - poverty
 - unemployment
 - drug use/drug trafficking
 - negligence
 - domestic violence
 - early pregnancy
 - absent mother/father
 - parents and/or grandparents' death

2. Individual behaviour

- absenteeism
- lack of interest and motivation
- poor academic performance
- retention and year repetition
- early pregnancy
- drug use
- health problems
- high levels of anxiety
- indiscipline and violence

3. School setting

- difficult relationships between students-teachers
- systematic reports concerning the students' inabilities
- negative expectations by teachers
- retention and year repetition
- referral to unwanted «alternative» pathways
- «internal exclusion»

4. Community network

- living in social housing
- poverty atmosphere
- proximity to peers who dismiss school
- entry into pre-delinquency networks

If it were possible to highlight an outcome that exponentially increases the risk, it would be the combination (the scissors effect) of low expectations on the part of schools and teachers and the low expectations that families and the students themselves have regarding school. The risk is much higher among boys (as we could clearly see through the quantitative analysis).

Regarding the mode of production of school exclusion, we found it can be structured into a sequence of 14 actions.

1. Generally speaking, schools detect inadequacy situations among certain students early (during the 1st or 2nd grade).
2. It produces several documents with the identification and analysis of these situations, whether they come from teachers (of general or special education) or from other professionals (psychologists and doctors), who point to pathologies.
3. Schools trigger a set of mechanisms to support the students from among the menu that the Ministry of Education authorises, which is generally made up of a reinforcement of subjects learning (with an emphasis on Portuguese and Mathematics).
4. That documentation works like an analytical architecture, whose foundations are personal weaknesses (and illnesses), family and contextual deficits (poverty, negligence, violence, etc.), school difficulties and behavioural misalignments.

5. The transition between the 1st and 2nd cycles makes matters worse, and so we witness a profusion of orders to leave the classroom, disciplinary procedures and suspension in the 5th and 6th grades.
6. Students begin to feel disqualified and humiliated, at a quarterly and annual rate, delegated to lists of personal inabilities (not learning ones), and they are labelled and discriminated within schools.
7. Beyond this systematic disqualification, they are retained and forced to repeat the exact same year and curriculum, in the exact same way, several times in a row (which results in them sharing a class with much younger classmates).
8. Schools produce very generic and abstract recommendations (quarterly and annually), which are written and communicated in a repetitive and impersonal way to the students and their families.
9. The student, when faced with the school's actions, disconnects from the institution, and reveals an increasing lack of interest, refusal and rebellion.
10. When confronted with disruptive behaviours and attitudes by students, and whenever these recur, the school punishes the faulty students ever more severely, in a discouraging framework that is very far from the pedagogical purpose envisioned by the Law.
11. The conflict between the school and the student is made worse by the accumulated retentions and sanctions, on top of the weaknesses that are systematically communicated to the families and the students, who are clearly pushed out.
12. When confronted with the «negative spiral» he or she is placed in and blamed for (because he or she did not take advantage of the opportunities offered by

the school), the student embodies the role attributed to him or her by the school, as the incapable, the «repeater», the rebel, the one with nothing to lose.

13. After several attempts of adopting pedagogical support and «recovery» measures, the school sometimes refers the student to special modalities, so that they can carry out their learning pathway in a different way (CEF, PCA, PIEF, Vocational Courses).
14. Once unteachable and uneducable students, who affirm their personality when acting against the institution, are created, and when they see themselves in a growing conflict stage, they break and begin to systematically skip school, and will often end up leaving school for good.

In fact, there are descriptions that slowly cover long periods of time, usually somewhere between 9 to 10 years, a distorted cycle of «educational» practices that expel these students from school. This is, in conclusion, the mode of production of school exclusion.

1.4.10. The limits of the analysis

The sample comprises teenagers from a single geographical setting and we only looked at situations of repeated academic failure who ended up leaving school: the most extreme cases of institutional inadequacy; there are, in fact, other students who linger in schools (those who are out while remaining inside), even with failed pathways and at-risk behaviours. Therefore, this sample ignores all the students that found themselves «at risk of leaving» but are still in school (hidden dropout).

Due to the covid-19 pandemic, we were unable to conduct interviews with the students. They lived out their experiences differently and understanding and covering that would have allowed us to create a more complete ESL analysis framework.

Meanwhile, the Martins et al. (2020) study that has just been published, which looked at the same population and the same geographical setting, and which concludes that these «leavers», who were part of a «second opportunity school» initiative, developed the feeling that «school as a whole, and teachers in particular, did not care about students» (p. 144), which demonstrates a weak commitment. The participants in the study pointed out that schools have become «spaces of individual failure and interpersonal conflict where they do not feel welcomed and from which they stop expecting positive results», which promotes a «vicious circle of confronting behaviors and punitive institutional responses» (p. 144). It also concludes that «regular school continues to struggle to deal with cultural diversity, making it especially hard for students from low income families to meet expectations and to succeed academically», and it ends up «pushing the most vulnerable and socially excluded towards a process of growing distancing from formal education that may, ultimately, result in ESL» (p. 148), thus reinforcing situations of vulnerability and exclusion.

This analysis framework could, in order to become more comprehensive and to enlarge its scope, involve teachers, school administrators, families and other important community institutions.

1.5. Effects of ESL on youth unemployment and social exclusion

Having completed the qualitative analysis of a sample of the population in a situation of early school leaving, we return to the quantitative analysis of this study, in order to understand the effects that early school leaving has on youth unemployment and integration into society. Limits were found to carry out this analysis, given the aforementioned lack of indicators that allow understanding, track and monitoring the phenomenon over time.

1.5.1. Quantitative analysis of ESL effects and literature review

Previously, in this work, we provided information on the evolution of the early school leaving in Portugal in the last 20 years (3.3.2.2), which indicated that although overall in country the ESL rate has decreased, this evolution was different from region to region.

Between 2001 and 2019, the highest decreased of ESL was registered at the North region and the lowest decreased at Madeira and Algarve. Currently, the Centre region is the territory with the lowest ESL rate. In opposition, Azores and Madeira are the regions with the highest level of ESL followed, within continental Portugal, by Algarve.

Assuming, the territory asymmetries can explain the disparate evolution of the ESL rate in the country, a research project conducted by ISCTE³⁸, mapped the evolution of the ESL rate throughout the national territory and explored some of its causes. This research took into account four factors that mirror territory asymmetries – unemployment, average income of

³⁸ ISCTE, Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (2014) 'Combate ao Abandono Escolar Precoce: Políticas e Práticas-Sumário Executivo' University of Lisbon.

families, frequency of dual certification courses and weight of the active population in the fisheries and agriculture sectors. For these factors, through the analysis of data from the General Population Censuses 2001 and 2010, reliable quantitative indicators were built at the municipality level and studied in a linear regression model that assumed as a dependent variable the ESL rate per municipality. The study results made it possible to advance some interesting conclusions on how the asymmetries of the national territory can help to understand the different evolution of ESL in Portugal over the years (ISCTE 2014):

- increase in ESL appears to be correlated with an increase in unemployment, indicating that this relationship has a opposite direction to what is expected – on average, throughout the national territory, an increase of 1% in the unemployment rate of a municipality corresponds to an increase of about 0.6% in the ESL rate,
- ESL rate is more intense in municipalities with a greater proportion of the active population affecting the agriculture and fisheries sector – on average, a 1.0% increase in the proportion of people working in the agriculture and fisheries sector in a municipality is accompanied by a 0.1% increase in the ESL rate. Also, the study did not identify a significant relationship between the proportion of the active population affected at the manufacturing sector and the ESL rate, which can help to attest for the success of policies and efforts to combat child labour in the manufacturing sector that were put into practice in Portugal, in the end of the 1990s and throughout the following years,
- higher household income was correlated with lower ESL rates – an increase of one hundred euros in the average monthly earnings of a municipality corresponds to a decrease of about 1.0% in the ESL rate, and

- greater participation in dual certification courses correlates with lower ESL rates – on average, an increase of 1.0% in the rate of participation in dual certification means a reduction of 0.03% in the ESL rate.

Following ISCTE research and leading from two of the factors used in the study, ‘unemployment’ and ‘sector of economic activity’, a summary profile, based on quantitative data, of each region of the Portuguese territory was created. The subsequent table aligns the ESL rate of each region with the territory unemployment rate and the main type of enterprises by economic activity. This brief comparison of data allows drawing some inferences in line with the ISCTE study results:

- regions where work in the agricultural sector is very prominent tend to have higher ESL rates (for example, to sustain the work on family business farms). Azores evidences this relation, confirming the persistence of established relationship between school dropout and agricultural work. Resulting in young people being attracted for less qualified jobs, with low wages and precarious professional situations.
- regions where there is a greater weight in the service sector and greater availability for seasonal employment, like tourism, tend to have higher dropout rates that absorb the greater availability of low-qualified youth employment³⁹. Algarve is an example region, which registers the highest level of ESL rate in mainland Portugal and concentrates (in relation to other activities) a big number of enterprises

³⁹ ISCTE, Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (2014) ‘Combate ao Abandono Escolar Precoce: Políticas e Práticas-Sumário Executivo’ University of Lisbon.

dedicated to 'Accommodation and food service activity'. A region which attracts then low-qualified youth seasonal employment.

- the relationship between unemployment and school dropouts is also visible in, the Centre region with low unemployment rate and the lowest ESL rate in the country.

Region	ESL rate (%), 2019	Unemployment rate (%), 2019	Main type of enterprises by economic activity (%), 2018
North	9,5	6,7	Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (19%)
Centre	7,9	4,9	Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (19%)
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	10,4	7,1	Administrative and support service activities (20%)
Alentejo	12,7	6,9	Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry (24%); Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (18%)
Algarve	19,9	7	Accommodation and food service activities (20%)
Azores	27	7,9	Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry (26%)
Madeira	23,2	6,9	Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry (17%)

Source: INE, 2020

Nevertheless, the aim of this section of the report is to explore the consequences of school dropout in the employment and social integration of youngsters. For example, to analyse the impact of school dropout in terms of long-term unemployment rates, greater probability of obtaining low-skilled jobs with lower wages, less access to the public sector and greater tendency to generate self-employment.

Yet, for this purpose, data limitations were encountered as, in the Portuguese education system, there is no specific indicator for deep and rigorous knowledge of school dropout, in all its manifestations and consequences⁴⁰. Indeed, there is no data to directly infer on the conditions of labour market access and employment of youngsters in early school leaving situation (and compare them with those of young people in non-abandonment situations).

Therefore, to pursue the objectives of this work and given that the economic and social conjuncture of each place, can help to explain the evolution of early school leaving, it was considered relevant to analyse a set of indicators, which could characterise the territories conjuncture. Thence, the subsequent work examines the progress of unemployment, long-term unemployment, activity rate, employed population, temporary work, average monthly earnings and poverty, according to the level of education completed.

In Portugal, after a few years of economic expansion, the first signs of economic recession began in the end of 2007, inducing the increase of unemployment and taxes, cuts in wages and social support and the impoverishment of various sections of the population, especially the most vulnerable (Marques et al. 2016⁴¹).

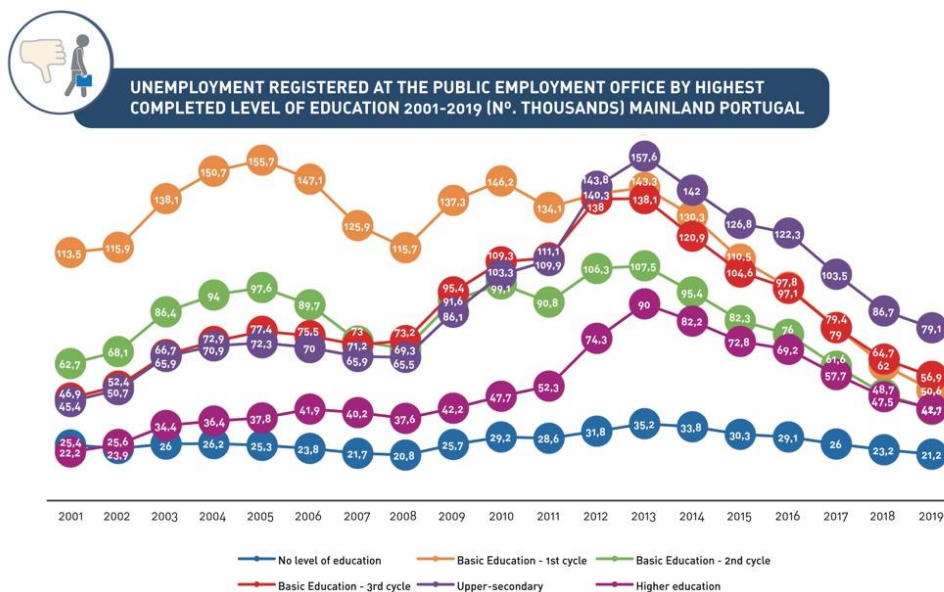
Concretely, unemployment in Portugal reached the highest level in 2013 and decreased thereafter. As previously analysed, through the unemployment rate by the highest completed level of education, the crisis affected both the most educated and the least. Yet, those with lower levels of education were the most affected registering higher unemployment rates. The indicator **unemployment registered at the public employment**

⁴⁰ Tribunal de contas, Report nº10/2020 'Auditoria ao Abandono Escolar Precoce'

⁴¹ (Marques et al., 2016), 'Portugal, a Crise Económica e as duas Macro regiões', VII Jornadas de Geografia Económica : Los escenarios económicos en transformación. La realidad territorial tras la crisis económica

office by highest level of education completed, provides the same results, penalizing more those less qualified.

Considering mainland Portugal, from 2001 to 2019, the years that registered the highest values of unemployment at the public employment office, were 2005, 2010 and 2013, endorsing 2013 as the peak for the unemployment rate. Between 2005 and 2009, the values of unemployment, according to the public employment office, of active population with only the 1st cycle of basic education were very distant and higher from those of active population with upper-secondary and higher education. Indicating that active population with higher qualification was less enrolled as unemployed. Yet, since 2010, with the economic crisis, both those with more or less education were hit by the recession and, in 2013, the share of active population more registered as unemployed had the upper-secondary as level of education completed. Despite all, those with high levels of education completed (like higher education) were less affected. Recently, in 2019, the active population with upper-secondary education remains the segment of active population with more unemployment registrations at the public employment office, even if with lower levels than 2013.



Source: IEFP/MTSS-METD data

To better interpretate this and the following data it is important to consider some factors that have been affecting the youth employment dynamics (and consequently unemployment) (Parente et al. 2014⁴²):

1. The economic dynamism has repercussions on the labour market, i.e., periods of economic growth have represented an increase in employment and periods of recession have caused their contraction. This scenario is also reflected in the available youth employment which decreases in periods of recession. Therefore it is expected that 2009 until 2013 are years of contraction of employment levels.
2. The demographic trend, specifically, the progressive aging of the population. The number of people in active age per aged person (the Potential Sustainability Index) has decreased from 4,2, in 2000 to 2,9, in 2019 (PORDATA 2020). According to the annual estimates of resident population, the population from 15 to 24 years old decreased from 143.4795, in 2001, to 109.5766, in 2019 (INE 2020), which represents a downward trend of people aged between 15 and 24 years available for the labour market.
3. The educational system configuration, concretely the extension of the compulsory education (lasts, since 2009⁴³, for 12 years, starting at 6 and ending at 18 years old or with the conclusion of upper secondary education), which contributes to more and more young people continuing their journey at school and consequently

⁴² Parente, C. et al. (2014), "Os jovens pouco escolarizados no mercado de trabalho português". *Análise Social*, 210, xlix (1.o), pp. 74-102.

⁴³ Law 85/2009, of 27 August, approved the new compulsory education up to the 12th grade (or up to the age of 18) and come into effect in 2009/10 for students who enrolled in the first seven years of schooling

decreases the proportion of young people available for the labour market (particularly with low qualifications). Indeed, from 2001 to 2019, the share of population with no level of education, with basic education 1st and 2nd cycles decreased (respectively by 11,1, 11,5 and 6,4 percentual points). By contrast, during the same period, the level of population with basic education-3rd cycle, with secondary and post-secondary education and with higher education increased (respectively by 5,2, 11 and 12,8 percentual points) (PORDATA 2020).

Going back to the indicator under analysis, unemployment registered at the public employment office, data expresses a wave of qualified young people with upper-secondary education (instead of the basic education-1st cycle) who is not being fully absorbed by the labour market.

The extension of the compulsory education, resulting on youngsters staying longer in school and entering the labour market with higher qualification levels, namely with upper-secondary education, allows to explain why the unemployment registered at the public office is more and more perceived by the active population with upper-secondary education and less by those with basic education 1st and 2nd cycle.

Unemployment registered at the public employment office by the highest completed level of education (yearly average): Person who is registered at the Job Centre, who has no job, is seeking work as an employee, and who is immediately available and able to work for the educational qualification considered ⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ More information on data source:

[https://www.pordata.pt/en/Municipalities/Unemployment+registered+at+the+public+employment+office+\(yearly+average\)+total+and+by+highest+level+of+education+completed-222](https://www.pordata.pt/en/Municipalities/Unemployment+registered+at+the+public+employment+office+(yearly+average)+total+and+by+highest+level+of+education+completed-222)

When analysing **youth unemployment rate** the findings point to the same direction - those with lower levels of education (basic education-2nd cycle) were the most affected by the economic recession even when compared with having the basic education-3rd cycle and secondary education.

From 2009 to 2013 youth unemployment rate for youngster (15 to 24 years old) in Portugal increased exponential from 20,3% (2009) to 38,1% (2013). Since then the country rate has been decreasing towards reaching 18,3%, in 2019. Yet, the youth unemployment rate for youngsters with only basic education-2nd cycle completed, increased exponential from 2009 until 2016 (in 34 percentual points), having its peak four years later than those with higher levels of education. This segment of the active young population was thus more penalized by the economic recession and started to be absorbed later by the labour market.

Unemployment rate for 15 to 24 years old by the highest completed level of education:

represents unemployed persons as a percentage of the civilian labor force for the educational qualification and age considered⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006192&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2&xlang=en



EVOLUTION OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, FOR 15-24 YEARS OLD, BY HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%) PORTUGAL



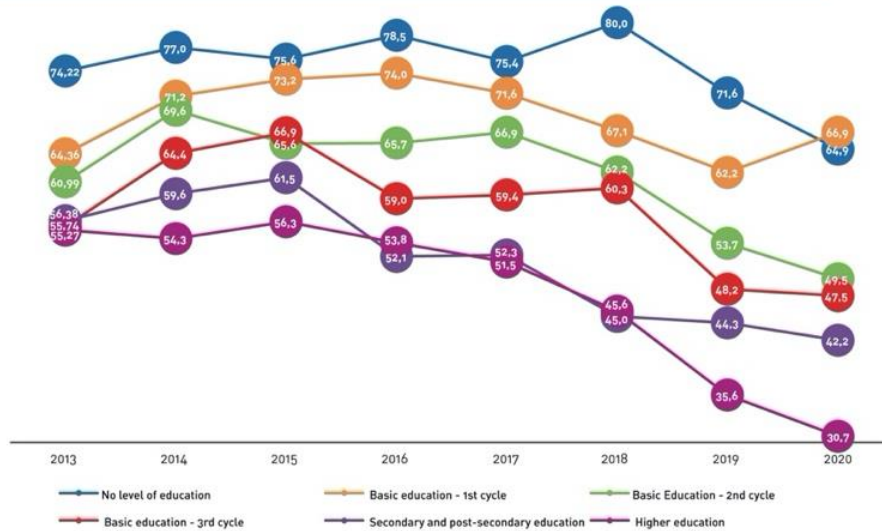
Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

The same inference is made for **long-term unemployment**⁴⁶. In 2013, the share of long-term unemployment in total unemployed population was higher for those with no level of education (74,22%) and lowest for those with higher (55,27%) and basic education – 3rd cycle (55,74%). From 2013 and until the first quarter of 2020, the share of long-term unemployment sharply decreased for those with higher education (in 24,52 percentual points) and for those with secondary and post-secondary education (in 14,22 percentual points). In the same period, it slightly increased for those with basic education – 1st cycle (in 2,58 percentual points). Therefore, over the years, those having higher levels of education tend to be less conducive to long-term unemployment situations. In opposition, those with fewer qualifications (none and basic education – 1st cycle) spend more time in unemployment situation and have more difficulty getting out of it and being absorbed by the labour market.

⁴⁶ Proportion of unemployed seeking a job for 12 and more months (long term).



SHARE OF LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT IN TOTAL UNEMPLOYED POPULATION
BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%) 2013-2020 (QUARTELY)

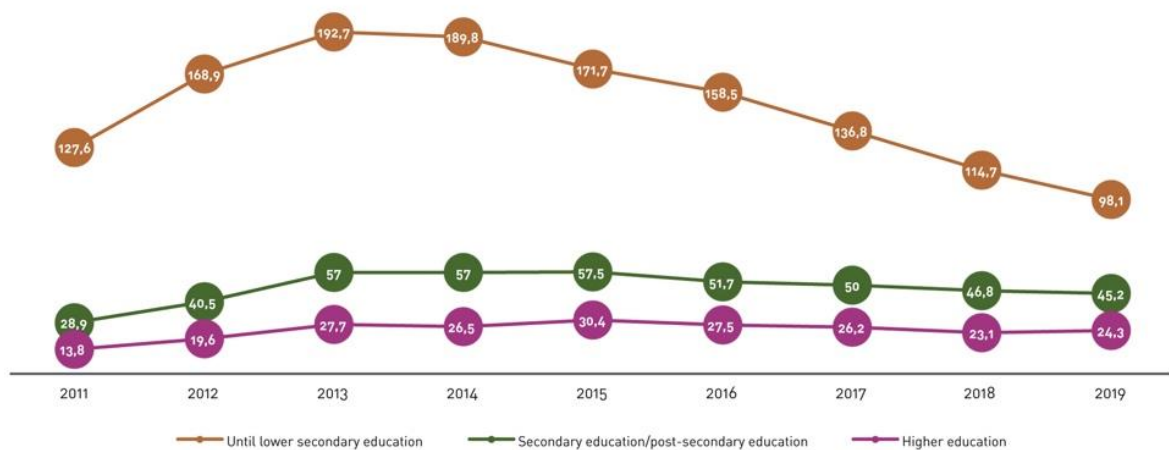


Source: Statistics bulletin, Office for Strategy and Planning

Considering the number of **inactive population available but not seeking work** by highest completed level of education, for the period 2011-2019, data shows it is the population with the lowest level of education (until lower secondary education) who tends to be more in situation of inactivity with no interest in finding a job, when compared with more qualified population. It will be interesting to cross-check these data with the age group of the population; it might be that not only those with low levels of education but also those less young, tend to be in inactive available situation not seeking a work.

Inactive population available but not seeking work by the highest completed level of education: population with minimum age of 15 years old, who is available to work but could not be considered economically active in the reference period, ie, was not employed nor unemployed, for the educational qualification considered⁴⁷.

INACTIVE POPULATION AVAILABLE BUT NOT SEEKING WORK BY HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION (NO. THOUSANDS) 2011-2019



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

An interesting indicator for this analysis is **the labour status of youngsters, from 18-24 years old, in early school leaving situation**, considering four types of labour status –

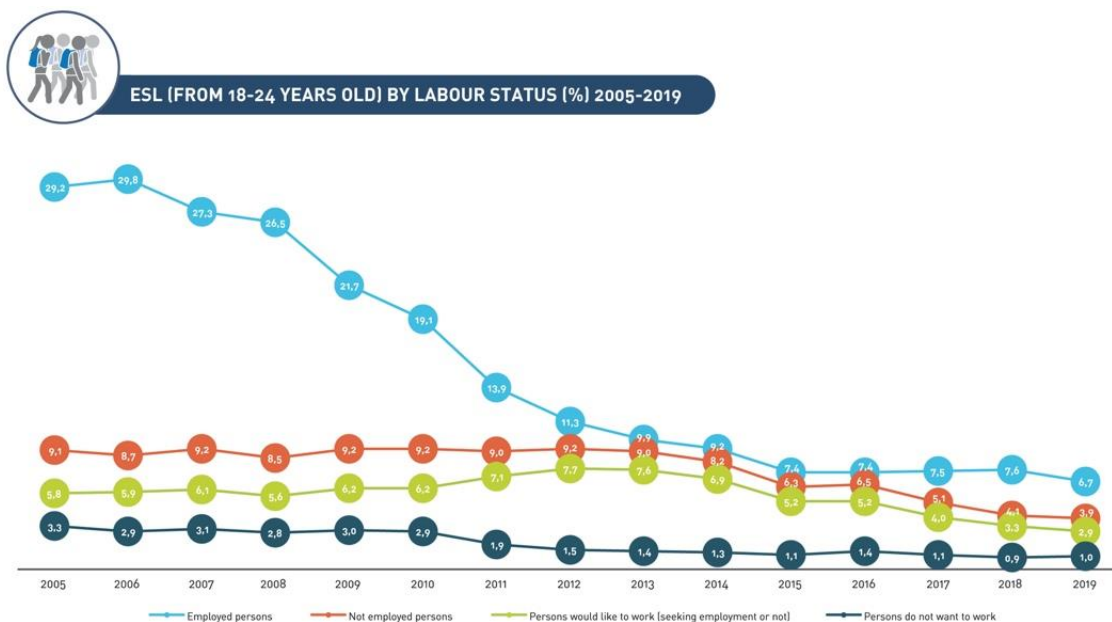
⁴⁷ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0006512&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2&xlang=en

'employed persons', 'not employed persons', 'persons would like to work (seeking employment or not)', 'persons do not want to work'.

When analysing data for the period from 2005 to 2019 it was evident that in 2005 a major part of young people who dropped out of school was employed (29,2%) when compared with youngsters not employed (9,1%). Yet, in the subsequent years the situation changed significantly. In 2019, the disparity among labour status conditions of youngsters in early school leaving situation, was less significant, being fewer those employed. Still, even with less discrepancy, the major part of early school leavers is in employment situation (6,7%), when compared with those not employed (3,9%).

When reading this data, namely, the sudden decreased of youngsters in ESL employed, one should note that the ESL rate declined dramatically in the country in period considered 2005-2019 (by 27.7 percentage points) and that the youth unemployment rate increased (by 2,1 percentage points).



Source: Eurostat

The **activity rate** of resident population (with 15 and more years old) was, in the first quarter of 2020, for all the Portuguese continental and Azores regions, higher for the population with 'higher education' or with 'upper-secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education' completed. In opposition, the activity rate of resident population was lower for those with basic education 1st and 3rd cycles.

Madeira was an exception, having higher activity rates for the population with 'higher education' and with basic education 2nd cycle.

The disparate activity rates by the highest completed level of education among the country regions must be read taking into account the main types of economic activities in each region and consequently the level of qualification most sought by the labour market.

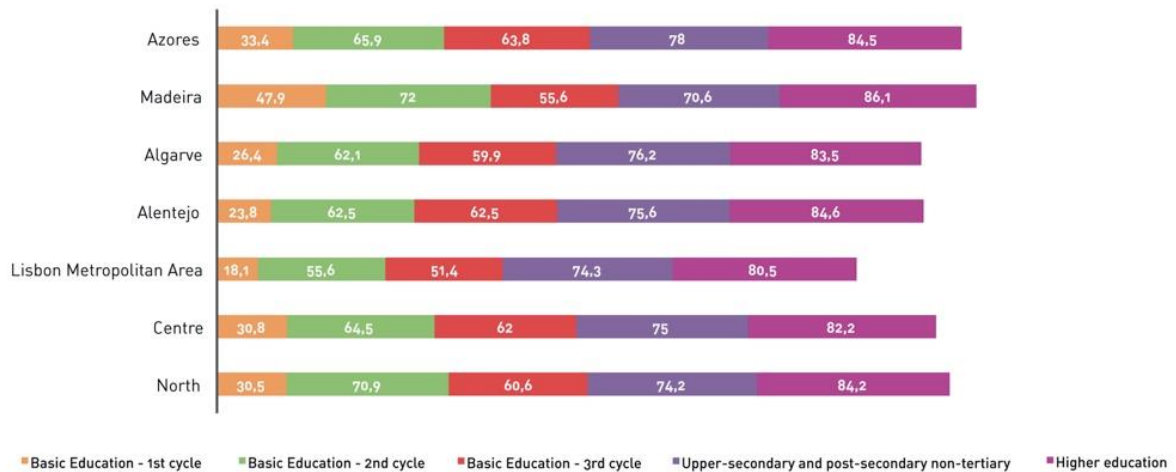
For example, at Madeira the main types of enterprises are Agriculture, farming of animals, hunting and forestry (17%) followed by Administrative and support service activities (16%). Nonetheless, Madeira has the second higher concentration of Accommodation and food service activities in the country (13%), attracting less qualified jobs. Therefore the labour market is absorbing not only high but also low-qualified work.

Activity rate by the highest completed level of education: the activity rate (of population aged 15 years old and over) defines the relation between the active population (labour force) and the working age population (population aged 15 years old and over) ⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ More information on data source:

https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&indOcorrCod=0005582&contexto=bd&selT=ab=tab2&xlang=en

ACTIVITY RATE OF RESIDENT POPULATION BY REGION AND HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%) 2020 QUARTERLY



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

When analysing the evolution, from 2011-2020, of the activity rate of resident population with 15 and more years at country level, the major changes occurred on the decreased of the active population with no level of education (in 10,3 percentual points) and with basic education 1st cycle (in 20,6 percentual points), a sign of the general increase of the population education level.

Indeed, the youth activity rate, particularly, is an indicator that has been reflecting the extension of compulsory education, which, by increasing to 12 the mandatory years of school, decreased the proportion of people aged between 15 and 24 years available for the labour market (Parente et al. 2014⁴⁹).

⁴⁹ Parente, C. et al. (2014), "Os jovens pouco escolarizados no mercado de trabalho português". *Análise Social*, 210, xlix (1.o), pp. 74-102.

Again, this indicator emphasises that are those with highest completed level of education completed (higher education and upper-secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary) who keep up with the highest activity rates.

ACTIVITY RATE OF RESIDENT POPULATION BY THE HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%) 2011-2020, QUARTERLY

	No level of education	Basic Education - 1st cycle	Basic Education - 2nd cycle	Basic Education - 3rd cycle	Upper-secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary	Higher Education
2011	22,5	48,6	72,9	66,3	72,6	84,1
2012	20	45,5	72,1	64,2	74	81,8
2013	18,9	43,5	71	62,6	73	81,2
2014	14,8	39,4	69,2	61,5	75,6	81,5
2015	13,6	36,3	69,1	61,7	74,6	82,3
2016	12	35	67,3	58,9	75	83,6
2017	13,7	34,8	69	58,2	74,7	82,4
2018	12,6	32,8	67,9	59,4	75,2	83,1
2019	12,1	31,7	67,2	58,9	74,8	83,8
2020	12,2	28	65,5	58,4	74,6	82,5

Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

Moreover, considering the **percentage of employed population⁵⁰ by the highest completed level of education and by region**, data from 2019 indicates that:

⁵⁰ Employed population: all persons aged 15 or over who, during the reference period, were in the following categories: a) persons who performed some work for a wage or salary, in cash or in kind; b) persons who, having already worked in their present job, were temporarily not at work and had a formal attachment to their job; c) persons with an enterprise, who were temporarily not at work for any specific reason.; d) persons who were offered early retirement, but were working in the reference period (metadata – INE).

- At the North, Centre and Lisbon Metropolitan Area, more than half of the population employed has high levels of education completed (Higher and Upper-secondary and post-secondary Education). It is worth recalling, the Centre and North were the country regions with the lowest ESL rates in 2019.
- Algarve and Alentejo are also regions where more than half of the population employed has high levels of education completed (Higher and Upper-secondary and post-secondary levels Education). Nonetheless, in these regions the share of population with basic education- 3rd cycle is also significant.
- Azores is the region where the share (42%) of employed population with highest levels of education completed (Higher and Upper-secondary and post-secondary education) is less distant from the share (35%) of employed population with low levels of education (1st and 2nd cycles of basic education). The labour market in Azores, namely the already reported weight of the agricultural work, is demanding and absorbing a big share of low-qualified work. This data is also in line with the fact that Azores was, in 2019, the region with the highest level of ESL in the country.

Hence the share of employed population with high levels of education completed tends to be higher for those regions with low levels of ESL rate.

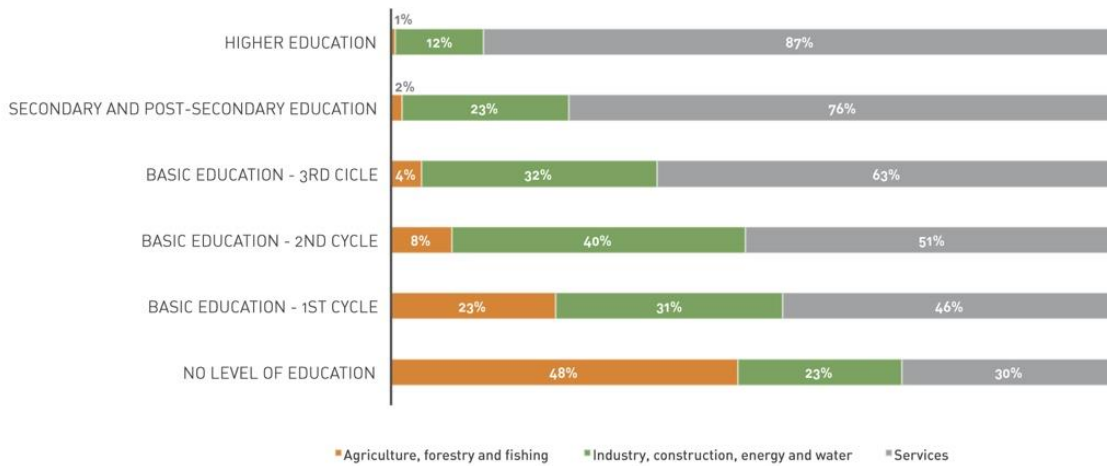
EMPLOYED POPULATION BY REGION AND BY HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION [%] 2019

	No level of education	Basic education - 1st cycle	Basic education - 2nd cycle	Basic Education - 3rd cycle	Secondary and post-secondary education	Higher education
North	1%	13%	14%	19%	27%	25%
Centre	2%	13%	11%	21%	28%	26%
Lisbon Metropolitan Area	1%	6%	7%	18%	31%	37%
Alentejo	n/a	11%	13%	23%	31%	22%
Algarve	n/a	10%	10%	26%	31%	23%
Madeira	n/a	19%	15%	18%	26%	22%
Azores	n/a	14%	21%	24%	25%	17%

Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

When analysing the **employed population by highest completed level of education and by economic sector** data, for the 1st quarter of 2020, shows that the higher the level of school completed the bigger is the proportion of employed population working at services sector and the smallest the ratio of those working at agriculture, forestry and fishing services. The data allows to infer that people with less school qualification will be less likely to work in the services sector and more likely to work in agriculture, forestry and fishing services.

EMPLOYED POPULATION BY HIGHEST COMPLETED LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC SECTOR (%) 2020, QUARTERLY



Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

Regarding the evolution of the level of qualification of **temporary workers**⁵¹, over the years temporary jobs have been less and less attached to the population with low qualifications and have become an option also for those with more education. Beyond changes on the labour market, as since 2013 non-permanent contracts have increased more intensively than permanent contracts⁵², the general increase of the population's educational level also explains this evolution along the years.

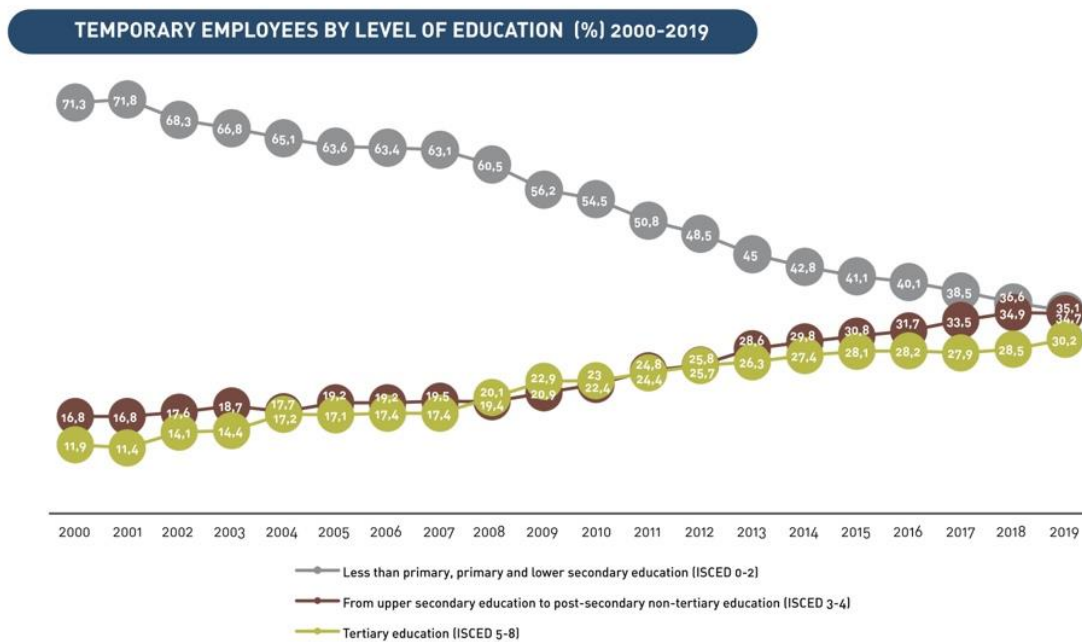
In 2000, 71,3% of the temporary workers had less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 0-2) in opposition to the 11,9% of workers with tertiary

⁵¹ Employees with Temporary Contracts: person who declare themselves as having a fixed-term employment contract or a job which will terminate if certain objective criteria are met, such as completion of an assignment or return of the employee who was temporarily replaced. (metadata – Eurostat).

⁵² Cantante, F. (2018) O Mercado de Trabalho em Portugal e nos Países Europeus: Estatísticas 2018. Observatório das Desigualdades.

education (ISCED 5-8). In 2019, the temporary work is more or less equally distributed among workers with less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (35,1%), with upper secondary education to post-secondary non-tertiary education (34,7%) and close to the proportion of workers with tertiary education (30,2%).

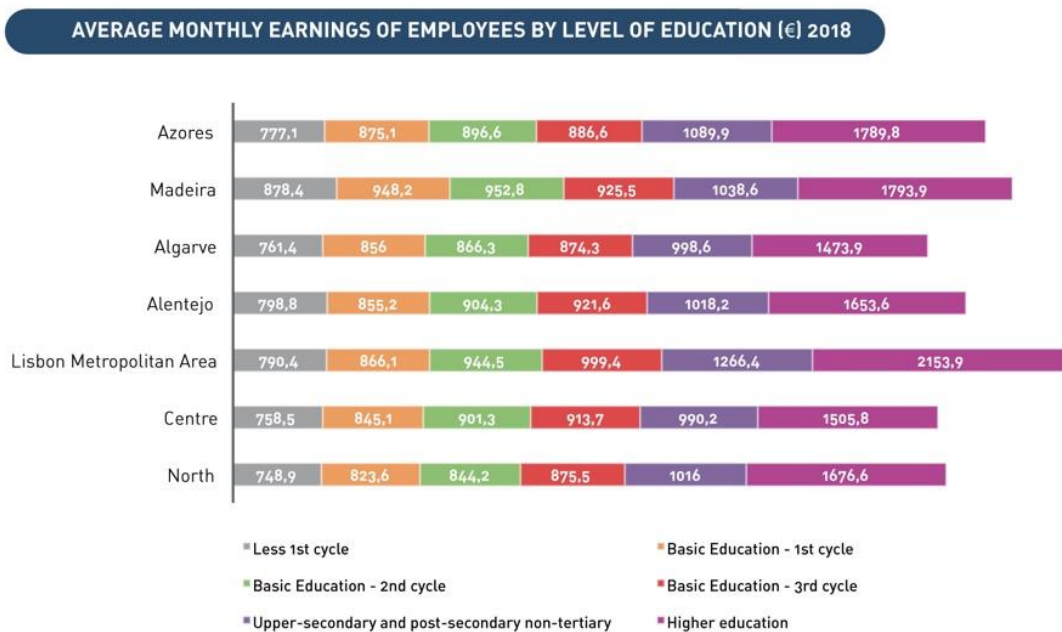
Therefore, having low qualification is, currently, not a determinant for being a temporary employee.



Source: PORDATA, Statistics Portugal, Labour force survey

Concerning the effect of the academic qualifications on wages, according to data on **the average monthly earnings by education level** it is evident that earnings are higher for those with high education levels completed. Hence, youngsters in dropout school situation will be more likely to have low income wages when compared to those with higher education levels. This pattern is the same in all the country regions. Still, as the following figure indicates there

is a disparity of average monthly earnings among the regions, for example, employees with 'higher education' level completed at Lisbon (2153,9€) have higher wages than those at the Centre (1505,8€) and Algarve (1473,9€) regions.



Source: IEFP/MTSSS data

It was considered relevant to add to this analysis, of the consequences of being early school leaver on the labour market conditions, an indicator which allowed considerations on the social conjuncture of the population according to their educational level. The **risk of poverty rate** (after social transfers⁵³) by level of education was identified as a potential variable to understand how school dropout can impact the quality of life.

⁵³ After social transfers – it includes income from employment and other private earnings, old-age and survivor's pensions and other social transfers (support for families, education, housing, sickness/disability, unemployment, fight against social exclusion) (Eurostat).

The risk of poverty rate is higher for those with less education, which tend to have a disposable income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold. Moreover, particularly for population with less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 0-2) the risk of poverty rate has increased, from 2004 to 2018, and more intensely with the economic recession, by 5,2 percentage points.

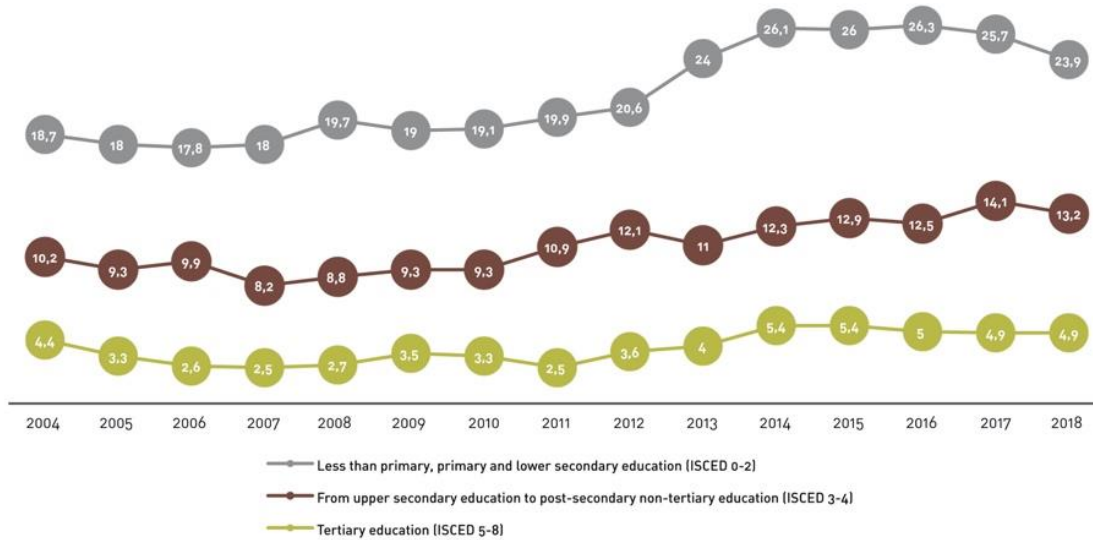
This inference is easily perceived in combination with the previous indicator, average monthly earnings, which was lower for those with low education levels completed.

At risk of poverty rate (after social transfers) by level of education: share of persons with an equivalised disposable income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income ⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ More information on data source:

<https://www.pordata.pt/en/Europe/At+risk+of+poverty+rate+before+and+after+social+transfers-1940>

AT RISK OF POVERTY RATE AFTER SOCIAL TRANSFERS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%) 2004-2018, PORTUGAL



Source: Eurostat | NSI - Labour Force

1.5.2. Findings and recommendations

Summary findings

- Those with greater levels of education completed (like higher education) were less affected by the economic recession and tend to be less registered as unemployed at the public employment office
- The youth unemployment rate is higher for those with lower levels of education (basic education-2nd cycle)
- The unemployed population with the lowest levels of education (none and basic education-1st cycle), has the largest share of long-term unemployment.

- The population with the lower level of education completed tends to be more in situation of available inactivity with no interest in finding a job
- There are more youngsters in early school leaving situation employed than not employed (probably in the most underpaid segments of the labour market)
- The activity rate of resident population is lower for those with basic education
- The share of employed population with high levels of education completed tends to be higher for those regions with low levels of ESL rate
- The active population with less school qualification will be less likely to work in the services sector and more likely to work in agriculture, forestry and fishing services
- Having low qualification is, currently, not a determinant for being a temporary employee
- The average monthly earning is higher for those with high education levels completed
- The risk of poverty rate is higher for those with less education and, for these ones, has increased particularly with the economic recession

For full understanding how early school leaving impacts youth employment situations, social integration and quality of life, it will be crucial to produce indicators and data which allow to monitor youngster in early leaving situation and young adults aged 18 in a situation of effective dropout.

The indicator of ESL created, conceived for the Employment Survey, as previously mentioned, fails to provide relevant information to understand the dropout phenomenon

(when, how, what age and in what year of schooling) as it fails to deliver information on the reasons for dropping out and apprehend youngsters future goals.

Therefore, a system capable of monitoring early school leavers footpaths along their journey after dropout, could also contribute to formulate a more successful set of appropriate recovery measures⁵⁵. The most recent report on ESL situation in the country highly recommends for the definition of a global strategy to fight ESL that integrates a monitoring and evaluation structure; for clear and unambiguous definition of the concepts of ESL and ESL risk and the respective indicators in the national education system; for mapping ESL at national, regional and local level; for the implementation of effective control systems for the fulfilment of registration and attendance duties in compulsory education; and for interoperability of information systems for the collection of data from students in the national territory and in a timely manner (Tribunal de Contas, 2020).

⁵⁵ Tribunal de contas, Report nº10/2020 'Auditoria ao Abandono Escolar Precoce'.

1.6. Mapping of programmes and interventions counteracting ESL

This part of the study focuses on the review of the policies carried out in Portugal to counteract ESL, both governmental actions and private initiatives. In the first section we describe 16 policy measures whose implementation took place between 1989 and 2020. In the second section, we offer an analysis of these policies.

1.6.1. Public policy programmes and interventions for tackling ESL

The 2011 Recommendation of the Council of the European Union pointed towards the adoption of three types of policies for effectiveness in reducing ESL. These can be broadly categorized, according to their goal, as prevention, intervention and compensation measures (European Commission, 2015).

Prevention measures concern the set of strategies aimed at boosting academic perseverance and the success of each and every one, as well as the measures which ought to be taken to prevent risk situations, particularly in the case of disadvantaged backgrounds. These include the quality of pre-school education, the care with which local institutions manage the transition between cycles of study and schools, parental involvement in education and highly developed systems of educational guidance.

Intervention measures concern the measures adopted, throughout schooling, as soon as difficulties related with absenteeism, repeated academic failure or even brief periods of non-attendance emerge. These measures should be taken immediately. Their efficacy lies not

only on the ability of the entire school staff to signal and act promptly at the smallest sign of risk, but also on the ability to keep in mind who the actions serve and how good they are (to avoid offering poor solutions to poor people).

Compensation measures focus on teenagers who have left school and who are encouraged to finish their education, to go back to school and to take advantage of second chance opportunities of education and training. These measures also include the development of training schemes that make it easier for students to access the labour market.

We base our European model analysis of the measures for tackling early school leaving on these three policy levels. To this end, and according to this categorization, we present the public policy measures adopted in Portugal to prevent and reduce early school leaving. They are organized according to the public or private nature of their promoters.

Type of measures	Name	Nature of the Promoter	Beginning and termination
A. Prevention	1) PEETI/ PETI / PIEC	Public	1998 – 2011
	2) PNAI	Public	2001 – 2010
	3) PNAPAE (National Plan for Prevention of Early School Leaving)	Public	2004 – 2010
	4) TEIP (Educational Territories for Priority Intervention Programme)	Public	1996 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	5) "Choices Programme"	Public	2001 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
B. Intervention	1) CEF (Education and Training Courses)	Public	2002 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	2) Vocational	Public	2012 – 2016
	3) PIEF	Public	1999 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	4) PCA	Public	2006 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾

	5) Professional Courses	Public	1989 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	4) EPIS	Private	2007-2020 (1)
C. Compensation	1) EFA	Public	2000 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	2) Certified Modular Training	Public	2007 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	3) RVCC	Public	2001 – 2020 ⁽¹⁾
	4) ESOM	Private, state support	2010-2020 (1)
	5) Arco Maior	Private, state support	2013-2020 (1)

(1) Measure currently in place

A. Prevention Measures

1) PEETI / PETI / PIEC

Name of the Programme/ Measure/ Initiative	PEETI (Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour Exploitation) PETI (Child Labour Prevention and Eradication Programme) PIEC (Inclusion and Citizenship Programme)
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>The PEETI was implemented in 1998 and its main goals were to carry out “a rigorous assessment of the phenomenon of child labour in all its dimensions” and to “work out and provide a set of measures that could prevent the early access of children to the labour market and to rescue child labourers into education/training programmes” (Council of Ministers Resolution 75/98).</p> <p>The PETI succeeded the PEETI in 2004 and its main goal was to strengthen the preventive component of the policy on tackling the exploitation of child labour. It also added other social inclusion objectives, such as that of “disseminating the education and training measures promoted, implemented or supported by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Security and Labour, namely the Integrated Programmes for Education and Training (PIEF)” Council of Ministers Resolution 37/2004).</p> <p>The year 2009 witnessed the creation of the PIEC, which aimed at organizing, executing and monitoring integrated socio-educational and training responses for children and youngsters who suffer from social exclusion, by promoting their school reintegration and the observance of the compulsory education requirement, namely through the Integrated Programme for Education and Training - PIEF (ILO and CPLP, 2013).</p>

	<p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers 75/98 (https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/75/1998/07/02/p/dre/pt/html)</p> <p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers 37/2004 (https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/37/2004/03/20/p/dre/pt/html)</p> <p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers 79/2009 (https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/79/2009/09/02/p/dre/pt/html)</p>
Description:	The PEETI/ PETI/ PIEC were created with the aim of tackling child labour exploitation by looking for integrated and national responses to the eradication of child labour.
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	<p>PEETI 1998 – 2004;</p> <p>PETI 2004 – 2009;</p> <p>PIEC 2009 – 2011 (termination of the PIEC https://www.publico.pt/2011/11/11/sociedade/noticia/estrutura-de-missao-do-programa-para-inclusao-e-cidadania-vai-ser-extinta--1520544)</p>
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	The duration of the PEETI/PETI/PIEC varied according to the measures, programmes and intervention projects.
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	Children and youngsters aged 12 years or older in more vulnerable situations, particularly those who have left school for child labour exploitation or any other form of child exploitation.
Allocated financial resources	State budget, through the budget of the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP); European Social Fund, according to the proposed measures.
Core partnerships	<p>International Labour Organization; Statistics Department of the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training; Ministry for Education and the Ministry for Labour and Solidarity; Municipalities;</p> <p>Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ); Regional Boards of Education and Schools;</p> <p>Social Security District Centres; Employment Centres; Working Conditions Authority; and other public, private and social economy sector institutions. (http://www.act.gov.pt/pt-PT/Itens/Noticias/Paginas/PICsucedeadPETI.aspx)</p>
Results	The most visible results are mainly qualitative, judging by the findings of the resolutions of the Council of Ministers in which the plans were approved and on an ILO report.
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve?	Findings drawn from legal provisions:

<p>(highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) the PEETI has contributed to increasing the visibility of the fight against child labour exploitation, as well as “to the implementation of a social inclusion strategy aimed at economically deprived children and young people, through a set of education and training solutions, underpinned by a methodology of close regulation. These have been useful tools for tackling early school leaving and early entry into the labour market”. (Resolution of the Council of Ministers 37/2004); b) “The activities undertaken within the framework of the PEETI, recognised as singular in the international context, have allowed for an unprecedented cooperation through the creation of effective and dynamic partnerships with different agents, from both the public and the private sectors”. (Resolution of the Council of Ministers 79/2009); c) the PETI carried out in the same vein as the PEETI, with persistent intervention at the legislative level, with a strengthening of inspection actions and the proposal and execution of education and training solutions through the Integrated Programme for Education and Training (PIEF) (Resolution of the Council of Ministers 79/2009). <p>According to an ILO and CPLP study (2013), we can draw the following conclusions concerning the relevance of these programmes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. “the work developed within PETI has led to the eradication, in the Portuguese formal sector, of the child labour exploitation phenomenon. This is confirmed by data from the Working Conditions Authority and the decrease in the number of situations signalled to the PETI” (ILO and CPLP, 2013, p. 8); ii. these programmes have led to a number of measures tackling early school leaving and academic failure: “the flexible management of the curriculum, the classes with alternative curricula, the educational territories for intervention, the education and training courses and the back-to-school education” (ILO and CPLP, 2013, p. 8); iii. it becomes clear that “the number of minors in an illegal employment situation is extremely low and the phenomenon is merely residual, if it can be said to exist at all [there was one reported case in 2012, comparing with the 233 from 1999]” (ILO and CPLP, 2013, p. 13). <p>Finally, the following statement, made on the occasion of the termination of the PIEC, reveals how important the PEETI and then the PETI and the PIEC were to the eradication of child labour in Portugal and to the fight against poverty and social exclusion, including the issue of early school leaving: “Given the importance of the response, we will keep investing in the plans that were created and in their goals, and these will be carried out by the Social Security Institute” https://www.publico.pt/2011/11/11/sociedade/noticia/estrutura-de-missao-do-programa-para-inclusao-e-cidadania-vai-ser-extinta--1520544.</p>
<p>Has any evaluation of the</p>	<p>The International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Community of Portuguese Speaking</p>

<p>programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Countries (CPLP) (2013). Study of the Implementation of the ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and of its Recommendations in the national legislation of CPLP countries – Portugal. Geneva: ILO. Retrieved from: https://www.cplp.org/Files/Billeder/MIC_CTI/PALOP_Studies_Portugal_PT_Web.pdf. Accessed on 11/6/2020</p> <p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers 75/98 https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/75/1998/07/02/p/dre/pt/html</p> <p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers n.º 37/2004 https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/37/2004/03/20/p/dre/pt/html</p> <p>Resolution of the Council of Ministers 79/2009 https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/79/2009/09/02/p/dre/pt/html</p>
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2) PNAI

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (PNAI)</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (PNAI) was created in 2001, following the Lisbon European Council meeting (2000), where the Lisbon Strategy was outlined. The commitment was “to have a decisive impact on the eradication of poverty and social exclusion” (MSST, 2006, p. 3). It became a tool for strategical and operational coordination of policies addressing poverty and all forms of exclusion and, consequently, for the promotion of social inclusion for all (MSST, 2004).</p> <p>The PNAI’s main objectives were to promote employment and the widespread access to resources, rights, goods and services, to prevent the risk of exclusion and to act on behalf of the most vulnerable, by mobilising every stakeholder.</p> <p>Reference links:</p> <p>Ministry of Social Security and Labour (MSST) (2004). Combating Exclusion. Promoting Development. National Action Plan for Social Inclusion: Portugal 2003 – 2005. Retrieved from: http://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/131671/pnai_2003_2005/943f38a1-d60d-4093-996e-7b1ec204d09f. Accessed on 8/6/2020.</p> <p>Ministry of Social Security and Labour (MSST) (2006). PNAI. National Action Plan for Social Inclusion: Portugal 2006 – 2008. Retrieved from: http://www.fnerdm.pt/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PNAI-Nacional-2006-2008_final.pdf. Accessed on 8/6/2020.</p>
<p>Description:</p>	<p>The PNAI has tackled exclusion and poverty and sought to build a fairer and more cohesive society (ISSS, 2003). This plan worked in articulation with the education system through several measures and programmes, such as the Programme for the Expansion of Pre-School Education, the Alternative Curricular Pathways, the 15-18 Programme (precursor to the Education and Training Courses), the project concerning accommodation</p>

	centres for adults (CASA), the Millennium Generation Programme, the To be a Child Programme, the Choices Programme, and the Plan for the Eradication of Child Labour Exploitation (PETI), etc.
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2001 – 2010
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	<p>The PNAI ran for two-year periods until 2010 (2001-2003; 2003-2005; 2006-2008; 2008-2010).</p> <p>The PNAI's goals and priorities concerning the fight against poverty and social exclusion were clear. The plan described the political measures implemented or foreseen towards accomplishing those goals and priorities and it defined the indicators and monitoring mechanisms to assess progress (MSST, 2004).</p> <p>The plan was implemented in articulation with the school system and it worked according to the programmes and measures of education policy designed to tackle social exclusion and school leaving as outlined in the PNAI.</p>
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	<p>It depended on the outlined measure, but there was a common feature: victims of poverty and social exclusion, regardless of age.</p> <p>When it comes to ESL, the following challenges, outlined in the PNAI, ought to be highlighted (MSST, 2004):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — a 50% reduction in the number of young people, between the ages of 18 and 24, who completed 9th grade or less and who are not involved in any form of complementary training (until 2010); — to adopt measures to tackle ESL, to reduce the rate to less than 10% by 2010 (European goal); — to promote the certification and qualification of young Roma students (aged between 13 and 21); — to boost and foster Education and Training Courses (CEF) for young people between the ages of 15 and 18, who have not completed the first, second or third cycle of basic education; — to move forward with secondary education reform and with the strengthening of initial training options for young people, through the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Secondary Education Technological Courses; – Professional Courses (for 15-year-olds and older youths who have completed the 3rd cycle or its equivalent); – Technological Specialisation Courses (CET), for those over 18, who have completed a secondary education course or an equivalent and who hold a Level III vocational qualification; — to promote Lifelong Education and Training and the widespread access of less qualified adults to educational, technological, cultural and professional advancement through the: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – System for the Recognition, Validation and Certification of Skills (RVCC), for those aged 18 years or older;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - S@ber+ actions, for those aged 18 or older, regardless of their academic or professional qualifications; - Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA), aimed at adults with low academic and professional qualifications, as an integrated solution which offers dual certification (academic and professional). - tackling ESL in the second and third cycles of basic education, by putting measures like the following in place: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Programme for the Expansion and Development of Pre-School Education; - Basic education curricula reorganization; - Alternative Curricula; - Education and Training Courses for Young People; - School Social Care Centres; - Educational support and supplements; - Psychology, school and professional guidance services.
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>Joint funding from the State Budget and from the different operational programmes co-financed by the ESF.</p>
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>Several, which derived from the outlined measures (MTSS, ME, PETI, RSI, CPCJ, Social Network...)</p>
<p>Results</p>	<p>There are several reports with assessments and updates on the PNAI, from its first version onwards. Beyond the results detailed in these reports, the results for each measure are part of the overall outcomes of the PNAI.</p>
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>Some of the main outcomes are listed below:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. concerning access to education: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. the national network of pre-school, basic and secondary education had an implementation rate of 90% in 2004 (ISS/ MTSS, 2005); ii. according to the Programme for the Expansion and Development of Pre-School Education, in the 2002-2003 school year, 61.2% of 3-year-olds, 80.7% of 4-year-olds and 91.9 % of 5-year-olds were enrolled at that level, and in 2004 the target regarding 4-year-old children had been surpassed (ISS/ MTSS, 2005); iii. the targets concerning the reorganization of the basic education curriculum were being met according to the forecast (ISS/ MTSS, 2005); b. when it comes to tackling poverty and social exclusion, we witnessed a process of territorialisation of social protection policies and of broadening of responsibility, through the Social Integration Income (RSI), which replaced the Guaranteed Minimum Income (RMG), the Social Network Programme, the CPCJ and the Choices Programme (ISS/ MTSS, 2005); c. within the framework of ESL, work was carried out to meet the goals outlined in the National Employment Plan: a reduction from 35%, in 2006, to 25% by 2010: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. we progressed from about 44% in 2001 to 28.3% in 2010.

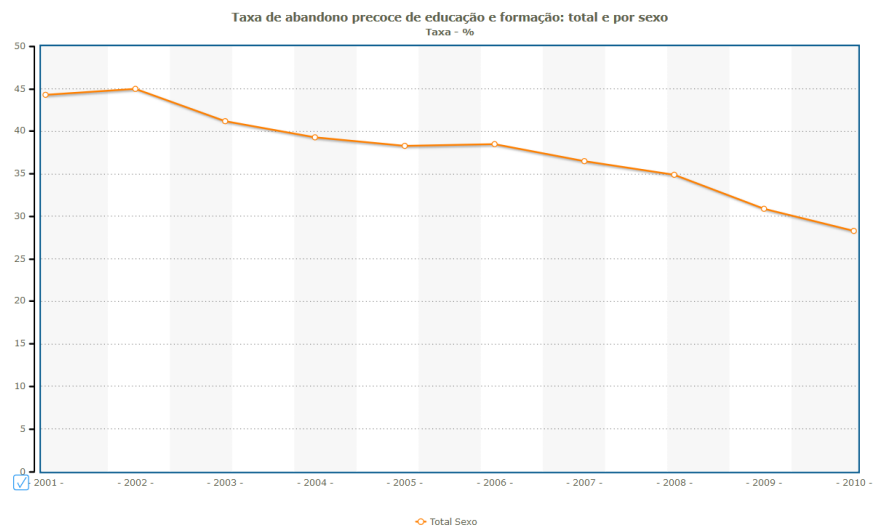


Chart 1 - Early leaving from school and training rate: total and by gender (Source: PORDATA, 2020)

- ii. the dissemination of psychology, school and professional guidance services in schools. In 2004, the rate was of around 32.6%, and in 2010 it was a reality in every school;
- d. concerning the initial and lifelong education and vocational training measures:
 - i. in 2004, 18 835 students, between the ages of 15 and 18, received a certification, through the Diversified Paths in Basic Education (with an implementation rate of 126%, which surpassed the forecast) (ISS/ MTSS, 2005);
 - ii. In 2004, 31 702 students had received their certification through the Level III professional education, surpassing the forecast for 2006 (ISS/ MTSS, 2005);
 - iii. The S@ber+ Action programme (aimed at students older than 18) was expected to involve 30 500 students until 2006, and it had already reached 27 000 in 2004 (ISS/ MTSS, 2005);
 - iv. the implementation rate for the "Lifelong Education and Training" measure, however, was 8.4% of the target expected for 2006 (to certify 280 000 adults) (ISS/ MTSS, 2005);
 - v. the Education and Training for Adults courses showed a positive trend in 2004 (10 839 enrolled students), having reached 70 760 students in 2010/2011;

These results demonstrated the relevance of the PNAI for triggering a national strategy - involving several different plans, programmes and ministries - for tackling poverty and social exclusion, within which the fight against ESL, through prevention, intervention and compensation measures, became clear.

<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (If so, add the link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Reference links:</p> <p>Institute of Solidarity and Social Security (ISSS) (2003). National Action Plan for Social Inclusion. Pretextos Magazine (14) Lisbon: Institute of Solidarity and Social Security. Retrieved from: http://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/63350/revista_pretextos_14. Accessed on 8/6/2020.</p> <p>Ministry of Social Security and Labour (2004). Combating Exclusion. Promoting Development. National Action Plan for Social Inclusion: Portugal 2003 – 2005. Retrieved from http://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/131671/pnai_2003_2005/943f38a1-d60d-4093-996e-7b1ec204d09f. Accessed on 8/6/2020.</p> <p>The Institute of Social Security, I.P./ Ministry of Labour and Social Security (2005). Update Report - PNAI 2005-2006. Retrieved from: https://www.ine.pt/ngt_server/attachfileu.jsp?look_parentBoui=143210723&att_display=n&att_download=y . Accessed on 8/6/2020.</p>
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3) PNAPAE

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>National Plan for the Prevention of Early School Leaving – PNAPAE</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The goal of PNAPAE is to “reduce the rate of early school leaving and the of dropout rate in half by 2010, established by reference to the 2001 numbers” (Canavarro, 2004, p. 109). It also aimed to contribute to a successful 12-year education.</p> <p>These goals are clearly present in the proposed measures, which can be grouped into four categories: 1. Integrate in school, Support development and promote success; 2. Give School a Sense of Purpose and Mission; 3. To value School and a 12-year education socially and, 4. Support a widespread, both global and local, inter-ministerial articulation policy, with the involvement of society, in order to prevent early school leaving.</p> <p>Reference links:</p> <p>Canavarro, J. M. P. (rapporteur) (2004). I will not give up. National Plan for the Prevention of Early School Leaving. Lisbon: Ministry of Education/ Ministry of Labour and Social Security. Retrieved from http://www3.uma.pt/nunosilvafraga/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/plano-de-preveno-do-abandono-escolar2.pdf Accessed on 06/09/2020.</p>
<p>Description:</p>	<p>In 2004, following several initiatives (the National Employment Plan, the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, etc.) aiming at meeting the goals established at the Lisbon (2000) and Stockholm (2001) European Councils, the PNAPAE was created. It is presented as a “formatted, but not finalised version” and its rapporteur is José Canavarro.</p>
<p>Implementation (and termination)</p>	<p>2004 – 2010</p>

<p>of the Programme, where applicable)</p>	
<p>Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)</p>	<p>Using as reference the period between its implementation (2006) and the reference year for its goals (2010), we can conclude that it lasted for 4 years.</p>
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>Depending on the axis and the proposals, the recipients were an heterogeneous group, and, as such, we think it appropriate to highlight some of the measures according to the type of policy they belong to: prevention, intervention or compensation.</p> <p>Prevention Measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. to generalise pre-school education to everyone aged between 3 and 5 by 2010; ii. to improve the quality of facilities, food, healthcare, transportation and school social support; iii. to improve the information mechanisms concerning students and the signalling of situations that can lead to early school leaving (absenteeism, academic failure, family indifference); iv. to improve the articulation with the Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ); v. to boost early detection through CASE and PETI teams; vi. to foster the Financial Support for Extracurricular Activities Programme; vii. to reinforce the promotion of academic sport; viii. to create the Parents in School Programme by 2005; ix. to consider the following as fundamental indicators in the assessment of schools: early school leaving or dropout rates and the academic failure and retention rates. <p>Intervention Measures:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. to create and generalise the figure of the school tutor, who specialises in the identification and monitoring of at-risk children and who will be responsible for mediating the School Social Support Centre (CASE); ii. to create, by 2025, a Training Scheme for teachers with a focus on the dynamic evaluation of students, for the early detection of at-risk cases and of dropouts; iii. to support students with difficulties and with a history of academic failure in the subjects of Portuguese and Mathematics (the Portuguese as Foreign Language Plan, the Reading and Writing Promotion Plan, the Promotion of the Study of Mathematics and Science); iv. to advance student mobility within the different education/training options; v. to decrease the schedule overload for secondary education students to encourage young people to remain in school; vi. to double the number of places for secondary education level professional and technological students by 2010; vii. to promote (through CASE and in schools) vocational guidance programmes. <p>Compensation Measures:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. partial certification of competences in areas such as Information Technology and Communication; ii. liaison between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security; iii. to create a national network (EDUTECH network) of 15 to 20 reference state school with innovative education-training projects (by 2006); iv. to encourage and increase the supply of level II qualifying professional courses (for students over 14) (by 2006); v. to install 84 Centres for the Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences (RVCC) and to enrol/refer 250 000 students and to validate/certify 50 000 adults (by 2006); vi. to implement the methodology and the benchmarks for the RVCC with secondary education equivalence (by 2006); vii. to devise an awareness-raising campaign aimed at getting young people who left school and training early, and who are not currently in any of the systems (having not completed the 9th or 12th grades), to come back (by 2006); viii. to educate on and promote a 12-year education, the appreciation of vocational education and the certification of the academic and professional skills of adults. 												
Allocated financial resources	European Social Fund (ESF)												
Core partnerships	<p>Inter-ministerial articulation (Ministry of Education - Ministry of Labour and Social Security);</p> <p>National Employment Plan and the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (PNE and PNAI);</p> <p>Centres for the Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences (RVCC);</p> <p>The Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP);</p> <p>Child Labour Prevention and Eradication Programme (PETI);</p> <p>Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ)</p>												
Results													
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>There is no assessment of the actual plan. Some integrated measures included in the PNAPAE have been evaluated (i.e. RVCC). Another assessment derives from facts (i.e. the promulgation of compulsory education to a 12-year period or until students turn 18 years of age).</p> <p>Table 4 - Some results which illustrate the impact of PNAPAE</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="571 1711 1437 1953"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>2004/05</th> <th>2010/11</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Pre-school coverage rate</td> <td>77.9%</td> <td>85.0%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Basic education retention and dropout rates</td> <td>11.8%</td> <td>7.5%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Secondary education retention and dropout rates</td> <td>32.1%</td> <td>20.8%</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		2004/05	2010/11	Pre-school coverage rate	77.9%	85.0%	Basic education retention and dropout rates	11.8%	7.5%	Secondary education retention and dropout rates	32.1%	20.8%
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<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>CNE (2007). Opinion 7/2004. - Assessment of the National Plan for the Prevention of Early School Leaving «I will not give up». Retrieved from: https://dre.pt/application/file/a/1497615 Accessed on 7/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/06/2020.</p> <p>PORDATA (2020). Rate for early leaving from school and training: total and by gender. Retrieved from: https://www.pordata.pt/Portugal/Taxa+de+abandono+precoce+de+educa%3%a7%3%a3o+e+forma%3%a7%3%a3o+total+e+por+sexo-433. Accessed on 15/6/2020.</p>																					

4) TEIP

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	Educational Territories for Priority Intervention (TEIP)								
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>The main goals of the programme are the prevention and reduction of early school leaving and absenteeism, the reduction of indiscipline and the promotion of the educational success of all students. (https://www.dge.mec.pt/teip)</p> <p>The main goals of the TEIP Programme were as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. to improve the quality of learning, translated into the academic success of students; ii. tackling dropout and early school leaving; iii. the creation of conditions for the promotion of educational guidance and the qualified transition between school and the labour market; iv. the progressive articulation between the actions taken by the school and the partners in the territories for priority intervention. <p>(http://programateip.blogspot.com/p/sit.html)</p> <p>These goals have been updated throughout the several stages of the programme, having been thus formulated since 2018: (i) To guarantee that every student is included; (ii) To improve the quality of teaching and learning; (iii) To make the Student Profile on Leaving Compulsory Schooling "more operational"; (iv) To promote an active and informed citizenship; (v) To prevent dropout, absenteeism and indiscipline among students.</p> <p>This measure of territorialising education is identical to the one put in practice in France, for example, with the ZEP (Zones de Éducation Prioritaires).</p> <p>Reference links:</p> <p>TEIP 1: Order 147/B/ME/96, published in the Official Journal 177/1996, Series II of 1996-08-01, page 10 719 (https://dre.pt/application/file/712664)</p> <p>TEIP 2: Legislative Order 55/2008, published in the Official Journal - 2.nd Series, 206, from 23/10/2008, page 43 128 (https://dre.tretas.org/pdfs/2008/10/23/dre-241173.pdf)</p> <p>TEIP 3: Legislative Order 20/2012 (https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/despacho_normativo_20_2012.pdf)</p>								
Description:	<p>The TEIP Programme was created in 1996 (Order 147-B/ME/96, from 1 August) and it was called first generation TEIP. When the Programme was resumed in 2006/2007, it received a new framework, established by the Legislative Order 55/2008, thus becoming TEIP2. With Legislative Order 20/2012 comes TEIP3, which gets an update every three years through the Multiannual Improvement Plans (PPM).</p>								
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	<p>Table 5 – Names of the TEIP Programmes, duration and number of schools (Source: DGE)</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="571 1906 1444 1957"> <thead> <tr> <th>Name</th> <th>Implementation</th> <th>Termination</th> <th>School Clusters (AE)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> <td> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Name	Implementation	Termination	School Clusters (AE)				
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TEIP 3 – phase III	2018	2021 ⁽²⁾																							
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	As the table above makes clear, in its current formulation, the TEIP Programme has followed the implementation cycles of the triennial PPM.																								
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	The recipients of this Programme are first and foremost School Clusters, as well as the whole education community (teachers, staff, students, guardians and stakeholders), depending on the measures/ action plans implemented in each territory.																								
Allocated financial resources	European Social Fund (QREN, POPH, POCH, Portugal 2020, NORTE 2020)																								
Core partnerships	Universities (UCP, UP, CIES-ISCTE-IUL...); CPCJ, EMAT, “Safe School Programme”, “Choices Programme”, EPIS, etc. Several community partners: “Every examined TEIP project is founded on partnerships between the cluster and several other institutions with a local presence (between 10 and 30)” (Abrantes et al., 2011, p. 61).																								
Results	The references for the following results are the public reports and the study available on the Directorate-General for Education (DGE) website. We have also drawn on the information presented at meetings between the DGE and External Experts, to which we had access.																								
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)	The following tables present the information gathered from the documents mentioned above and demonstrate the conclusions of the «TEIP Report 2009/2010», on the subject of academic failure and ESL. The contribution of the TEIP clusters to the reduction of the retention and the dropout rates is clear. Table 6 - Evolution of the retention rate by cycle between 2006/07 and 2015/16 (Source: DGE)																								

	2006/2007		2015/2016	
	TEIP	National	TEIP	National
Retention Rate ¹ 1 st cycle	14.3%	5.8%	5.8%	4.2%
Retention Rate 2 nd cycle	19.2%	11.2%	10.7%	7.5%
Retention Rate 3 rd cycle	26.1%	19.9%	13.5%	10.9%

Table 7 - Evolution of the dropout rate, by cycle, between 2006/07 and 2015/16 (Source: DGE)

	2006/2007		2015/2016	
	TEIP	National	TEIP	National
Dropout rate ¹ 1 st cycle	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%	0.2%
Dropout rate 2 nd cycle	1.9%	0.7%	1.6%	0.8%
Dropout rate 3 rd cycle	4.0%	2.1%	1.1%	0.8%

(1) Approximate data

In its «TEIP Report 2009/2010», the former DGIDC [Directorate-General for Curriculum Innovation and Development], stated, by way of conclusion, the positive impacts of the TEIP Programme for the reduction of ESL, absenteeism and indiscipline, as well as for the improvement in students' academic results (ME/DGIDC, 2011).

Along the same lines, the survey of the TEIP 2, carried out in 2010, mentions that, beyond the contribution to the development of school organizations and to the improvement of pedagogical practices, the TEIP positive impact is evident in "the gradual reduction of the problems related to indiscipline, as well as the reduction in the dropout and academic failure rates, and in an improvement, even if slow, of the national exams results" (Abrantes et al., 2011, p. 90).

Álvares and Calado (2014) also argue, in relation to the TEIP Programme, that its "contribution to the reduction of early school leaving, indiscipline and conflict" has been identified, and "it could even be said that schools have in general been able to develop strategies for social and academic inclusion, inverting the trend for stigmatization, segregation and worsening of the conditions for the promotion of learning developments" (Álvares & Calado, 2014, p. 21).

Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)

ME/DGIDC (2011). TEIP Report 2009/2010. Retrieved from: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/rel_teip_2009_10_publicado.pdf. Accessed on 9/6/2020

MEC/DGE (2012). TEIP Report 2010-2011. Retrieved from: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/rel_teip_2010_11_publicado.pdf. Accessed on 9/6/2020

Abrantes, P., Mauritti, R., Roldão, C., Alves, L., Amaral, P., Baptista, I., & Teixeira, A. (2011).

	<p>TEIP Effects: Assessment of academic and social impacts in seven educational territories for priority intervention. Summary of results. CIES-ISCTE-IUL/ DGIDC-ME. Retrieved from: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/estudoteip_sintese.pdf. Accessed on 10/6/2020</p> <p>Álvares, Maria & Calado, Alexandre. (2014). Academic Failure and Early School Leaving - Support Programmes. In Rodrigues, M. L. (Ed.). 40 Years of Education Policy in Portugal, vol. I - Building the Democratic System. Coimbra, Almedina. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296648198. Accessed on 10/6/2020</p>
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5) "CHOICES PROGRAMME"

<p>1. Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>"Choices Programme" - Programme for the Prevention of Criminality and the Integration of Young People</p>
<p>2. Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The "Choices Programme" aims to stimulate the creation of projects for the promotion of equal opportunities for children and young people from the most vulnerable socio-economic contexts, in particular the children of immigrants and those belonging to ethnic minorities, by mobilising local communities.</p> <p>Thus, its primary goals are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) to prevent criminality and promote the social inclusion of young people from the most vulnerable neighbourhoods of Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal (initially); (ii) to promote the personal, social, academic, professional and parental education of these young people; (iii) to forge partnerships between public services and the communities from the selected neighbourhoods, enhancing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the development of strategic areas of intervention and social mediation; b. the provision of leisure time activities and the participation in the community; c. appreciation for the academic and professional education and the parental education of young people, d. the prevention of criminal activity; (iv) the contribution to the articulation between every action and every entity working on the integration of youngsters; (v) articulate its action with the commissions for the protection of children and young people and other local partnerships. <p>Reference links:</p> <p>https://juventude.gov.pt/Emprego/ProgramaEscolhas/Documents/Res.%20Conselho%20Ministros%204_2001.pdf</p> <p>https://juventude.gov.pt/Emprego/ProgramaEscolhas/Paginas/Programa_Escolhas.aspx#1pjTitle4</p>
<p>3. Description:</p>	<p>"Choices" was the name given to the "Programme for the Prevention of Criminality and</p>

	the Integration of Young People”, created in 2001 by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers 4/2001, whose goal was the social, personal, academic, professional and parental education of youngsters, through a diverse set of projects.												
3.1. Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2001 – 2020 (measure currently in place)												
3.2. Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	<p>The “Choices Programme” was created in 2001 and it has gone through six phases of development:</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>Choices 1st Generation</td> <td>2001 – 2003</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Choices 2nd Generation</td> <td>2004 – 2006</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Choices 3rd Generation</td> <td>2007 – 2009</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Choices 4th Generation</td> <td>2010 to 2012</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Choices 5th Generation ⁽¹⁾</td> <td>2013 and 2015</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Choices 6th Generation</td> <td>2016 – 2020 (still on-going)</td> </tr> </table> <p>(1) Created by the Resolution of the Council of Ministers 68/2012.</p>	Choices 1 st Generation	2001 – 2003	Choices 2 nd Generation	2004 – 2006	Choices 3 rd Generation	2007 – 2009	Choices 4 th Generation	2010 to 2012	Choices 5 th Generation ⁽¹⁾	2013 and 2015	Choices 6 th Generation	2016 – 2020 (still on-going)
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Choices 3 rd Generation	2007 – 2009												
Choices 4 th Generation	2010 to 2012												
Choices 5 th Generation ⁽¹⁾	2013 and 2015												
Choices 6 th Generation	2016 – 2020 (still on-going)												
3.3. Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	The recipients of the programme were initially young people over the age of 12 from the most vulnerable neighbourhoods of Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal.												
3.4. Allocated financial resources	<p>Funding comes from the State Budget, through the Secretariat of State for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the Directorate-General for Education and the Institute of Social Security.</p> <p>It is co-financed by the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), through the Operational Programme for Social Inclusion and Employment, and by the European Social Fund, through the Operational Programmes for the Regions of Lisbon and the Algarve, within the framework of Portugal 2020.</p>												
3.5. Core partnerships	The programme established partnerships with over 840 entities: municipalities, parish councils, school clusters, commissions for the protection of children and young people, the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP), immigrants' associations, private social welfare institutions, among others.												
4. Results													
4.1. What did this programme/	Given its results and the national and international recognition it garnered, the Choices												

<p>measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>Programme has been continually renewed. Thus:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — the Choices 1st Generation implemented 50 projects In Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal, reaching 6 712 individuals; — the Choices 2nd Generation involved 87 financed projects across the country, raising the number of recipients to 43 200, from 54 municipalities; — the number of projects, recipients and municipalities would continue to grow during the Choices 3rd Generation, reaching 81 695 children and young people, aged between 6 and 24 years, from 71 municipalities; — during the Choices 4th Generation, the programme underwent a process of renewal, its presence on the ground has been increased, and so has its global funding and the numbers of financed projects. Some improvements were introduced: the reinforcement of employability and vocational training, an increased differentiation of the target audience, the strengthening of partnerships, the differentiation and modularity of funding, and, above all, an increased support for young people’s initiatives and encouragement for their participation; — in its 5th generation, and following the renewal measures started during the 4th generation of the programme, “110 local projects” were supported, and “31 specific and experimental projects, in the fields of employability an entrepreneurship were financed” https://juventude.gov.pt/Emprego/ProgramaEscolhas/Paginas/Programa_Escolhas.aspx#ipjTitle4). — lastly, in the 6th generation of the programme, and according to table 81 of the Activity Report for 2017, “18 of the 20 targets outlined were surpasses during 2017. (...) Academic success amounted to 79%, above the outlined 76% target for the school year 2016/2017” (ACM, 2017, p. 80). The table below shows some of the specific indicators whose targets were surpassed: <p>Table 8 – Level of implementation for the specific indicators of the Choices Programme in 2017 (Source: ACM, 2017).</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="566 1444 1404 1904"> <thead> <tr> <th>SPECIFIC INDICATORS</th> <th>TARGET</th> <th>Implemented</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1. Global academic success rate (%)</td> <td>76%</td> <td>79%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Referred to a professional school for training</td> <td>4 000</td> <td>4 961</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Directed to the labour market</td> <td>3 900</td> <td>4 822</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Vocational Training Integration</td> <td>1 700</td> <td>2 112</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Labour market integration</td> <td>1 200</td> <td>1 726</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Engaging partners in the activities carried out</td> <td>1 650</td> <td>1 882</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7. Certification in the field of TIC [Information and Communication Technologies] (total)</td> <td>8 200</td> <td>9 529</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	SPECIFIC INDICATORS	TARGET	Implemented	1. Global academic success rate (%)	76%	79%	2. Referred to a professional school for training	4 000	4 961	3. Directed to the labour market	3 900	4 822	4. Vocational Training Integration	1 700	2 112	5. Labour market integration	1 200	1 726	6. Engaging partners in the activities carried out	1 650	1 882	7. Certification in the field of TIC [Information and Communication Technologies] (total)	8 200	9 529
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<p>4.2. Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/</p>	<p>High Commission for Immigration, I.P. (2018). Activity Report for 2017. Retrieved from: https://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/43252/Relat%C3%B3rio_+Atividades_+ACM_+2</p>																								



<p>initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>017.pdf/4fdeeb0d-1acb-4cc4-9d97-9d2afe182f83. Accessed on 17/6/2020.</p> <p>https://juventude.gov.pt/Emprego/ProgramaEscolhas/Paginas/Programa_Escolhas.aspx#lpjTitle4</p> <p>http://www.programaescolhas.pt/index.php/avaliacoes</p> <p>https://app.box.com/s/usut29s8dte372onzb7i</p> <p>https://www.box.com/s/a819b5869a089427d300</p> <p>https://www.box.com/s/49e02cae80cd2c83a293</p>
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B. Intervention Measures

1) CEF

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	Education and Training Courses (CEF)
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>The Education and Training Courses (CEF) offer a dual certification and were created in 2002, by the Joint Order 279/2002. They belong to the set of public policy measures aimed at tackling early school leaving and early entry into the labour market. To that end, at first, the CEF's goal was to allow 15 to 18-year olds, who had not completed 9th grade and who were at risk of ESL, to acquire qualifying vocational training (levels 1 or 2) and to graduate from basic education.</p> <p>That goal remains, but the policy was extended to cover secondary education in 2004 (Joint Order 453/2004). The CEF are an opportunity for students to complete mandatory education (based on a 12-year mandatory education) and to pursue studies or training, through a flexible, qualifying path that suits their interests.</p> <p>These days, the CEF exist to allow students to complete mandatory education and to enter into the labour market and they are suitable for students at risk of ESL or who have already left school, who are 15 years old or older.</p> <p>Reference links: http://www.angep.gov.pt/pagina.aspx?back=1&codigono=56225801AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA A Joint Order 279/2002 (Official Journal - 2nd Series, 86, of 12/4/2002, page) 6807 (https://dre.tretas.org/pdfs/2002/04/12/dre-151754.pdf) Joint Order 453/2004 (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/2825005). Decree-law 139/2012, of 5 July - https://dre.pt/application/file/a/178607 Decree-law 55/2018, of 6 July (https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/AFC/dl_55_2018_afc.pdf)</p>
Description:	<p>The CEF are dual certification courses and they are the educational and training response for students aged 15 or older who are at risk of ESL or who have already left school. The courses give students qualifying vocational training and the corresponding professional certification (levels 1, 2 or 4 of the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ) and an academic qualification equivalent to the 2nd or 3rd cycles, to secondary education or even an academic competence certificate).</p>
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2002 -2020 (measure currently in place)
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through	The courses are organized according to a sequence of training (from type 1 to type 7, depending on the admission qualifications) and they have a duration of 1 or 2 years,

certification)

according to the chosen training path.

Table 9 - Description of the CEF training stages

Courses	Admission requirements	Duration	Qualification granted
Type 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - qualification inferior to the 6th grade; - at risk of leaving; - one or two retentions; 	2 years	6 th grade Level 1 Vocational Qualification
Type 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 6th grade - 7th or 8th grades attendance; - at risk of leaving; 	2 years	9 th grade Level 2 Vocational Qualification
Type 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 8th grade - 9th grade attendance - at risk of leaving; 	1 year	9 th grade Level 2 Vocational Qualification
Type 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 9th grade - with one or more retentions in secondary education; - attendance of any secondary level course without completing it; - who wish, in the near future, to carry out a professional project; 	1 year	Level 2 Vocational Qualification
Complementary Training Course	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Type 2 or Type 3 courses - Level 2 initial qualification courses 	1 year	imparts the necessary requirements to enrol in type 5 courses
Type 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Type 4 course; - Complementary Training Course; - Vocational 10th grade course; - unsuccessful attendance of the 11th grade, wish to go back to education; 	2 years	12 th grade Level 3 Vocational Qualification
Type 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 11th grade completed - attendance of the 12th grade; 	1 year or more	12 th grade Level 3 Vocational Qualification
Type 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary education level Science-Humanities course, or an 	1 year	Level 3 Vocational Qualification

	<table border="1" data-bbox="571 309 1441 481"> <tr> <td data-bbox="571 309 719 481"></td> <td data-bbox="719 309 1098 481">equivalent, that belongs to the same or to a similar academic field as that to which the course the student is pursuing belongs.</td> <td data-bbox="1098 309 1230 481"></td> <td data-bbox="1230 309 1441 481"></td> </tr> </table> <p>Notwithstanding their typology, the CEF include four training components: socio-cultural, scientific, technological and practical.</p>		equivalent, that belongs to the same or to a similar academic field as that to which the course the student is pursuing belongs.		
	equivalent, that belongs to the same or to a similar academic field as that to which the course the student is pursuing belongs.				
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>The recipients of the CEF are students in the following situations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — aged 15 or older; — at risk of ESL or who have already left school without completing mandatory education; — academic qualifications inferior to the 2nd and 3rd cycles or secondary education; — have completed secondary education, but lack professional certification — or are interested in acquiring a professional certification superior to the one they already have. 				
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>European Social Fund, through the POPH [Human Potential Operational Programme] and POCH [Human Capital Operational Programme] programmes</p>				
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>Public education institutions;</p> <p>Private and cooperative education institutions;</p> <p>Centres for Professional Training of the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP);</p> <p>Other accredited training providers;</p> <p>Businesses.</p>				
<p>Results</p>					
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>The “Education in Numbers - 2019” document (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019) shows the evolution of students (Chart 1) enrolled in the CEF since they were created.</p> <p>We can conclude that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — In 2002/03, there were 573 students enrolled in the 2nd cycle, and the highest number of enrolments (1 077) was reached in the school year of 2007/08; in the year 2017/18 no students enrolled; — In 2002/03, there were 2 582 students enrolled in the 3rd cycle, and the highest number of enrolments (45 820) was reached in the school year of 2007/08; in the year 2017/18 there were 15 497 students enrolled; — At the secondary level, this educational option was also made available in 2002/03, with 2 353 students, the highest number of enrolments (8 500) was reached in the school year of 2007/08 and, currently, there are 460 students enrolled. 				

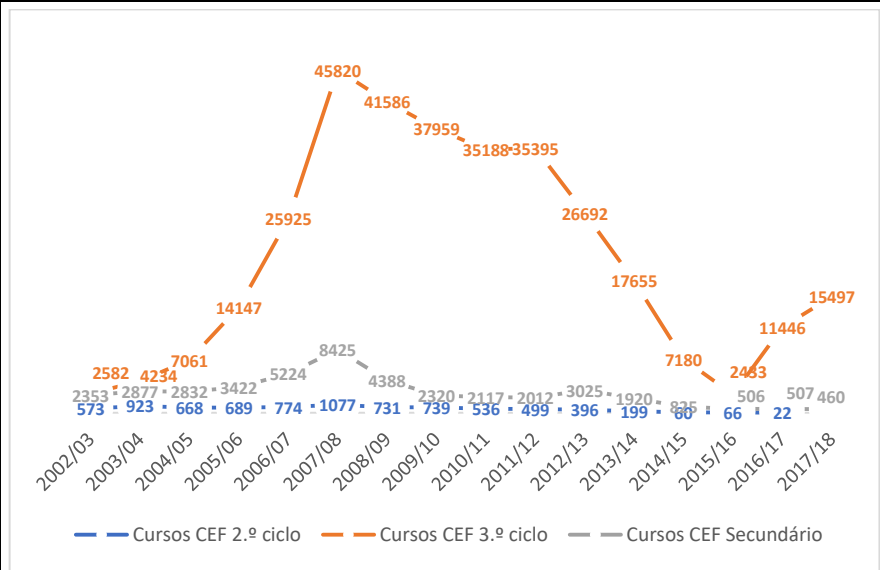


Chart 2- Number of students enrolled in the basic/ secondary education, by education and training option - CEF (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

It should be noted that the reduction in the number of students that takes place in the 2nd cycle is mostly due to the option of the Alternative Curriculum Paths (PCA), which became available from 2008/09 onwards. In the 3rd cycle, we are witnessing a growth, when compared with the period, between 2012 and 2016, during which Vocational Courses became the most common option.

Another reading (Chart 2) of the “Education in Numbers - 2019” document (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019) allows us to look at students who have completed basic education through the CEF.

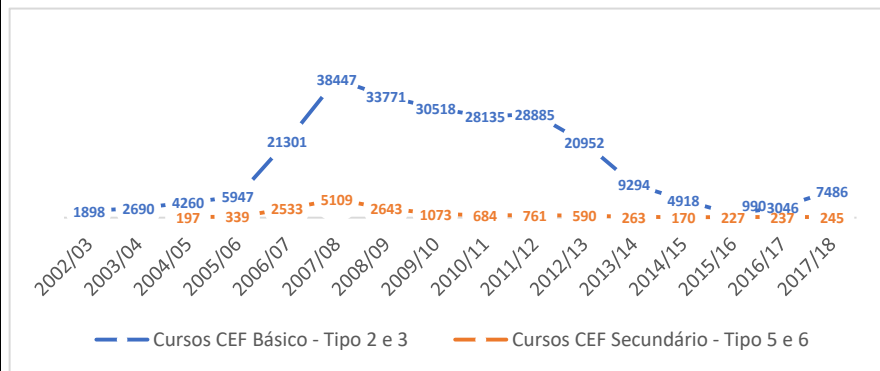


Chart 3 - Number of students who have completed basic/ secondary education, by education and training option - CEF (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

Judging by the information available in the chart above, we can conclude that in the first

	<p>year the courses were available, 2002/03, 1 898 students completed basic education through the CEF - types 2 and 3. Following a period of major expansion, which reached its greatest exponent in the school year of 2007/08 – when 38 447 students completed their basic education through the CEF - types 2 and 3 –, there was a period when the number of students who completed their basic education this way never went beyond 20 000. The arrival of vocational courses (2012) leads to a consecutive decrease in the number of students, which reaches their lowest level in 2015/16 with 990 students for this level of education. Finally, the academic year of 2016/17 has seen an increase, and 7 486 students have completed basic education through CEF in 2017/18.</p> <p>When it comes to secondary education, the CEF numbers are not so significant. The number of students who have completed secondary education through the CEF - types 5 and 6 peaked in 2007/08 with 5 109 students, returning, in 2017/18 to the residual numbers (245) it had in the beginning (197 students in 2004/05).</p> <p>These results confirm and underline the impact and the relevance of the CEF, particularly in the 3rd cycle of basic education (GEPE, 2009; DGEEC, 2017; DGEEC, 2018). They also demonstrate the Courses importance for the fight against ESL, for the completion of mandatory education and for vocational qualifications.</p>
Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)	<p>GEPE/ DSE (2009). Education Statistics 2016/2017 - Young People. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=EE_JOVENS20072008.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC (2017). Education Statistics 2016/2017: Pre-School Education, Basic and Secondary Education - Summary of Results. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=EE_2017__Breve_s_ntese_de_resultados.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE (2017). Education Statistics 2016/2017. Retrieved from: http://estatisticas-educacao.dgeec.mec.pt/eef/2017/. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC (2018). Education Statistics 2017/2018: Pre-School Education, Basic and Secondary Education - Summary of Results. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=EE_2018__Breve_s_ntese_de_resultados.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=D_GEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>

2) VOCATIONAL

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	Vocational Courses
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>Vocational Courses were created as part of a set of measures aimed at promoting academic success and tackling early school leaving (Decree-law 176/2012 of 2 August; Ordinance 292-A/2012 of 26 September), diversifying and adjusting the education options to the vocational and professional interests of students (MEC, 2015a).</p> <p>Consequently, Vocational Courses are an education and training option - an alternative to the Education and Training Courses (CEF) - with the goal of offering “adequate and flexible” options that can guarantee equal opportunity to all and that provide students with tools with which they can face the multiple challenges the future will bring, in particular those concerning the labour market.</p> <p>Reference links: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/299/ Decree-Law 139/2012, of 5 July (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/178607) Decree-Law 176/2012 of 2 August (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/179116) Ordinance 292-A/2012, of 26 September (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/234390) Ordinance 276/2013, of 23 August (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/499098) Ordinance 341/2015, of 9 October (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/70497074)</p>
Description:	<p>In order to tackle early leaving from universal and mandatory schooling, the Government created, in 2012, a type of alternative courses for students with multiple retentions in their academic path: (i) basic education vocational courses for 13-year-olds with at least two retentions; (ii) secondary level vocational courses for students aged 16 or older who, having completed the 9-year basic education, wish to remain in school, in a more practical and technical academic setting (including students who have completed their basic education vocational courses).</p>
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	<p>2012 – 2016</p> <p>The courses were terminated in 2016 and were replaced with the CEF.</p>
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	<p>Basic Education Vocational Courses (2nd and 3rd cycles):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. They were structured around three components: General, Complementary and Vocational; ii. The Vocational component comprised subjects from three areas of education and training, all of which included Simulated Practice; iii. The course lasted for 1 100 hours, distributed between a second cycle school year and one or two third cycle school years (depending on the students’ level of prior knowledge); iv. It included at least 210 hours of Simulated Practice;

- v. Evaluation was carried out by modules;
- vi. The terms and conditions of Simulated Practice were outlined in an autonomous protocol concluded between the business/institution in which it took place and the cluster of schools/ school where the course was developed;
- vii. Vocational courses students who had completed 9th grade could pursue further education:
 - a) in the general secondary education system, as long as they had passed their national 9th grade final exams;
 - b) in the professional secondary education, as long as they had completed every module in the course;
 - c) in vocational secondary education, as long as they had completed 70% of the general and complementary component modules and 100% of the vocational component modules.

Secondary Education Vocational Courses:

- i. The curricular structure was organized by modules according to the National Qualifications System (SNQ) and the National Qualifications Catalogue (CNQ) frameworks;
- ii. They were structured around four components: General, Complementary, Vocational and Training Internship:
 - a) The general and complementary components had as reference the programs for the socio-cultural and scientific components of the professional courses' subjects;
 - b) The vocational and training internship components were based on the CNQ training benchmarks;
- iii. They had a duration of about 3 000 hours, distributed by 2 school years;
- iv. The Training Internship had a duration of at least 1 400 hours;
- v. The terms and conditions of Training Internship were outlined in an autonomous protocol concluded between the business/institution promoting the vocational course and the cluster of schools/ school where the course was developed, and were approved by the MEC;
- vi. Completion of a secondary level vocational course:
 - a) was the equivalent of a level 4 qualification from the National Qualifications Catalogue (CNQ), which is the equivalent of 12th grade, and granted the student a level 4 certificate;
 - b) allowed students to pursue a higher education degree, as long as they met the legal requirements;
 - c) allowed students to access other education pathways, such as polytechnic education, which grant a level 5 QNQ qualification.

Reference links:

<https://www.dgeste.mec.pt/index.php/cursos-vocacionais/>

DGEEC (2015). Vocational Courses Monitoring: Academic Years 2012/13, 2013/14 and 2014/15. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from:

	<p>https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/299/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=553&fileName=Relat_rioMonitoriza_oCursosVocacionais2.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>Basic Education Vocational Courses (2nd and/or 3rd cycles):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. students aged 13 years or older with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – two retentions in the same cycle or – three (or more) retentions in different cycles of their education. ii. if completed successfully, it would be equivalent of completing a 6th or 9th grade. <p>Secondary Education Vocational Courses:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. students aged 16 years or older who have successfully completed basic education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – students looking for more technical alternatives to secondary education; – at risk of early school leaving. ii. if completed successfully, it would be equivalent of completing the 12th grade, with a QNQ level 4 certificate. <p>Reference links</p> <p>https://www.dgeste.mec.pt/index.php/cursos-vocacionais/</p> <p>DGEEC (2015). Vocational Courses Monitoring: Academic Years 2012/13, 2013/14 and 2014/15. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/299/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=553&fileName=Relat_rioMonitoriza_oCursosVocacionais2.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>State Budget and EU funding through the European Social Fund - Human Capital Operational Programme (POCH) or Regional Operational Programmes (POR). For example:</p> <p>https://www.poch.portugal2020.pt/pt-pt/noticias/Paginas/noticia.aspx?nid=104 or NOTICE POCH - 66-2017-02 (https://balcao.portugal2020.pt/NB.BALCAO2020.UI/Home/Download_Anonymous_Documento?docID=0d8bab04-99a0-4937-8a97-95f104fc71f7).</p>
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>The established local partnerships:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – had to include businesses, entities and institutions within the community and/or based on the school's geographical area; – had to be involved in conducting training internships in a business context; – had to contribute to the vocational component teaching.
<p>Results</p>	<p>Since their inception, in 2012, the vocational courses widened their field of action to include a growing number of students, from both basic and secondary levels, until the penultimate year before the termination of this education option. We can conclude, from the reports, opinions and assessments carried out, that this education option was relatively successful.</p>
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve?</p>	<p>The "Education in Numbers - 2019" (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019, p.32) states that in 2012/2013 there were 32 students enrolled in the 2nd cycle and 243 in the 3rd cycle of</p>

(highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)

basic education vocational courses. At the secondary education level, the first data are from 2013/14 and they show that there were 379 students enrolled. The ensuing school years witnessed the expansion of this option, which reached its peak for the 2nd cycle in 2014/2015, with 2 124 students, and for the 3rd cycle in 2015/16, with 25 035 students. The best year for secondary education was 2015/16, with 5 244 students.

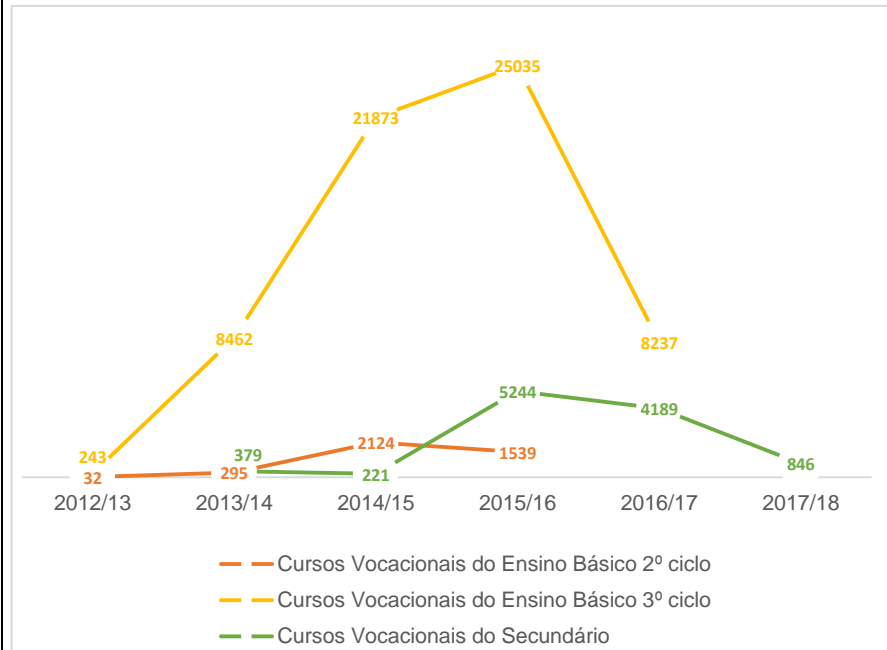


Chart 4 - Number of students enrolled in basic/ secondary education, by education and training option - Vocational Courses (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

Furthermore, in 2012/13, 214 students completed basic education through vocational courses, and the year with the highest number of enrolments, 2015/16, was also the year that witnessed the highest number of students completing basic education: 12 625.

The number of students who completed the secondary education vocational courses, which became an option a year later, went from 191 in the school year of 2014/15 to 515 in 2017/18 (at its peak, in 2016/17, there were 2 144 students enrolled).

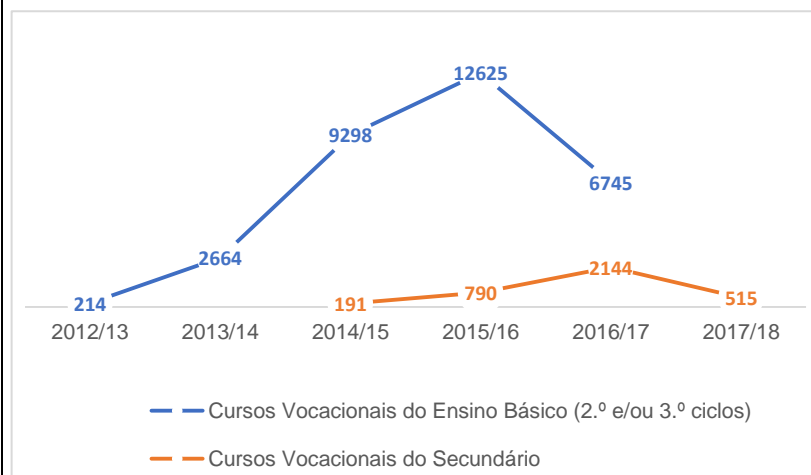


Chart 5 - Number of students who completed basic/ secondary education, by education and training option - Vocational Courses (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

Concerning the results of this option, according to an assessment carried out by the Ministry of Education and Science, we can conclude that:

- a) the vocational courses option turned out to be suitable for its target audience, since "it was possible to attest the relevance and suitability of this option for the students it targets and to safeguard features that can benefit the academic success of young people who, at any given moment, have been unable to adapt to the other existing offers in the education system" (MEC, 2015a, p. 15);
- b) concerning the goal of promoting success and tackling early school leaving, the available data "reveal a positive and significant impact in the promotion of academic success and in tackling early school leaving, in line with the intended purpose of the option" (MEC, 2015a, p. 15);
- c) when it comes to vocational training, professionalizing qualification and employability, the potential "of the articulation between schools and companies and its benefits for the training of these young people" becomes clear. "[...] The major practical component of this offer has ensured significant employability, confirming, within the limited universe of the first students to have completed the courses, what has been underlined by several studies". (MEC, 2015a, p. 15);
- d) in a final and global assessment, "the vocational courses pilot experiment is plainly positive, it has mostly achieved its goals and ought to continue. This conclusion is particularly valid for the basic education vocational courses, bearing in mind that there are no data to allow for a more objective analysis when it comes to secondary education" (Reis & Rei, 2015, p. 105).

There are, notwithstanding, other analyses and reports that point to shortcomings:

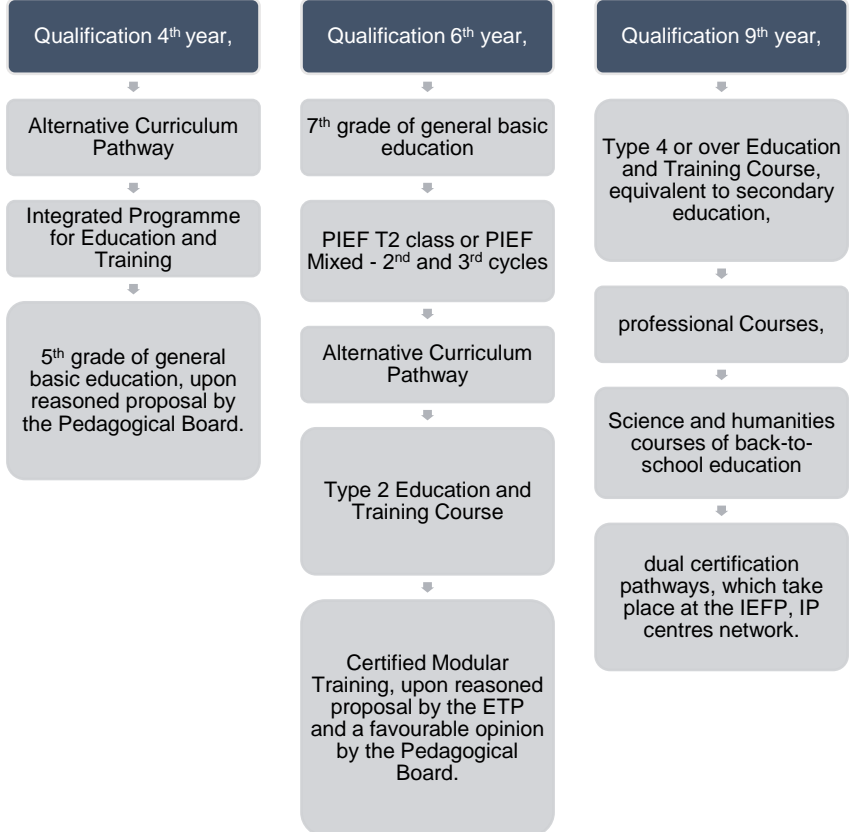
- a) "When we compare the early school leaving rates among vocational courses and general education in several European countries and regions, regardless of the definitions and data collection methodology used, we notice that the early school leaving rates of vocational courses' students are higher than the general rate for ELET". [...] In Portugal, by contrast, the non-retention rates of students are consistently higher for the general education courses in each of the three years of secondary education" [Tackling Early Leaving from Education and Training in Europe: Strategies, Policies and Measures]. (MEC, 2015b, p. 10);
- b) The Schools Council has also highlighted, in its opinion on the changes introduced to curriculum organization model, that Vocational Courses did not offer their students "a consistent vocational and formative pathway" and that "the training that resulted from these courses did not match any professional qualification in the European system, which has impaired them as an educational option for these students" (Schools Council, 2017, p. 4);
- c) According to the same entity, the vocational courses were "a second line option towards which schools referred students with a history of retentions, who were

	<p>uninterested in and unable to adapt to the uniform curricula of mainstream courses and who were too young to enrol in an education and training course (CEF)" (Schools Council, 2017, p. 4);</p>
<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Schools Council (2017). Opinion 3/2017. Retrieved from: https://www.cescolas.pt/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Parecer_03_2017_Altera_Modelo_Org_Curricular.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>Ministry of Education and Science (2015a). Vocational Courses Assessment (summary doc). ANQEP, I.P. [National Agency for Qualification and Vocational Education and Training] Retrieved from: http://www.anqep.gov.pt/default.aspx. Accessed on 11/6/2020.</p> <p>Ministry of Education and Science (2015a). Vocational Courses: International Analyses. ANQEP, IP. Retrieved from: http://www.anqep.gov.pt/default.aspx. Accessed on 11/6/2020.</p> <p>Reis, A. and Rei, C. (Coord.) (2015). External Assessment of the Vocational Courses Pilot Experiment - Final Report. ANQEP, IP – DGEEC. Retrieved from: http://www.anqep.gov.pt/default.aspx Accessed on 06/11/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC (2015). Vocational Courses Monitoring: Academic Years 2012/13, 2013/14 and 2014/15. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/299/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=553&fileName=Relat_rioMonitoriza_oCursosVocacionais2.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>

3) PIEF

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>Integrated Programme for Education and Training (PIEF)</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The PIEF is an exceptional and temporary remediation measure, whose goals, according to the Joint Orders from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity 882/99, 948/2003 and 171/2006, were the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to promote the completion of mandatory schooling; - to boost the academic and professional certification of young people aged 15 years or older who are victims of child labour exploitation, particularly those situations mentioned in the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Convention 182; - to promote the completion of mandatory schooling and the professional qualification of young people aged 16 years and older who enter into a work contract (ILO, 2013, p. 9).

	<p>Currently, the PIEF acts as an “exceptional and temporary socio-educational and formative measure for inclusion,” activated only when “all other measures for promoting school integration have failed” and its goals are the completion of mandatory schooling and the promotion of social inclusion (article 9 of the Decree-law 55/2018).</p> <p>Reference links: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/despacho_conjuntun_948-2003.pdf https://www.cplp.org/Files/Billeder/MIC_CTI/PALOP_Studies_Portugal_PT_Web.pdf</p> <p>Decree-law 55/2018, of 6 July https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/AFC/dl_55_2018_afc.pdf</p>
<p>Description:</p>	<p>At its origin in 1999, the PIEF was an educational and formative measure within the scope of the Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour Exploitation (PEETI), created by the Joint Order 882/99. However, bearing in mind the legislative, organizational and educational changes that took place since, the PIEF has been underscored as a measure for tackling early school leaving, by promoting inclusion and citizenship among children and young people. Nowadays it is a socio-educational and formative action towards inclusion, temporary and exceptional in nature, aimed at students at risk of marginalisation, social exclusion and school leaving, once every other academic integration measure has been exhausted.</p>
<p>Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)</p>	<p>1999-2020 (measure currently in place)</p>
<p>Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)</p>	<p>Duration varies according to the cycle of studies. The type of PIEF classes varies according to the students’ academic situations. As such, classes can be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – PIEF Mixed -1st and 2nd cycles, if the students in the class have not completed the 1st cycle or if it includes students who are attending the 2nd cycle of basic education; – PIEF - Type 1 (PIEF T1), exclusively for students who are attending 2nd cycle classes; – PIEF Mixed -2nd and 3rd cycles, made up of students who are attending the 2nd and 3rd cycles; – PIEF - Type 2 (PIEF T2), exclusively for students who are attending the 3rd cycle; – PIEF Mixed -1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles, made up of students who have not completed the 1st cycle and students who are attending the 2nd and 3rd cycles of basic education; <p>A PEF (an Education and Training Plan) must be drawn for each student. The Technical and Pedagogical Team (ETP) created to monitor each class has autonomy and freedom to manage the curriculum (there is a reference workload) and each student’s PEF:</p> <p>The successful attendance of the PIEF grants a 2nd or 3rd cycle of basic education</p>

	<p>certification. The following are the qualifications granted to students:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the 4th year to 1st cycle students who have attended PIEF Mixed classes; - the 6th year to 2nd cycle students with a PIEF Type 1 certification or who have been part of PIEF Mixed classes; - the 9th year to 3rd cycle students with a PIEF Type 2 certification or who have been part of PIEF Mixed classes; <p>The pursuit of further education must comply with the following plan:</p>  <pre> graph TD subgraph "Qualification 4th year" Q4[Qualification 4th year] --> AC4[Alternative Curriculum Pathway] AC4 --> IPT[Integrated Programme for Education and Training] IPT --> G5[5th grade of general basic education, upon reasoned proposal by the Pedagogical Board.] end subgraph "Qualification 6th year" Q6[Qualification 6th year] --> G7[7th grade of general basic education] G7 --> PIEF2[PIEF T2 class or PIEF Mixed - 2nd and 3rd cycles] PIEF2 --> AC6[Alternative Curriculum Pathway] AC6 --> T2[Type 2 Education and Training Course] T2 --> CMT[Certified Modular Training, upon reasoned proposal by the ETP and a favourable opinion by the Pedagogical Board.] end subgraph "Qualification 9th year" Q9[Qualification 9th year] --> T4[Type 4 or over Education and Training Course, equivalent to secondary education] T4 --> PC[professional Courses] PC --> SH[Science and humanities courses of back-to-school education] SH --> DC[dual certification pathways, which take place at the IEFP, IP centres network.] end </pre> <p>Reference link: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/EBasico/PIEF/pief_net.pdf https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/regulamento_pief_2017_18_v1.pdf</p>
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>Students who:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. by 1 September are aged between 15 and 18 years, ii. have been unjustifiably absent from the activities for more than 20 business days, consecutive or otherwise and who iii. are in one of the following socio-educational situations: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Students who are 3 or more years older than the level of education they attend would presuppose;

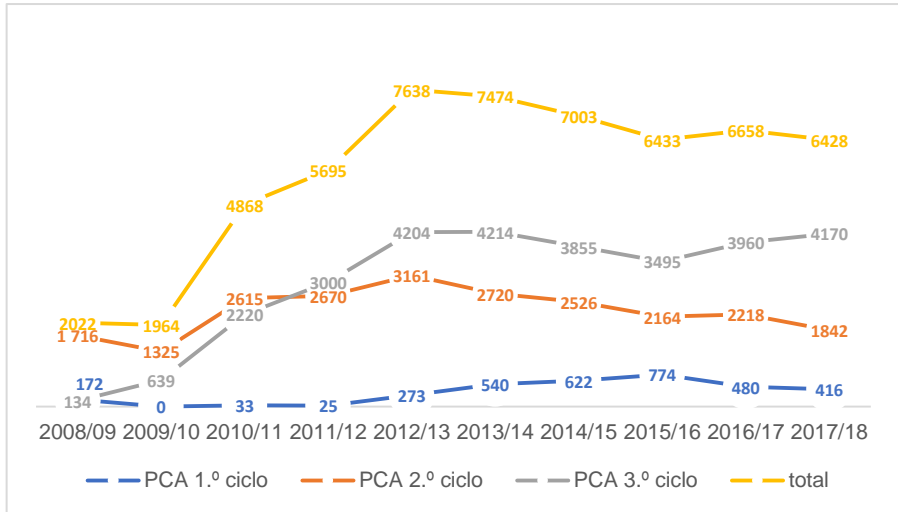
	<p>b. At risk or in danger, as defined by the Article 2 of the Law 147/99, of 1 September, in its present wording;</p> <p>c. Existence of promotion and protection processes, educational guardianship processes or criminal procedures.</p> <p>iv. students who attend school, but experience serious academic failure and who are covered by the point a) of the preceding paragraph and who meet with the age requirements.</p> <p>Reference links: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/EBasico/PIEF/pief_net.pdf https://www.dge.mec.pt/programa-integrado-de-educacao-e-formacao-historico</p>								
Allocated financial resources	<p>The PIEF costs are covered by the Ministry of Education, and appear in its budget as well as that of the School Clusters/ Schools. However, School Clusters/ Schools can apply to the European Social Fund (namely through the Human Potential Operational Programme (POHP)) for co-funding associated with running the PIEF.</p> <p>Thus, pursuant to the Ordinance 272/2012, of 4 September, a support programme for the PIEF qualification (AQPIEF Programme), which “aims, in an integral and multisectoral way, to qualify the intervention of the PIEF according to the needs diagnosed and approved by the Structures Responsible for the Coordination (ERC) of the PIEF, for each school year, between 1 September and 31 August” (http://www.seg-social.pt/programa-de-apoio-e-qualificacao-da-medida-pief-paqpief).</p> <p>Reference links: https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/EBasico/PIEF/pief_net.pdf Ordinance 272/2012, of 4 September (https://dre.pt/application/conteudo/174854) http://www.seg-social.pt/programa-de-apoio-e-qualificacao-da-medida-pief-paqpief</p>								
Core partnerships	The PIEF classes can be built in partnership with local community entities, namely with social partners (public and private) and the business community (partner institutions).								
Results	The statistical data available to the public do not allow for a longitudinal analysis of the results of the programme.								
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)	<p>However, and in line with the DGESTE, in 2017/18 there were 158 classes, distributed through several typologies:</p> <p>Table 10 – Number of PIEF classes in 2017/18 (Source: DGESTE)</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="655 1753 1358 2002"> <tr> <td>Type 1</td> <td>28</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Type 2</td> <td>73</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mixed 1st and 2nd cycles</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mixed 1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles</td> <td>6</td> </tr> </table>	Type 1	28	Type 2	73	Mixed 1 st and 2 nd cycles	2	Mixed 1 st , 2 nd and 3 rd cycles	6
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	<table border="1" data-bbox="654 311 1359 434"> <tr> <td>Mixed 2nd and 3rd cycles</td> <td>49</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Total number of PIEF classes</td> <td>158</td> </tr> </table> <p>The Ministry of Education's "BIME - Edu Information Platform" also collects administrative information concerning public schools and it allows us to check data on the PIEF concerning the last two academic years. In the "students" tab, specifically in the "number of students per type of offer" we can see that the number of students enrolled in the PIEF is low given the total number of students: 0.2 % in 2018/19 (2 263) and in 2019/2020, when 2 026 students are enrolled (ME, 2020).</p> <p>Notwithstanding, throughout its existence, the PIEF has been valued for its impact in the fight against child labour exploitation and, above all, "as a measure for tackling early school leaving, by promoting inclusion and citizenship among children and young people" (http://www.seg-social.pt/programa-de-apoio-e-qualificacao-da-medida-pief-paqpief).</p> <p>This finding is also highlighted by international organizations such as ILO and CPLP, who defined the PIEF as "a measure of exception which acts as remediation when all else fails" (ILO & CPLP, 2013, p. 9).</p>	Mixed 2 nd and 3 rd cycles	49	Total number of PIEF classes	158
Mixed 2 nd and 3 rd cycles	49				
Total number of PIEF classes	158				
<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>ME (2020). Education System Summary Data. Retrieved from: https://dados.edu.gov.pt/analytics/saw.dll?dashboard. Accessed on 26/6/2020.</p> <p>https://www.dgeste.mec.pt/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/PIEF_1718.pdf</p> <p>The International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) (2013). Study on the Implementation of ILO Conventions 138 and 182 and of its Recommendations in the national legislation of CPLP countries – Portugal. Geneva: ILO. Retrieved from: https://www.cplp.org/Files/Billeder/MIC_CTI/PALOP_Studies_Portugal_PT_Web.pdf. Accessed on 11/6/2020</p> <p>http://www.seg-social.pt/programa-de-apoio-e-qualificacao-da-medida-pief-paqpief</p>				

4) PCA

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>Alternative Curriculum Pathways (PCA)</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The PCA were created in 2006 by a ministerial order (Legislative Order 1/2006) as an educational option for students who are within the bounds of compulsory education, with academic histories marked by learning difficulties, repeated academic failure and/or who are at risk of ESL.</p> <p>Their goal is to motivate students about school and to develop their interests and abilities through a set of work methodologies that fit the curriculum to the student's characteristics, allowing them to complete Essential Learning and to develop the Student Profile on Leaving Compulsory Schooling.</p> <p>Meanwhile, with the adoption of the Ordinance 181/2019, the PCA became part of the innovation plans, defined and implemented by each Cluster of Schools, as one of the</p>

	<p>curricular and pedagogical specific responses aimed at success and inclusion.</p> <p>Reference links: Legislative Order 1/2006 (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/168287) https://www.dge.mec.pt/percursos-curriculares-alternativos Decree-law 55/2018, of 6 July (https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/AFC/dl_55_2018_afc.pdf) Ordinance 181/2019 (https://dre.pt/application/file/a/122538809) https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/EPIPSE/orientacoes_pca_18_19.pdf</p>																		
Description:	The Alternative Curriculum Pathways (PCA) are a measure for promoting academic success in basic education. It is a specific option, meant to complement other existing options, it is temporary and aimed at the social inclusion of students and the compliance with mandatory schooling.																		
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2006 – 2020 (measure currently in place)																		
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	<p>Until 2018/19, the PCA covered the three cycles of basic education, but following the regulation adopted in that year, it is no longer possible to have a class with students who have not completed the 1st cycle of basic education.</p> <p>Since 2018/19 the curricular matrices are organized into two components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) General Training (FG), made up of Portuguese, Mathematics, English, Physical Education and Citizenship and Development; (ii) Complementary Training (FC) includes the other parts of the curriculum. <p>Seeing that the PCA are a temporary measure, their duration depends on the year of schooling the selected students are currently on. On the other hand, practical and experimental knowledge is valued, and workload should privilege extended periods of practical and experimental work.</p> <p>Thus:</p> <p>Table 11 - PCA's duration per year of schooling (Source: DGE)</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="571 1630 1437 1955"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2">Cycle</th> <th rowspan="2">Component</th> <th colspan="2">Course load (minutes)</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Partial</th> <th>Total</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td rowspan="2">2nd cycle (5th grade, 6th grade)</td> <td>FG</td> <td>785</td> <td rowspan="2">1 350</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FC</td> <td>565</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="2">3rd cycle (7th, 8th and 9th grades)</td> <td>FG</td> <td>695</td> <td rowspan="2">1 500</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FC</td> <td>805</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Students who complete a school year or cycle as part of a PCA can pursue further</p>	Cycle	Component	Course load (minutes)		Partial	Total	2 nd cycle (5 th grade, 6 th grade)	FG	785	1 350	FC	565	3 rd cycle (7 th , 8 th and 9 th grades)	FG	695	1 500	FC	805
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	<p>education through the option available for basic education, in Education and Training Courses, or in a secondary Education course, respectively.</p>																																																							
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>The PCA recipients were, at an early stage, students aged up to 15 years who experienced repeated academic failure, had trouble integrating the school community, were at risk of ESL or showed difficulties that constrained their learning, in each of the three cycles of basic education.</p> <p>Meanwhile, with the adoption of Decree-Laws 54/2018 and 55/2018, of 6 July, the recipients of the PCA became students up to 18 years of age, who find themselves, cumulatively, in the following situations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) at risk of marginalization, social exclusion and school leaving; b) have had at least one retention in the same cycle. 																																																							
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>The State Budget, co-financing from the European Social Fund under other projects that the Cluster is a part of (for example,) TEIP).</p>																																																							
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>Parents or guardians and other community partners.</p>																																																							
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<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>The "Education in Numbers - 2019" document (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019) allows us to see the evolution in the number of students enrolled in Alternative Curriculum Pathways since 2008/09 (Chart 6). A first noticeable feature is the measure's relevance, since enrolment levels have been very stable, particularly from 2012/13 onwards. The measure had a stronger impact in the 2nd cycle, at first, but beginning in 2011/12 - and from 2012/13 onwards in particular - it has also been noticeable in the 3rd cycle. Part of the reason for this success has to do with the short-term measure of promoting vocational courses and the PCA rather than the CEF.</p> <div data-bbox="555 1323 1457 1832" style="border: 1px solid gray; padding: 10px;">  <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <thead> <tr> <th>Year</th> <th>PCA 1.º ciclo</th> <th>PCA 2.º ciclo</th> <th>PCA 3.º ciclo</th> <th>total</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>2008/09</td><td>172</td><td>2022</td><td>134</td><td>1716</td></tr> <tr><td>2009/10</td><td>639</td><td>1964</td><td>1325</td><td>0</td></tr> <tr><td>2010/11</td><td>33</td><td>4868</td><td>2220</td><td>2615</td></tr> <tr><td>2011/12</td><td>25</td><td>5695</td><td>3000</td><td>2670</td></tr> <tr><td>2012/13</td><td>273</td><td>7638</td><td>4204</td><td>3161</td></tr> <tr><td>2013/14</td><td>540</td><td>7474</td><td>4214</td><td>2720</td></tr> <tr><td>2014/15</td><td>622</td><td>7003</td><td>3855</td><td>2526</td></tr> <tr><td>2015/16</td><td>774</td><td>6433</td><td>3495</td><td>2164</td></tr> <tr><td>2016/17</td><td>480</td><td>6658</td><td>3960</td><td>2218</td></tr> <tr><td>2017/18</td><td>416</td><td>6428</td><td>4170</td><td>1842</td></tr> </tbody> </table> </div> <p>Chart 6 - Number of students enrolled in the PCA (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)</p>	Year	PCA 1.º ciclo	PCA 2.º ciclo	PCA 3.º ciclo	total	2008/09	172	2022	134	1716	2009/10	639	1964	1325	0	2010/11	33	4868	2220	2615	2011/12	25	5695	3000	2670	2012/13	273	7638	4204	3161	2013/14	540	7474	4214	2720	2014/15	622	7003	3855	2526	2015/16	774	6433	3495	2164	2016/17	480	6658	3960	2218	2017/18	416	6428	4170	1842
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Concerning the completion of basic education through Alternative Curriculum Pathways, we witness a greater variability, which contrasts with the steadiness of enrolment numbers. For example, in the academic year of 2016/17, an increase in the number of enrolments corresponded to a decrease in the number of students who completed basic education, when compared with the previous year.

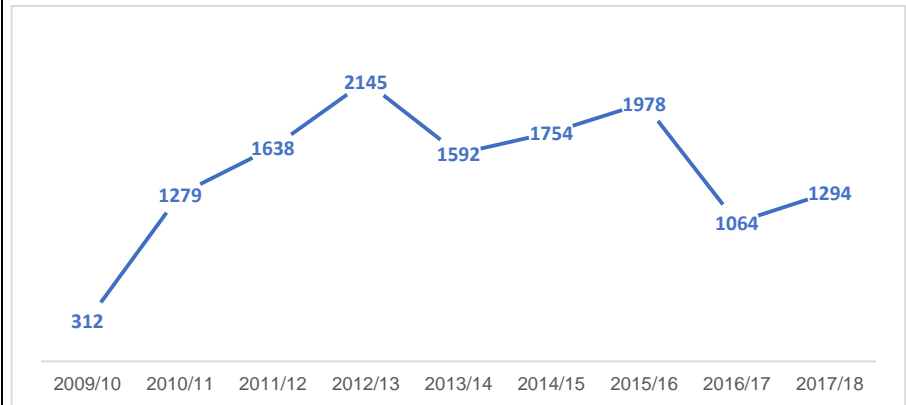


Chart 7 – Number of students who have completed basic education through the PCA (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

Another perspective is that of the National Education Council (CNE), that confirms, in its report about the “State of Education 2018”, that measures like the PCA “are considered when there are constraints in the schooling path that give way to situations of repeated failure, school leaving or of risk of social exclusion” (CNE, 2019, p. 47). The report highlights that the majority of students enrolled in the PCA are aged between 14 and 17 years.

As the data mentioned above make clear, the CNE believes that the PCA, as a different curricular pathway to fight absenteeism and ESL, “has reached a significant number of students and a high rate of success” (CNE, 2019, p. 192).

Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)

DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: [https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf](https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf). Accessed on 12/6/2020.

National Education Council (CNE) (2019). State of Education 2018. Lisbon: National Education Council. Retrieved from: https://www.cnedu.pt/content/edicoes/estado_da_educacao/Estado_da_Educacao2018_we_b_26nov2019.pdf. Accessed on 20/6/2020.

5) PROFESSIONAL COURSES

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	Professional Courses
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>The Professional Courses were created with the aim of contributing for the development of the personal and professional skills necessary to hold a profession, by adjusting to the local and regional labour market requirements and allowing students to pursue further education.</p> <p>Relevant legislation was updated in 2018, and it is now the aim of the Courses to “provide students with an initial professional training and diversified learning, according to their interests, with a view to pursuing further studies and/or of entering the job market, looking to, through the knowledge, abilities and attitudes they have worked on in the different training components, master the sets of skills outlined in the Student Profile on Leaving Compulsory Schooling” (Ordinance 235-A/2018).</p> <p>Reference links: Decree-law 4/98, of 8 January https://dre.pt/application/file/a/224894 Ordinance 74-A/2013, of 15 February https://dre.pt/application/file/a/458554 Decree-law 55/2018, of 6 July https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/AFC/dl_55_2018_afc.pdf Ordinance 235-A/2018 https://dre.pt/application/file/a/116154435</p>
Description:	<p>The Professional Courses have a decades-long history in Portugal. Looking at its most recent history, we find different stages, from the creation of professional schools (Decree-Law 26/89), in 1989, through to the definition of the organization and functioning of schools and professional courses in 1998 (Decree-Law 4/98), including the professional education reform of 2007 and the current regulation concerning the professional courses of secondary level and dual certification, academic and professional (Ordinance 235-A/2018).</p> <p>The Professional Courses, for which the ANQEP is responsible, are a secondary education option characterized by its strong connection with the professional world and by a curricular structure organized by modules, and thus more flexible and adaptable to each student’s learning rhythm.</p>
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	1989 – 2020 (measure currently in place)
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	<p>Professional Courses have a three-year duration, and the cycle of training is run by the school, under its pedagogical autonomy, bearing in mind a balanced workload, with the aim of taking the most out of the management of the modules and of the training in a work environment.</p> <p>The training plan is modular, it is defined according to training benchmarks and it includes three training components: Socio-cultural, scientific and technical.</p> <p>Training in a work context is mandatory within the technical component. In order to</p>

	complete the course, students must pass the Examination of Professional Competence (PAP) to demonstrate the skills they have acquired throughout the training.
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of regular education and does it grant an equivalent to school certification?)	<p>Professional Courses are aimed at students who have completed the 9th grade or an equivalent training, and who are searching for a more practical and labour market-oriented education.</p> <p>Professional Courses allow for dual certification:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — An academic certification, regarding the completion of secondary education; — A professional certification, Level 4 of the National Qualifications Framework. <p>These courses also allow for the pursuit of further education/training in a Technological Specialization Course or in Higher Education.</p> <p>Note: Until 2017/18 there were also Basic Education Professional Courses, and the students who completed the course would receive an academic certification of completion of the 3rd cycle of basic education and the professional certification equivalent to the Level 2 of the National Qualifications Framework.</p>
Allocated financial resources	State Budget and European Social Fund, through the Human Capital Operational Programme (POCH).
Core partnerships	<p>Professional schools, public and private;</p> <p>Public network secondary schools;</p> <p>Local training entities.</p>
Results	
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)	<p>Even though Professional Courses at the basic education level were an option, this constituted an exception and the number of students involved is not significant (Cf. DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019) when compared with other options aimed at this level of education (e.g. CEF, Vocational Courses or EFA and RVCC).</p> <p>Thus, when we examine Secondary Education, we can say that the “expansion of the Professional Education has created an unprecedented expectation around the early professional qualification of young people” (Neves, A., 2010, p. 99), in particular from 2007 onwards (Professional Education Reform, New Opportunities, etc.)</p> <p>The following chart demonstrates the impact of Professional Courses since 2007 onwards, as an educational and formative option for a growing number of young people.</p>

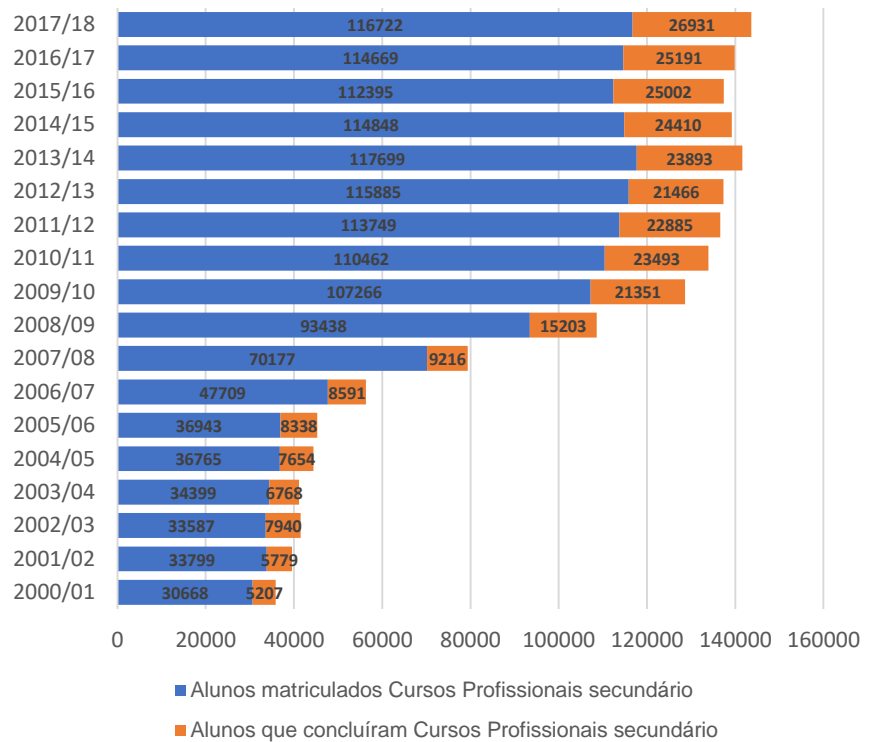


Chart 8 - Number of Enrolled Students vs. Number of Students who have completed Secondary Education Professional Courses (Source: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

This fact is also mentioned in the assessment of the impact of this educational option, coordinated by Neves (2010), where it is stated that the “rapid-growing number of classes and, in particular, the involvement of a majority of secondary schools in this option has led to the transformation, in a single legislative term: (i) of Professional Education, which became a national initial qualification and schooling path; and (ii) of Secondary Schools into schools with two types of education, regardless of their former experience or vocation towards professionalising paths” (Neves, 2010, p. 93).

As the chart above shows, this educational and formative option has been consolidating throughout the decade, whether this refers to the number of students, or to the number of certifications issued. In terms of the number of enrolments, it has remained above 100 000 since 2010.

Concerning this very issue, in a recent study, Barbosa et al. (2019) state that it is “clear that the value of professional courses [referring specifically to the Level IV approved courses] is increasingly recognized, not only through the number of courses that have been created - and as a response to the termination of other types of training and to the demand for specialized workers by the business and associative world - but also by the students who look for this kind of training (Barbosa et al., 2019, p. 61).

The same can be said for the number of certified students. Since 2010, the number students with a Professional Courses certification has remained above 20 000. In fact, as Barbosa et al. (2009) highlight, when comparing the average rate of completion of

	<p>professional courses in the country with that of "other formative options, we can see that the former is slightly higher (72.9%) than the completion rate for science and humanities courses (68.4%) (Barbosa et al., 2019, p. 54).</p>
<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Neves, A. (Coord.) (2010). External Evaluation of the Impact of the Expansion of Profession Courses in the National Qualifications System. ANQ/ IESE. Retrieved from: https://www.forma-te.com/mediateca-de-formacao/viewdownload/110-ensino-e-formacao-profissional/27004-avaliacao-externa-do-impacto-da-expansao-dos-cursos-profissionais-no-sistema-nacional-de-qualificacoes. Accessed on 27/6/2020.</p> <p>Barbosa, B., Melo, A., Rodrigues, C., Santos, C. A., Costa, F., Dias, G. P., Filipe, S., Traqueia, A. & Nogueira, S. (2019). Characterization of Professional Education and Training in Portugal - Analysis of secondary education data, 2015-2019. EDULOG - Belmiro de Azevedo foundation</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>

6) EPIS

1. Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	<p>EPIS - Association of Entrepreneurs for Social Inclusion https://www.epis.pt/quem-somos/orgaos-sociais</p>
2. Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	<p>The EPIS was founded in 2006, under the sponsorship of the President of the Republic, with the participation of national businesses and entrepreneurs (27, in 2019). Its main goals are: (i) to track academic failure and lack of motivation; (ii) to carry out an intervention plan within the school/cluster; (iii) to work with students at risk of failure through the action of mediators.</p>
3. Description:	<p>The EPIS, in articulation with Municipalities and the Ministry of Education, supports the development of projects aimed at tackling academic failure and preventing school leaving. The Association has developed its own work methodology, centred on the proximity between students and mediators, with a low ration of students per technician, and the focus on non-cognitive skills, through the following steps: (i) identification of at-risk students ; (ii) establishment of intervention strategies and techniques with students (among these we can find: a behavioural contract, problem resolution, time management and timetable; tips for studying effectively; studying methods; exam preparation); (iii) work with the families (teenage discipline; cycle of studies change ; how to support the transition). The Association has also created a monitoring system for the quantitative results.</p>
3.1. Implementation (and termination of the	<p>2006-2020 (measure currently in place)</p>

Programme, where applicable)	
3.2. Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	Duration can vary, but the training/intervention usually lasts an academic year.
3.3. Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	The measure is aimed at students from the three cycles of basic education who are at risk of academic failure.
3.4. Allocated financial resources	<p>The allocated resources come from the Association and from municipalities. An agreement with the Ministry of Education allows for teachers to work in the project. In addition, there are countless partnerships with private and public institutions.</p> <p>The EPIS budget for 2019 included about EUR 772 000 in revenue and EUR 912 000 in spending. The EPIS has made a total investment of 6.084 million euros, 5.312 million of which came from partners, and 722 000 from the Association.</p> <p>See: https://www.epis.pt/upload/documents/5f17f724c6673.pdf</p>
3.5. Core partnerships	Besides the network of companies that make up the Association, the main partner is the Ministry of Education (which allocated 95 teachers to the project in 2018/19), followed by local municipalities. The Association can also count on numerous partnerships with companies and other institutions, nationally and locally.
4. Results	<p>In the beginning, in 2007, the project included 58 schools and 14 mediators; in 2019/20 there are 294 schools and 11 645 students, from 46 municipalities and 3 Azorean islands, and 182 mediators (95 of whom are Ministry of Education teachers).</p> <p>The Association offers further action programmes:</p> <p>The EPIS Social Grants (information can be found at: https://www.epis.pt/escolas-de-futuro/bolsas-sociais)</p> <p>The EPIS Vocations Programme (for professional orientation, training and professional integration) (information can be found at: https://www.epis.pt/vocacoes/resumo-do-programa)</p>
4.1. What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)	<p>The quantitative results show that with this type of school intervention, greater academic success can be reached. The results can be found at:</p> <p>https://www.epis.pt/upload/documents/5cf7b5e995205.pdf</p>

<p>4.2. Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Martins, Pedro S. (2017) (How) Do non-cognitive skills programs improve adolescent school achievement? Experimental Evidence. https://www.epis.pt/downloads/agenda-investigacao/Agenda_Avaliacao_Experimental.pdf</p>
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C. Compensation Measures

1) EFA COURSES

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>Education and Training for Adults (EFA)</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA Courses) are an education and training option for adults who wish to improve their qualification and their goals are: (i) the promotion and acquisition of academic qualification and/or professional competence; (ii) to foster the (re)integration or progression within the labour market; (iii) to foster the generalization of secondary education as the population's minimum standard of qualification.</p> <p>Reference links: Joint Decree 1083/2000 http://www.angep.gov.pt/aaaDefault.aspx?back=1&f=1&lws=1&mcna=0&inc=56265808A&codigono=5911 Ordinance 230/2008 (EFA courses legal framework) https://dre.pt/application/file/a/247168</p>
<p>Description:</p>	<p>The Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA), created by the Joint Decree 1083/2000, are an integrated education and training option, with dual certification (academic and professional), aimed at students with low academic and professional qualifications. The EFA, which have been created and managed by the ANEFA (National Institute for Adult Education and Training), expanded greatly through the New Opportunities initiative and the consolidation of the educational and formative option. In 2007, the number of basic level courses and the number of students grew, and the secondary education options were also expanded.</p>
<p>Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)</p>	<p>2000 – 2020 (measure currently in place)</p>
<p>Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through</p>	<p>The duration of an EFA course can vary between one or two years, according to the path and training option of choice: B1, B2, B1+B2, B3 and B2+B3 for basic education; S3, types</p>

certification)	<p>A, B or C, or S, types A, B or C for secondary education. According to the formative path, the EFA course may grant dual certification (academic and professional) or simply an academic or professional certification, as it can be clearly seen in the synthesis presented in the table below.</p> <p>Table 12 - Characterization of the EFA formative paths (Source: ANQEP/ DGEEC)</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="571 582 1439 1205"> <thead> <tr> <th>Courses</th> <th>Admission requirements</th> <th>Duration</th> <th>Qualification granted</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>EFA - 1st cycle</td> <td>Incomplete 1st cycle Aged over 18 years</td> <td rowspan="4">Varies according to the path</td> <td>1st cycle of basic education</td> </tr> <tr> <td>EFA - 2nd cycle</td> <td>Completed 1st cycle Aged over 18 years</td> <td>2nd cycle of basic education Level I from the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>EFA - 3rd cycle</td> <td>Completed 2nd cycle Aged over 18 years</td> <td>3rd cycle of basic education Professional certification QNQ's Level 2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>EFA - Secondary</td> <td>Completed 3rd cycle Aged over 18 years</td> <td>Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Courses	Admission requirements	Duration	Qualification granted	EFA - 1 st cycle	Incomplete 1 st cycle Aged over 18 years	Varies according to the path	1 st cycle of basic education	EFA - 2 nd cycle	Completed 1 st cycle Aged over 18 years	2 nd cycle of basic education Level I from the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ)	EFA - 3 rd cycle	Completed 2 nd cycle Aged over 18 years	3 rd cycle of basic education Professional certification QNQ's Level 2	EFA - Secondary	Completed 3 rd cycle Aged over 18 years	Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4
Courses	Admission requirements	Duration	Qualification granted															
EFA - 1 st cycle	Incomplete 1 st cycle Aged over 18 years	Varies according to the path	1 st cycle of basic education															
EFA - 2 nd cycle	Completed 1 st cycle Aged over 18 years		2 nd cycle of basic education Level I from the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ)															
EFA - 3 rd cycle	Completed 2 nd cycle Aged over 18 years		3 rd cycle of basic education Professional certification QNQ's Level 2															
EFA - Secondary	Completed 3 rd cycle Aged over 18 years		Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4															
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	<p>The EFA Courses are aimed at adults aged 18 years or older (exceptionally, younger people can enrol, but only if they are in the job market) who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — intend to complete one of the three cycles of basic education or secondary education; — wish to obtain a professional certification. <p>However, only adults aged 23 or older can attend a secondary level EFA course, in the daytime or full-time.</p>																	
Allocated financial resources	<p>The EFA are financed by the State Budget, by the Human Capital Operational Programme (POCH), under its Axis 3 - Learning, lifelong qualification and strengthening of employability, which is part of the Portugal 2020 Strategy.</p>																	
Core partnerships	<p>Public education and private and cooperative education facilities; Centres for Professional Training of the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP); Other accredited training institutions.</p>																	
Results																		
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve?	<p>The chart below shows the evolution in the number of enrolments in EFA courses in the last two decades. We can conclude that following an initial phase without significant</p>																	

(highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)

interest, there was an exponential increase in 2007 - which coincides with the implementation of the New Opportunities Initiative - from a maximum of 5 251 students, between 2000 and 2006, to a maximum of about 99 000 in 2008/09. The initiative lost speed between 2012 and 2015, and the number of students currently stands at 40 000.

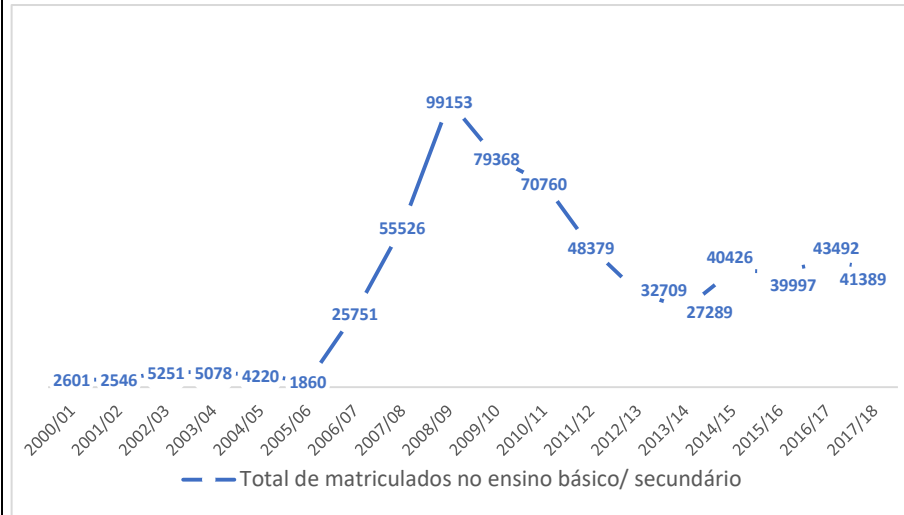


Chart 9 - Number of students enrolled in EFA courses (basic and secondary) (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019; GEPE/ DSE, 2009)

The following chart also shows that the number of students who completed basic and secondary education through the EFA courses has mirrored this evolution.

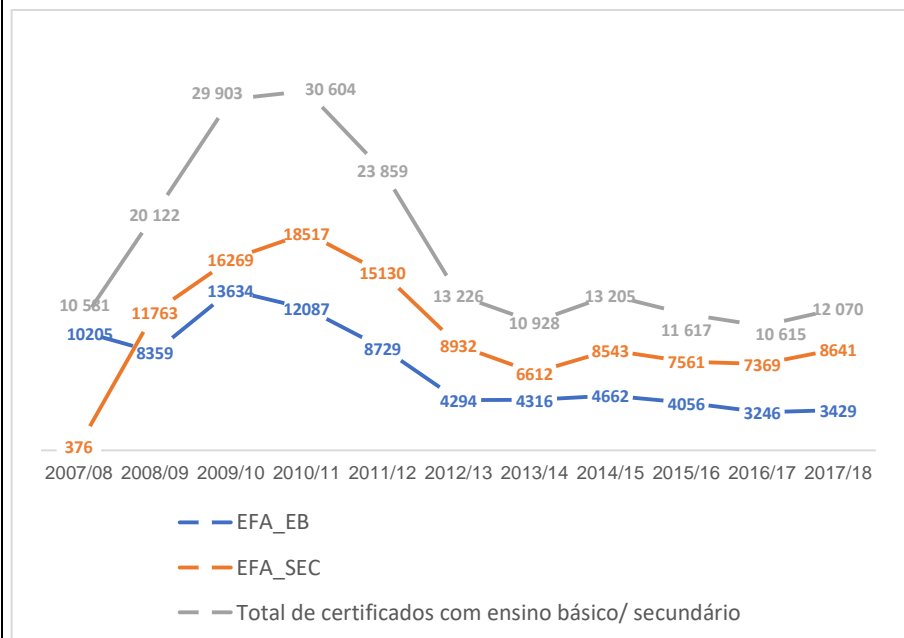


Chart 10 - Number of students who completed basic and secondary education through EFA courses (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

However, these data show something else: a low number of students complete the

	<p>courses (for example, in 2008/09, there were 99 153 students enrolled, and about 50 000 students complete the course in that year and the next, a rate of about 50.5%).</p> <p>On the other hand, we are witnessing a significant decrease in adult education and training in Portugal. This is confirmed by the National Education Council (CNE) and by the National Statistics Institute (INE). In its 2019 Recommendation on Adult Education and Training, the CNE argues that between 2000 and 2011, this educational option was “the recipient of targets, means and visibility, which allowed it to reach a scale that came close to the size of the problem”, but “since 2011, there has been a significant disinvestment, which is statistically well-documented and which translates a sharp decrease in the number of adults enrolled in EFA public options” (CNE, 2019). A recent INE study has also concluded that “the participation in formal education, following an increase between 2007 and 2011 (from 12.0% to 16.6%), has registered a decrease in 2016 (to 11.3%)” (Oliveira et al., 2017, p.3).</p> <p>The CNE is aware that, in Portugal, the Adult Education and Training has had a path marked by “partial, fragmented and discontinued measures, with a notable lack of critical mass” (CNE, 2019). The Council sees in the Qualifica Programme, created in 2016, “a sign of hope in the return of public investment in EFA” (CNE, 2019).</p>
<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>GEPE/ DSE (2009). Education Statistics 2016/2017 - Adults Lisbon: GEPE/ DSE. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=GEPE_DSE_EE200708_ADULTOS.pdf. Accessed on 13/6/2020.</p> <p>Oliveira, C., Pacheco, S., Neves, S. and Lima, F. (2017). Education and Training of Adults in Portugal: statistical portrait of a decade. INE. Retrieved from https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_estudos&ESTUDOSest_boui=313014545&ESTUDOSmodo=2. Accessed on 18/6/2020.</p> <p>National Education Council (CNE) (2019). Recommendation 2/2019. Retrieved from: https://dre.pt/application/file/a/123253311. Accessed on 18/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 06/12/2020.</p>

2) CERTIFIED MODULAR TRAINING

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>Certified Modular Training (FMC)</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The Ordinance 230/2008 instituted modular training (foreseen in the Decree-Law 396/2007, of 31 December) as one type of dual certification training, under lifelong training, which allows students to acquire further academic and professional skills, with a view to (re)integrating or progressing within the job market.</p>

	<p>Reference links:</p> <p>http://www.anqep.gov.pt/aaaDefault.aspx?f=1&back=1&codigono=56266236AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA</p> <p>Ordinance 230/2008 https://dre.pt/application/file/a/247168</p>														
<p>Description:</p>	<p>Modular training allows for flexible paths of different durations and can be used to achieve one or more qualifications included in the National Qualifications Catalogue. Its main feature is the ease of adaptation to different types of training, target audiences, methodologies, formation contexts and types of validation.</p> <p>Modular training is based, for each training unit, on the training benchmarks of the National Qualifications Catalogue.</p>														
<p>Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)</p>	<p>2007 – 2020 (measure currently in place)</p>														
<p>Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)</p>	<p>A path of certified modular training (FMC) can vary between 25 and 600 hours, but if it goes beyond 300 hours, a third of the short duration training units (UFCD) must belong to the base training component.</p> <p>Table 13 - Characterisation of the FMC formative paths (Source: ANQEP/ DGEEC)</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="564 1211 1444 1874"> <thead> <tr> <th>Courses</th> <th>Admission requirements</th> <th>Duration</th> <th>Qualification granted</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Modular Training - 1st cycle</td> <td>Incomplete 1st cycle Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.</td> <td rowspan="3">Varies according to the path</td> <td>1st cycle of basic education</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Modular Training - 2nd cycle</td> <td>Completed 1st cycle or incomplete 2nd cycle; Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.</td> <td>2nd cycle of basic education Level I from the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Modular Training - 3rd cycle</td> <td>Completed 2nd cycle or incomplete 3rd cycle; Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.</td> <td>3rd cycle of basic education Professional certification QNQ's Level 2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Courses	Admission requirements	Duration	Qualification granted	Modular Training - 1 st cycle	Incomplete 1 st cycle Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.	Varies according to the path	1 st cycle of basic education	Modular Training - 2 nd cycle	Completed 1 st cycle or incomplete 2 nd cycle; Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.	2 nd cycle of basic education Level I from the National Qualifications Framework (QNQ)	Modular Training - 3 rd cycle	Completed 2 nd cycle or incomplete 3 rd cycle; Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.	3 rd cycle of basic education Professional certification QNQ's Level 2
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	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="563 322 738 530">Modular Training - Secondary Education</td> <td data-bbox="738 322 1026 530">Completed 3rd cycle or incomplete secondary education Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.</td> <td data-bbox="1026 322 1177 530"></td> <td data-bbox="1177 322 1445 530">Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4</td> </tr> </table>	Modular Training - Secondary Education	Completed 3 rd cycle or incomplete secondary education Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.		Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4
Modular Training - Secondary Education	Completed 3 rd cycle or incomplete secondary education Aged over 18 years; To be in the job market.		Secondary education Professional certification QNQ's Level 4		
<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>The modular training is aimed at adults, aged 18 or older, who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) do not have the adequate qualification to integrate/ progress in the labour market; (ii) have not completed basic or secondary education (the priority targets). <p>May be under 18 years, exceptionally, if:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) they can prove they are employed, or (ii) that they are in education centres administered by the Ministry of Justice. 				
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>State Budget European Social Fund, in particular under the POISE - the Social Inclusion and Employment Operational Programme.</p>				
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>Ministry of the Economy and Employment and the Ministry of Education and Science, National Agency for Qualification, I.P. Centres for Professional Training of the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP); Public and private or cooperative education facilities and other training and accredited entities. Employers.</p>				
<p>Results</p>					
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>As the chart below demonstrates, the FMC, following a strong initial phase - a phase that coincided with the creation of the New Opportunities Programme - with 1 799 students enrolled in 2011/12, has reached the lowest number of students in 2013/14: 169. It has since been gradually regaining students.</p>				

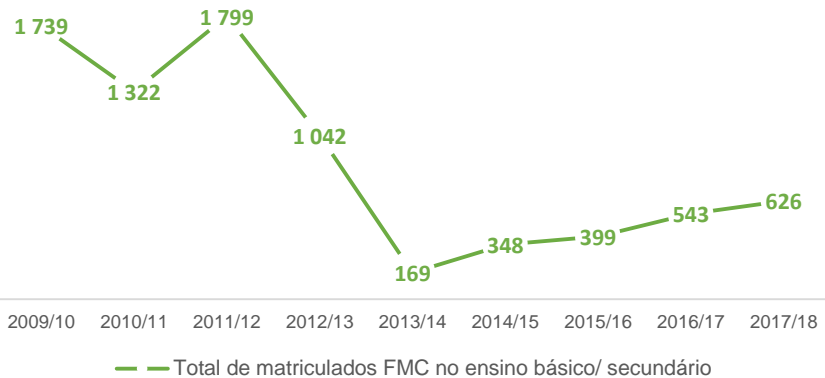


Chart 11 - Number of students enrolled in FMC (basic and secondary)
(DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019; GEPE/ DSE, 2009)

The decrease of 2012/13 and 2013/14 is in keeping with the CNE's conclusion in its Recommendation 2/2019, where it recognises a "notorious disinvestment" in Adult Education and Training during 2011 and 2015 (CNE, 2019).

The chart below also allows us to confirm this statement, that is, the number of students who have completed basic or secondary education through the FMC has undergone a similar evolution.

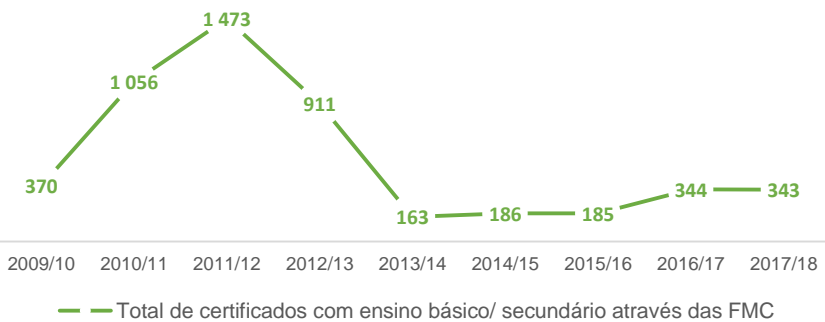


Chart 12 - Number of students who have completed basic or secondary education through the FMC (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

Something else about these data must be underlined, though: the high number of students who completed the FMC, when compared with the number of enrolments in the same year (for example, in 2011/12, there were 1 799 students enrolled, and 1 473 completed the training, that is, over 80% of them).

In the Technical Report on Adult Education and Training (Canelas & Ramos, 2019), Certified Modular Training courses are considered to be adequate essentially for employed adults.

<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>GEPE/ DSE (2009). Education Statistics 2016/2017 - Adults Lisbon: GEPE/ DSE. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=GEPE_DSE_EE200708_ADULTOS.pdf. Accessed on 13/6/2020.</p> <p>Canelas, A. M. and Ramos, F. (2019). Education and Training for Adults [Technical Report] CNE. Retrieved from https://www.cnedu.pt/content/edicoes/estudos_e_relatorios/RELATORIO_TECNICO_EFA.pdf. Accessed on 25/6/2020.</p> <p>National Education Council (CNE) (2019). Recommendation 2/2019. Retrieved from: https://dre.pt/application/file/a/123253311. Accessed on 18/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>
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3) RVCC

<p>Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative</p>	<p>RVCC</p>
<p>Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)</p>	<p>The initial measure, Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences (RVCC), aimed at allowing people to get an academic certification of basic or secondary education and a professional certification, through the recognition of lifelong learning and the skills acquired through their professional experience.</p> <p>Subsequent initiatives have allowed this educational and formative measure to grow in scope, by diagnosing and referring recipients to formative options that made it easier to receive a qualification or a RVCC process.</p> <p>In 2020, the RVCC gives an answer to the challenge of adult qualification. Its goals are to improve the level of adult education and training, by contributing to an improvement in the levels of qualification and employability, as well as to promote lifelong learning, by recognising previous learning.</p> <p>Reference links: https://www.iefp.pt/rvcc https://www.qualifica.gov.pt/#/ https://www.iefp.pt/documents/10181/8473863/Ficha+s%C3%AAdntese+RVCC.pdf/8f21251e-9db5-488f-a6d4-34e547143372 Ordinance 232/2016, of 29 August https://www.iefp.pt/documents/10181/1199556/Portaria+n.%C2%BA%20232_2016+Centros+Qualifica.pdf/c0c437fd-8378-4e6b-956f-3a7bfcbe475d</p>

<p>Description:</p>	<p>This measure is a part of the adult education and social inclusion policies. Following the Lisbon Strategy (2000), the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (2001) has identified the low levels of schooling and professional qualification of the Portuguese people as a problem in need of solving. It is in this context that the challenge to promote and offer lifelong learning comes up, creating “a system that recognises and certifies skills and academic and professional lifelong learning, to all adults, aged 18 years or older and who have not completed basic education” (PNAI, 2005, p. 22): the Network of Centres for the Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences.</p> <p>During these two decades, the measure has been reformulated several times: New Opportunities Centres (CNO), Qualification and Professional Education Centres (CQEP) and the Qualifica Centres.</p> <p>Currently, the RVCC process is developed at the Qualifica Centres and it can be promoted by the Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (IEFP) or by other entities.</p>																
<p>Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)</p>	<p>CRVCC (2001 – 2005) CNO (2005 – 2013) CQEP (2013 – 2016) Qualifica Centres (2016 - 2020) (measure currently in place).</p>																
<p>Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)</p>	<p>The duration of an RVCC can vary according to the chosen path.</p> <p>Table 14 - Characterization of the RVCC training phases</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="564 1189 1449 1962"> <thead> <tr> <th>Type</th> <th>Admission requirements</th> <th>Level</th> <th>Duration</th> <th>Qualification granted⁽¹⁾</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td rowspan="2">Academic RVCC⁽²⁾</td> <td rowspan="2"> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adults who intend to increase their academic qualifications. - If they are under 23 years, they must have at least 3 years of proven professional experience. </td> <td>Basic</td> <td rowspan="3">Variable</td> <td>Diploma equivalent to 1st, 2nd and 3rd cycles of basic education.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Secondary</td> <td>Diploma equivalent to secondary level.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Professional RVCC⁽²⁾</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Qualification Certificate - if the recipient has not completed the schooling associated with the respective level of qualification (Level 2 - 9th grade; Level 4 - 12th grade); Qualification Diploma, level 2 or level 4 - if the</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Type	Admission requirements	Level	Duration	Qualification granted ⁽¹⁾	Academic RVCC ⁽²⁾	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adults who intend to increase their academic qualifications. - If they are under 23 years, they must have at least 3 years of proven professional experience. 	Basic	Variable	Diploma equivalent to 1 st , 2 nd and 3 rd cycles of basic education.	Secondary	Diploma equivalent to secondary level.	Professional RVCC ⁽²⁾			Qualification Certificate - if the recipient has not completed the schooling associated with the respective level of qualification (Level 2 - 9 th grade; Level 4 - 12 th grade); Qualification Diploma, level 2 or level 4 - if the
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<p>Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)</p>	<p>Currently, the RVCC processes are aimed at:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — people aged 18 or older: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – without a professional or academic qualification, – with knowledge and skills acquired outside formal learning contexts, that can be certified through the National System of Qualifications (SNQ). — up to and including 23-year-olds, if they have a minimum of three years of professional experience. 										
<p>Allocated financial resources</p>	<p>European Social Fund, through the POPH [Human Potential Operational Programme] and POCH [Human Capital Operational Programme]</p>										
<p>Core partnerships</p>	<p>Promoting Entities and Training Entities:</p> <p>Centres for Employment and Professional Training of the IEFP, I.P.;</p> <p>Participatory Management Centres for Professional Training of the IEFP, I.P.;</p> <p>Schools clusters or schools of basic and secondary public education;</p> <p>Other entities with significant territorial or sectoral presence, such as employers, the social and solidarity network, municipalities, associations or services and Public Administration organisms.</p>										
<p>Results</p>	<p>The good results, particularly in basic education, of the RVCC process begun by the ANEFA (National Institute for Adult Education and Training, 1998-2002) in 2001 harnessed its progressive extension to secondary education (Mendonça, M. A. and Carneiro, M. A., 2009). The process witnessed a great expansion during the lifetime of the New Opportunities programme, reaching 350 000 academic certifications in 2009 (Rodrigues, 2010).</p>										
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>The New Opportunities programme, which extended the network of RVCC centres, gave a significant contribution to these results, according to Maria de Lurdes Rodrigues (2010).</p>										

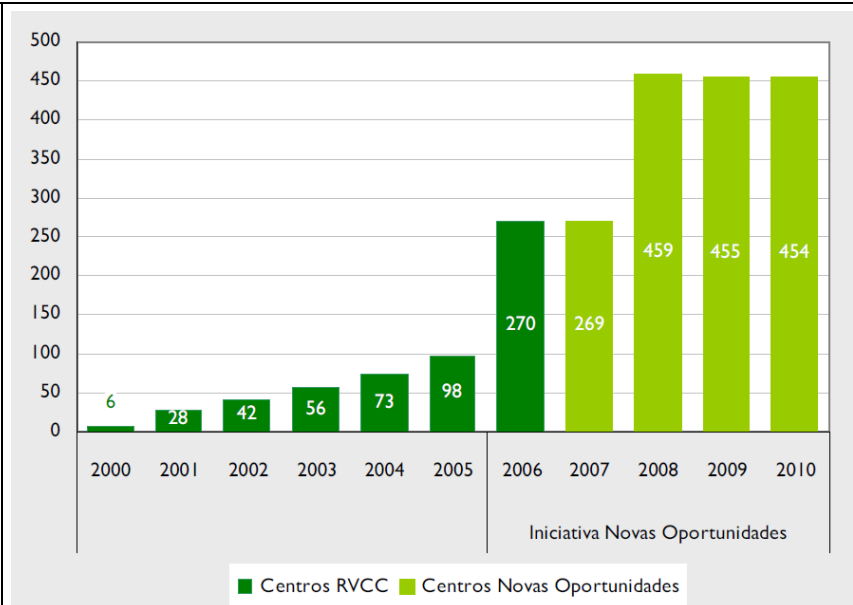


Chart 13 - Evolution of the number of RVCC centres and New Opportunities Centres (ANQ, 2010, p. 9)

As per Rodrigues (2010) “the New Opportunities programme was the appropriately scaled answer to the adult academic certification deficit. [...] Between 2005 and 2009, a million adults enrolled in the New Opportunities centres, 350 000 of which were issued an academic certification of basic or secondary level” (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 301).

Figure 1 - Key indicators of the activity of RVCC Centres and of New Opportunities Centres (ANQ, 2010, p. 7)

Indicadores de actividade	2000/05	2006/10	Total
N.º de Inscrições	153 719	1 088 316	1 242 035
N.º de Encaminhamentos para Ofertas Formativas	10 839	179 840	190 679
N.º de Certificações	44 192	328 263	372 455

The following chart, based on a further reading of the Education in Numbers - 2019” (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019) and “Education Statistics 2016/2017 - Adults” (GEPE/ DSE, 2009) documents, reveals the evolution of the adults involved in academic RVCC processes.

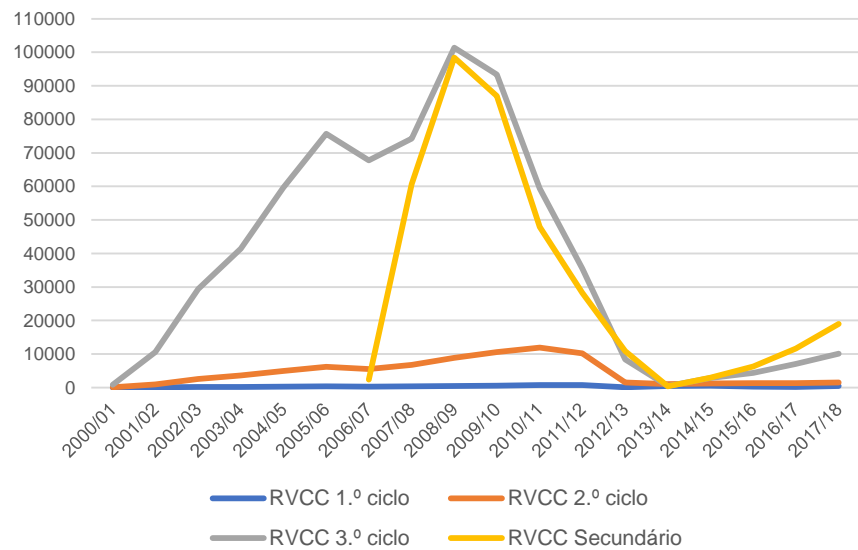


Chart 14 - Number of students involved in RVCC processes (DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019; GEPE/ DSE, 2009)

As we can establish, the evolution trend that takes place in the first phase (2001-2005) "allows us to make an overall positive assessment of the activities carried out" (Canário et al., 2012, p. 7). Notwithstanding, the impact of the New Opportunities programme is real, particularly between 2006 and 2010, when the number of adults involved in academic RVCC processes reached its peak, with 101 360 students in the 3rd cycle and 98 426 in secondary education in the school year of 2008/2009.

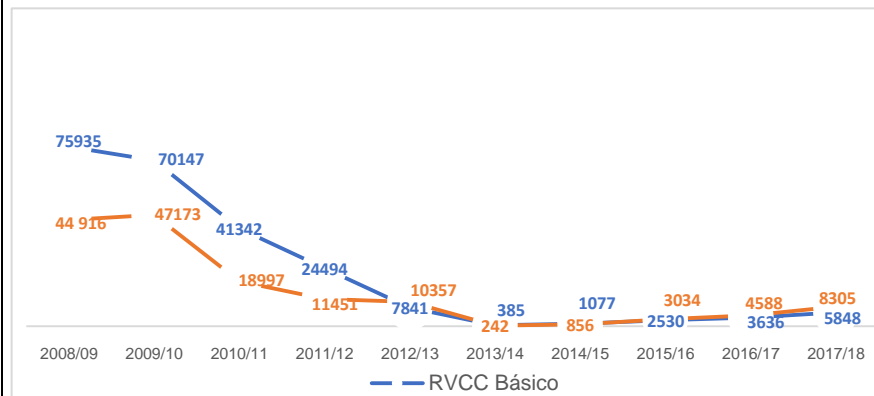


Chart 15 - Number of students certified with basic/secondary education, per RVCC (Fonte: DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS, 2019)

When it comes to certification, we only have access to the 2008-2018 period. We witness a similar phenomenon to the one showed in the chart about the number of adults involved, that is, the number of certifications was equally high during the lifetime of the New Opportunities programme, having reached its peak in 2008/09 for the Basic Education RVCC processes (around 80 000 certifications) and in 2009/10 for the secondary

	education RVCC processes (47 173 certifications).
Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)	<p>Mendonça, M. A. and Carneiro, M. A. (2009). Thematic Notebook 1: Public Policies. Analysis of the New Opportunities Initiative as an action of public policy on education. In Carneiro, R. (Coord.). New Opportunities Initiative. First Studies of External Evaluation. Lisbon: National Agency for Qualification, I.P. and Portuguese Catholic University. Retrieved from: http://www.anqep.gov.pt/aaaDefault.aspx?back=1&f=1&lws=1&mcna=0&inc=6215AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA&codigono=6562AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA. Accessed on 11/6/2020.</p> <p>Melo, R. Q., Cerol, J., Jacinto, F., Caldeira, H., Salvado, I., Marmelo, M., Reis, S. and Rondão, C. (2009). Thematic Notebook 6: New Opportunities Centres Self-Assessment: SIGO's adequacy to the assessment needs. In Carneiro, R. (Coord.). New Opportunities Initiative. First Studies of External Evaluation. Lisbon: National Agency for Qualification, I.P. and Portuguese Catholic University. Retrieved from: http://www.anqep.gov.pt/aaaDefault.aspx?back=1&f=1&lws=1&mcna=0&inc=6215AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA&codigono=6562AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA. Accessed on 11/6/2020.</p> <p>GEPE/ DSE (2009). Education Statistics 2007/2008 - Adults Lisbon: GEPE/ DSE. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=GEPE_DSE_EE200708_ADULTOS.pdf. Accessed on 13/6/2020.</p> <p>ANQ- National Agency for Qualification (2010). New Opportunities Initiative - September 2010. Retrieved from: https://educar.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/9601.pdf. Accessed on 10/6/2020.</p> <p>CANÁRIO, R., ALVES, N., CAVACO, C., MARQUES, M. (2012). "New Opportunities Initiative - Genealogy of and adult education policy". In Minutes of the VII Portuguese Conference of Sociology (19-22 June, 2012) - Society, crises and reconfigurations. Retrieved from: https://core.ac.uk/reader/12427780. Accessed on 11/6/2020.</p> <p>DGEEC/ DSEE/ DEEBS (2019). Education in Numbers - Portugal 2019. Lisbon: DGEEC. Retrieved from: https://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/96/%7B\$clientServletPath%7D/?newsId=145&fileName=DGEEC_EN2019_201718.pdf. Accessed on 12/6/2020.</p>

4) ESOM

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	<p>The promoter of the Second Chance School of Matosinhos (ESOM) is the Association of the Second Chance School of Matosinhos.</p> <p>A description can be found at: https://www.segundaoportunidade.com/apresentacao.</p> <p>There is more information at: http://www.eplusifjusag.hu/public/files/social_press/-t-kit_8_social_inclusion_web.pdf</p>
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant)	The ESOM and other Second Chance Schools that were created in 2019/2020 are second chance education initiatives that aim to: (i) tackle early school leaving and social

link)	exclusion among young people; (ii) offer young people who have left school a qualification, in view of their integration into employment and training.
Description:	The ESOM offers education and training paths that lead to an academic certification and to professional learning, and which are designed according to the needs and interest of students, to whom an Individual Training Plan is offered. Training comprises four areas: vocational training, artistic training, personal and social development and academic certification. This "educational compensation" solution is transitory and aims at integrating young people in the labour market or in training. One of its commitments has to do with the flexibility of curricular proposals offered to each student.
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2008-2020 (measure currently in place)
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	The duration of the education pathways in the School varies according to each student's path, and it can last for an academic year or more.
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	The measure is aimed at young people who have left the school system without completing mandatory schooling and who lack the minimum qualifications for being able to access the labour market or further training. This solution is an alternative schooling. It is aimed at students aged between 15 and 25, who live in the municipalities of Matosinhos and the Greater Porto, who are flagged by the CPCJ and the EMAT, and by other local services and institutions that protect children and young people at risk and in danger. The training grants academic certifications to most attending students.
Allocated financial resources	<p>The ESOM funding has two components. The first, "in kind", is provided by two Ministry of Education entities, which translates into the allocation of teachers and of two local intervention technicians (associated with the PIEF paths) and into a set of training materials made available by the Cluster of Schools Prof. Óscar Lopes, and by the IEFP, which allocates vocational areas instructors and funds training materials, and which also supports students involved in professional training.</p> <p>There is a second component of the budget managed by the school, which usually varies between EUR 120 000 - 150 000. This budget comprises a subsidy of EUR 90 000 by the Municipality of Matosinhos and of EUR 10 000 by the Manuel António da Mota Foundation. The rest is revenue from national and international projects. Thus, the ESOM estimates the following structure of costs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministry of Education / Cluster of Schools Prof. Óscar Lopes - 60 % - IEFP - 3% - the Municipality of Matosinhos - 22 % - Manuel António da Mota Foundation - 2.5% - Projets and other support and revenue - 12.5%
Core partnerships	Ministry of Education, IEFP, the Municipality of Matosinhos and the Manuel António da Mota Foundation. The ESOM articulates with the Óscar Lopes Cluster of Schools, in Matosinhos. It is also part of the Second Chance Schools European Network, E2C-Europe.



Results	
<p>What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)</p>	<p>The ESOM has received, between 2008 and 2020, about 514 young people (60% male and 40% female). Of these, 186 have been issued a 6th or 9th grade certification and 75 have gone through training and presented themselves before a jury at the New Opportunities Centres, where they received their certification, leading to a total of 261 certified students. 98 students have left the programme, a little over 15% of the total.</p> <p>In the academic year of 2018/19, 72 young people were in training, 47 of which were under 18 years of age. The complete report can be found at: https://959da616-dbf9-4976-9210-d7dce170656d.filesusr.com/ugd/455964_5fe0463c60ad4a6a8707a4fa4a0a0ac4.pdf</p> <p>The ESOM has successfully fought for the creation of a Portuguese network of Second Chance Schools. The Order 6954/2019, of 6 August, which creates the Second Chance Programme, made it easier to develop this momentum, and the plan is currently taking its first steps.</p>
<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Yes, but the report is unavailable. It was conducted by the company COATL and by the Portuguese Catholic University.</p>

5) ARCO MAIOR

Name of the Programme/ Measure / Initiative	Arco Maior, a socio-educational project promoted by the Arco Maior Association
Main goals (if there is information available online, add the relevant link)	The Arco Maior Project aims to create an alternative education and training opportunity for young people who have left school and are at high risk of social exclusion. It is organized around four houses (hubs), in Porto and Vila Nova de Gaia. http://arcomaior.pt/projetooquee.asp
Description:	
Implementation (and termination of the Programme, where applicable)	2013-2020 (measure currently in place)
Duration (and potential articulation with the school system through certification)	The duration depends on the level of schooling at the point of admission (incomplete 6 th or 9 th grades) and each student's path (6 th grade certification, 9 th grade certification and 12 th grade certification). The students can be at Arco Maior for a single academic year or for four or five.
Recipients: present and past recipients (are they part of mainstream education and does the programme grant an equivalent to academic certification?)	The socio-educational project Arco Maior is aimed at teenagers and young people who have been excluded or who have left formal education and training systems without having completed mandatory schooling. There are two groups of youngsters: those aged between 15 and 18, in PIEF courses, and those aged between 18 and 25, in EFA courses.
Allocated financial resources	The financial resources come from: The Ministry of Education, through the allocation of teachers and technicians, which accounts for about 83% of the annual financial resources; the Soares dos Santos Family, with about EUR 150 000 annually; the IEFP, which sponsors a teacher; and specific projects approved by entities such as the Altice Foundation and Porticus Iberia.
Core partnerships	Ministry of Education, Clusters of Schools, IEFP, Porto and Gaia's Santas Casas da Misericórdia, the Soares dos Santos family, Manuel António da Mota Foundation, Catholic University - Porto.
Results	
What did this programme/ measure/ initiative achieve? (highlight certifications granted/ the number of leavers prevented from abandoning school or of those who returned to the school system/...)	The project has involved 296 young people up to the 2019/20 academic year. About 12% of participants have left and about 8% have not completed the courses because they transferred to another school, or have interrupted them because of pregnancy. About 80% have received their certification (2019/20 data).

<p>Has any evaluation of the programme/ measure/ initiative been carried out? (if so, please link to the work carried out)</p>	<p>Yes, an assessment was carried out by a team from the Education and Psychology Faculty of the University of Coimbra, under the coordination of Prof. Ana Maria Seixas, at the request of the Soares dos Santos family (the report has not been made public).</p>
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1.6.2. Public education policies and tackling ESL

As we have noted in the literature review section (3.3.1.), beyond the explanatory factors and the ESL predictors, beyond the individual, the school, the family and social network dimensions, there is still another which promotes ESL, which we might call «the country effect», that is, the public policies that have an impact on education (Lamb & Markussen, 2011; Álvares et al. 2014). Indeed, the political priorities and the instituted norms end up relating to and influencing early school leaving, sometimes significantly, whether it is the school curriculum organisation, the autonomous management of the curriculum and its flexibility, or the educational action priorities, the evaluation and accountability systems and the available learning pathways for the completion of mandatory schooling.

In the same vein, when public policies also affect the social setting, outside of a strictly educational framework, connecting the economy, employment, health, social security and others, in particular when these involve strong territorial partnerships, they tend to be more effective in preventing early school leaving and in managing the «stock» of teenagers who fall into social invisibility (European Commission, 2013; Bernot-Caboche, 2016).

Public policies are important when it comes to defining the orientation for the promotion of academic success measures and the prevention of early school leaving. Even though there are educational inequalities in every country, with different historical configurations, the dimension and the severity of these inequalities can be heavily influenced by socio-economic structures, by social policies (health, social security, justice) and public education

policies, in particular, as well as, at the institutional level, by the type of measures that schools adopt when faced with learning difficulties, sometimes very early on in a child's path.

This political determination appears increasingly as a fundamental area of action, when it comes to transforming mandatory schooling into success schooling for all. In the short term, a young person who has left school early is associated with unemployment, precarious and underpaid jobs, and obstacles in finding a place in the vocational training system. The economic and social costs of early school leaving are tremendous and the European Commission (COM, 2011) estimates that a simple one percentage point reduction would provide the European economy with nearly half a million additional qualified potential young employees yearly.

Tackling early school leaving emerges in the European Union, as well as in Portugal, as a substantiated political priority that is strongly conditioned and inspired by its positive impact on the promotion of employment and the competitiveness of the economy (Magalhães et al., 2015; Estevão& Álvares, 2013), as well as on social cohesion, cultural development and citizenship.

1.6.2.1. Tackling early leaving: from prevention to intervention and compensation

Policies adopted in Portugal follow the usual European typology in the field of ESL policies: prevention, intervention and compensation policies (European Commission, 2013)

Prevention measures concern the set of strategies and mechanisms aimed at boosting academic perseverance and the success of each and every one, as well as the measures

which ought to be taken to prevent risk situations, particularly in the case of disadvantaged backgrounds. These include the quality of pre-school education, the care with which local institutions manage the transition between cycles of study and schools, parental involvement in education, mechanisms for early detection, teachers' training and highly developed systems of educational guidance. These preventive measures focus on the entire school population, particularly the groups of students considered to be at risk (ex. mandatory schooling; exclusion prevention, family participation, pedagogical practices).

Intervention measures concern the measures and mechanisms adopted as soon as difficulties related with absenteeism, repeated academic failure or even brief periods of non-attendance emerge. These actions are meant for students who are identified as being at risk of leaving, and recovery comes up as the action's main purpose. Their efficacy lies not only on the ability of the entire school staff to signal and act promptly at the smallest sign of risk, but also on the ability to keep in mind who the actions serve and how good they are (to avoid offering poor solutions to poor people). The measures involve different areas, including the individual support for students at-risk, the development of learning pathways adapted from the general and common curriculum, the financial support to families and family mediation.

Compensation or remediation measures focus on teenagers who have left school and who are encouraged to finish their education, to go back to school and to take advantage of second chance opportunities of education and training. These measures include curricular flexibility, tutorial support by teachers and the development of training schemes to facilitate access to the job market.

These measures have been put in place in the past thirty years, beginning in 1989. The list begins with an intervention policy, the creation of vocational education, in 1989, and ends with compensation measures, implemented in the second decade of the 21st century. Its persistence in time (the long duration of some policies, despite changes in governments) and the combination of multiple dimensions of political action (not only educational, but also social and territorial) constitute a structuring axis of the achieved success in reducing ELS in Portugal (Álvares et al.2014), a very visible result of the first two decades of the 21st century.

Following the creation of vocational education, other prevention measures were put in place: the creation of TEIP – Educational Territories for Priority Intervention (in 1996), aimed at reinforcing the support given to schools situated in deprived territories; PETI measures, aimed at tackling child labour (which began in 1998), the PNAI – National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, an interministerial and preventive action against poverty and social exclusion (2001), as well as the Choices Programmes (2001), led by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, which focused on supporting groups of disadvantaged children and young people, with specific actions in their neighbourhoods, close to their families, in view of creating environments more favourable to social inclusion. These are three measures with a clear social and territorial focus.

At the beginning of the current century, the ESL rate was very high (45% in 2002). Preventive actions had two important features: (i) they did not include solely the Ministry of Education, they brought together a set of actors who work in social policy to promote inclusion and fight poverty (the widening of the pre-school education network, the expansion of the access to the Social Integration Income, programs aimed at certifying competences and adult literacy); (ii) they are prolonged in time, avoiding the stop-and-go

that often affects measures of education policy (according to the political orientation of governments).

Authors such as Álvares et al. (2014), in their study about ESL in Portugal, mention this type of political measures as «strategic level responses», distinguishing them from «preventive strategies» (p. 26).

The policy concerning the TEIP has undergone several adaptations, but in 25 years it was never interrupted; it lasts to this day. The same happened with the Choices Programme, that is also still active after 20 years, and the measures related to the recognition and certification of competences and to adult literacy, which are also about to turn 20. The latter compensation measures were developed with the aim of educating and qualifying the adult population, since it has a known positive impact also in the schooling of children and young people.

The same happened to the intervention measures in the schooling field. Vocational training has grown since 1989; it has never been interrupted and its impact in Portuguese society is significant: in 1989, about 7% of young people (out of the population who continued their education past the 9th grade and into secondary education), did so by choosing technical and professional courses; in 2018, it was 42%. When this alternative offer was extended to include every secondary school in the country, whether public or private, from 2006 onwards, its impact was also broadened and it continues to grow.

The creation of the PIEF – Programmes of curricular adaptation of education and training (1999), the Education and Training Courses (CEF, 2002) and the Vocational Courses (in 2012), that aimed at adapting the curricula for young people, who kept failing academically before

they could reach or complete the 3rd cycle of basic education, has also played an important role as a strategy for keeping them in school.

The CEF, in particular, had a major impact in the number of students who stayed in school and completed basic education (9th grade). In 2007/08, out of the total number of students who were enrolled in the regular basic education and who completed it, about 70% did so through the regular model and 30% chose these «special» courses. In fact, the curricular offer in basic education, as a general and common educational offer, has never truly existed, despite being claimed by political rhetoric. Only during the second decade of the 21st century did these alternative pathways lose some relevance, covering nearly 14% of 9th grade completions. Since 2005⁵⁶, there is a fragment of the population that is enrolled in mandatory basic education and who are only able to complete it through alternative pathways and, no matter what they are called (PIEF, PCA, CEF, Vocational), they have remained in the education system and have had a significant impact on the completion of mandatory schooling. The enrolment rates of 17-year-olds has gone from 62% in 2005 to 89% in 2018. The research provided by the RESL.eu project concluded that «the alternative learning pathways (ALPs) we studied in the RESL.eu project proved successful in accommodating institutional flexibility and providing individual solutions and a caring environment in the majority of the cases (although this was not the case in Spain). ALPs can be effective in reintegrating young people into education and work. ALPs can also make it more feasible to combine work and study, which is a necessity for youngsters experiencing financial hardship» (Crul & Keskiner, 2017).

⁵⁶ Between 2000 and 2005, this alternative learning pathways were only responsible for 3 to 4% of 9th grade completions (back-to-school education and the start of CEF).

In this analysis framework, it is important to underline as crucial the change in the duration of mandatory attendance (from 9 to 12 years), through the changes to the Education System Act, in 2009. For students who were enrolled in one the first seven years of schooling, in 2009/10, it became mandatory to attend school for an extra three years, following the 9th grade: in other words, secondary education became compulsory. This obligation ceases when students turn 18.

This led to a high-pressure effect, politically, socially (especially in families) and in schools, in favour of students remaining in school, which ended up happening. The rate of ESL began to go down in 2003 (when it reached 41.2%), and it improved by 10 percentage points until 2009 (30.9%), but it was between 2010 and 2015 that ESL went down markedly, from 28.3% to 13.7%. There aren't many specific analyses that allow us to understand what measures have been more effective in causing this triple pressure and positive progress, but it is likely that it will always be difficult to isolate the effects of each measure on the decision made by students and their families to remain in school for an extra three years.

In any case, we can still pinpoint some of them: the pressure from the external evaluation of students (national exams) and schools (an assessment promoted by the Inspectorate of Education), as well as the publication of school rankings by the media; the high investment in the renewal of school infrastructure and equipment; the extension and the action of the network of school libraries and the National Reading Plan.

The analysis carried out on the intervention measures also includes a private initiative (The EPIS Vocations Programme), with an entrepreneurial origin, that works with students who are still in school, but at risk of leaving. In 2019, we witnessed the creation of another initiative, again with a business origin, that is also aimed at tackling academic failure and

promoting professional education, the Teresa and Alexandre Soares dos Santos Education Initiative (<https://www.iniciativaeducacao.org/pt/quem-somos>), regarding which no report or assessment has been produced yet.

These private initiatives choose a surgical intervention regarding certain issues (i.e. learning to read, family mediation) and they focus on small groups of young people and on small sets of schools.

The compensation measures that had a greater impact were those aimed at the adult population, the RVCC – Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences and the Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA), that had a lot of success between 2008 and 2012, under the «New Opportunities Initiative» policy.

Portugal kept the «back-to-school education» available for young people over the age of 18 who intended to complete the basic and secondary education, because they had failed to do so when they were younger, a policy measure that had been implemented many years earlier. But, after 2001, a new «education and training for adults» policy was put into place with the RVCC programme and the EFA Courses, which have reached hundreds of thousands of adults between 2001 and 2020, with a particular emphasis between 2008 and 2012.

The other compensation measures aimed at those who left school early are two autonomous associative initiatives, that emerged alongside the school system in articulation with public school, offering a second educational opportunity, beginning in 2010 (the Second Chance School of Matosinhos and Arco Maior). Even though these initiatives are yet to have reached a thousand citizens, they have been recognised by public policy, in August of 2019. They were integrated into the new «Programme 20 – A Second Opportunity

Programme» and they are the first step of a new public policy that seeks to promote a second opportunity education offer, which did not exist in the country up to that point.

1.6.2.2. The incidence of other complementary measures

Beyond the 16 measures that were examined, we can add some more recent programmes and some administrative procedures that also tackle ESL, preventing it and acting in at-risk cases.

National programmes for the promotion of academic success

Throughout several decades, beginning in the 1980s, several governments have created national programmes aimed at supporting schools in their promotion of academic success. These initiatives by the central government consist of measures of support for projects created autonomously by schools and they function as warning policies and as a boost for these projects, which are better equipped to promote the academic success of all students. These translate into technical and financial support to the design, execution and monitoring of these school projects aimed at improving students' learning.

In 1987, the PSIPE – Interministerial Programme for the Promotion of Academic Success was launched; in 1981, the PEPT – Education for All Programme was created; in 2009, the More Academic Success Programme was launched and, in 2016, it was time for the National Programme for the Promotion of Academic Success (which is still in place in 2020).

The latter, for example, has a national impact, it covers several hundred schools and clusters (663, out of 812, between 2016-2018) and it focus on areas such as: curricular and organizational adaptations, pedagogical and didactic actions, collaborative regulation and

the socio-behavioural domain. The Programme's results are very positive when it comes to «the improvement of academic success, educational equality, efficiency gains and the significant reduction in retention rates (Court of Auditors, 2020:33).

More academic success for more students implies less ESL, and the impact of these national programmes on the significant reduction of ESL that took place in Portugal over the last 15 years ought to be considered.

It is worth noting that these national programs had a strong focus on cognitive development measured through academic success (positive school grades at the end of the school year). Though schools might try a more holistic approach to teaching and learning, a whole child development approach was not center stage until 2017.

Learning Courses

Portugal has also created, in 1984, dual training courses, similar to the German dual regime, that were called «learning courses», aimed at young people who had completed the 9-years basic education. This offer, which run parallel to the professional courses, was kept in place throughout the years, with a small number of students (about 20 000 per year), having reached its peak in terms of attendance in 2012-2015. Learning courses are regulated by the Ministry of Labour, whereas the professional courses are regulated by the Ministry of Education.

Credit hours to support students

Besides the total hourly load stated in the curricular matrices, schools have «credit hours», that they run autonomously, according to their concrete needs. These credit hours, which are defined annually when preparing the guidelines and the organization for the school

year, provide schools with the means to reinforce, recover or enhance their students' learning and they include varied educational activities aimed at supporting learning, such as educational support hours, helping in the classroom, on the basis of the collaborative work among teachers, study support, artistic education supplement, specific tutorial support.

Tutorial support

In 2018, a measure called «specific tutorial support» was created. It adds to the measures already put in place by schools looking to promote academic success and a decrease in retentions and in early school leaving rates. Tutorials are a measure of close monitoring of students from the 2nd and 3rd cycles of basic education who have experienced two or more retentions. Each tutor-teacher monitors groups of 10 students in that situation. Its goal is to increase participation and engagement in school activities, by planning and monitoring study and work routines, carrying out a proximity educational guidance and establishing a closer relationship with families.

Flexible curriculum management and Innovation Plans

Beginning in 2017, the Ministry of Education has defined the terms and the conditions in which schools can access a flexible and decentralised management of 25% of the base curricular matrices for the educational offers. This flexible management allows, among other opportunities, for the development of an interdisciplinary articulation and approximation to the lives of students. It can include creating new subjects, now that the curricular reorganisation has been legally permitted. In addition, a pilot project was created, under which a few schools, authorised against the presentation of a reasoned project, are developing flexible curricular management projects that go beyond these 25% and which jeopardise multiple dimensions of the school's action and organisation (there were 78 approved plans in 2019/2020). One of the cornerstones of

the curriculum autonomy given to schools in 2017 was the definition of a student profile at the end of secondary education (https://www.dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/Projeto_Autonomia_e_Flexibilidade/perfil_dos_alunos.pdf). This profile, was adopted by decree of the Secretary of State for Education and recognized as a fundamental part of the national curriculum by Decree-Law n.º 55/2018. The Student profile adopts a whole child development perspective. Alongside the cognitive dimension of the student (saber científico), it recognizes 9 other areas of competencies such as aesthetic and artistic sensibility, interpersonal relationships, critical, creative think or well-being, health and environment. The effects of this approach to the curriculum are still to be seen.

Communication and monitoring by the CPCJ

On the one hand, schools are legally bound to communicate to families and to the Commissions for the Protection of Children and Young People (CPCJ) every situation in which a student exceeds the limit of absences and does not change his or her behaviour when warned. The CPCJ follow these situations case by case, they carry out a multisectoral and interdepartmental approach, they try to act alongside the family and, in the cases when the situation does not improve, they refer the student's individual process to the Court.

However, when students turn 18, the age limit concerning mandatory schooling, they usually stop being monitored by schools and the CPCJ, no matter the situation they find themselves in.

The influence of the «global education system»

Finally, it is important that we mention the «global education system» (Azevedo, 2012), in other words, the conditioning from international organisations and policies over the set of

policies put in place by each country throughout the years. A case in point is the European Union. The simple fact that every country must abide by the European targets concerning ESL, from the Lisbon Strategy, in 2000, to the 2030 Agenda, has always placed and added pressure over Portugal. These targets were embraced both by the education administration and by schools, besides being frequently considered when drawing social policy and in the social partners' actions. Failing to reach the European average or the goals established for each country is now considered to be a major fault in national policy.

1.6.2.3. Several measures define a strategy?

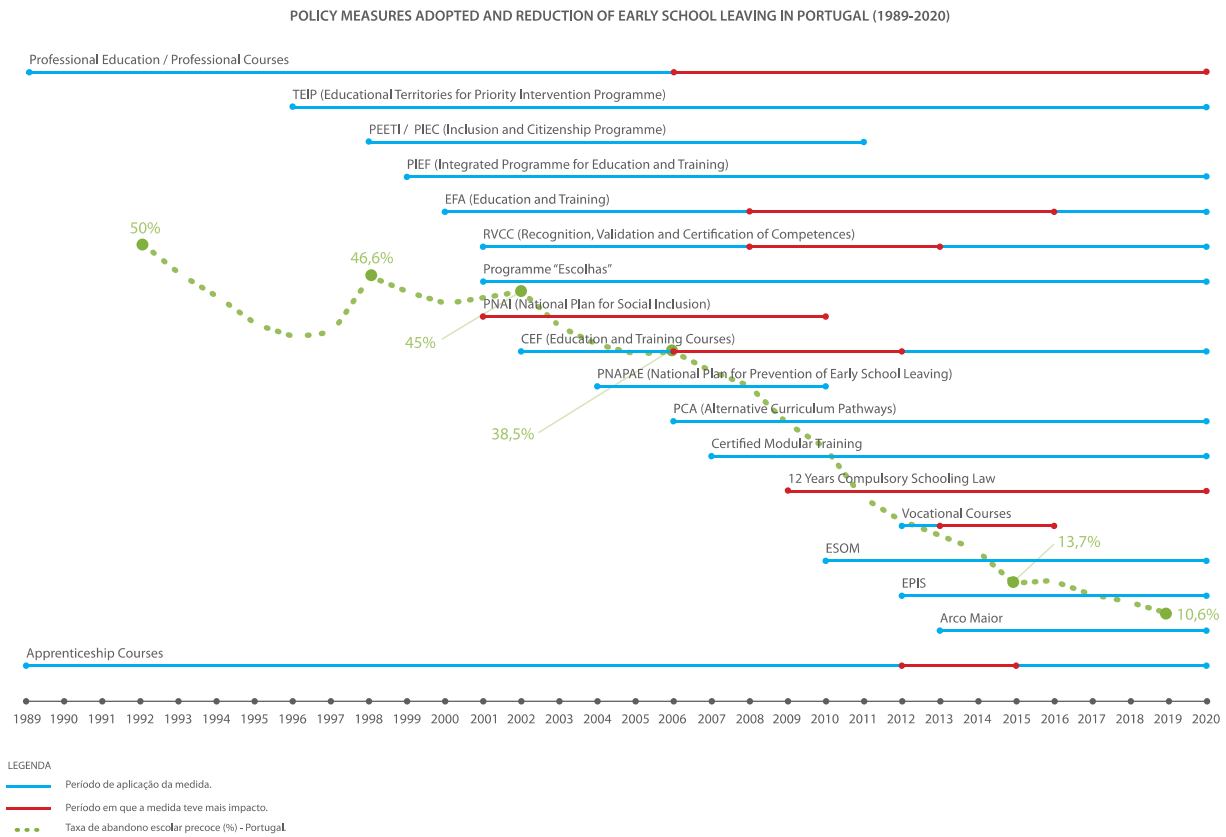
The ISCTE study on ESL in Portugal, by de Álvares et al. (2014), the national report compiled for the European Commission on the adoption of the 2011 recommendation concerning the decrease in the rate of ESL, from 2019, and the Court of Auditors Audit Report, from 2020, all conclude that there is no common and coherent national policy on reducing ESL. The latter highlights that there «is no global strategy, with a vertical and horizontal coordination, that gathers and assesses the measures put in place to tackle early school leaving» (2020:45), while recognizing that there is an extensive set of measures having a positive impact in schools. The same could and should be said concerning the regional and municipal levels, where strategic cooperation settings for reducing ESL are almost non-existent⁵⁷. The ISCTE study suggests that «the challenge of coordinating ESL policies,

⁵⁷ Since 2017, some municipal and intermunicipal projects aimed at promoting academic success have been supported under the framework of a programme called PIICIE – Integrated and Innovative Programmes for Tackling Academic Failure. These plans include measures funded by the State and by EU funds and the expected outcomes are: reduction of the retention, dropout and negative grades rates; strengthening of the

achieving a better relationship with other political spheres and developing a better articulation between interventions focused on increasing both the efficacy and the efficiency of the results has proved to be the hardest one, for Portugal as well as for the majority of Member States» (Álvares et al. 2014:28).

These conclusions suggest that ESL policy, besides comprising a set of measures that have been in place for a long time, has mostly consisted in a juxtaposition of measures that met somewhere in time and space, locally and in schools, and which have boosted its effects. The positive results will have been due to a multidimensional and continuous pressure, following the juxtaposition of an extensive set of measures, which were not previously coordinated or integrated, having never been a part of any coherent and consistent national plan. The following chart tries to illustrate that, by showing on the same chronological bar the measures put in place, their particular emphasis (the years in which the policy reached the greatest number of people are highlighted in red) and the progress in the reduction of the ESL rate. We can observe that between 2008 and 2013 there have been a convergence in policy measures, a sort of «alignment of the stars», that leads to a decrease of about 17% of the ESL rate.

schools' ability to respond to problems with multidisciplinary teams that complement the schools' technical resources, in cooperation with local health services, social action, protection of children and young people, culture, etc.; better offer of curriculum enriching activities; appreciation of the contribution from guardians and parents' associations; encouraging the participation of young people and the development of their power of initiative.



Source: Azevedo (2020)

In more general social terms, in addition to the public policy measures (such as PNAI), the positive evolution of the parents' schooling deserves to be mentioned. These are part of a population of young adults whose qualification levels have increased at a fast pace, which has also certainly contributed to the promotion of the importance of staying in school within the family home.

Moreover, the «positive effect» on the Portuguese economy must also be considered. Its main model stopped being the recruitment of an intensive, cheap and unqualified labour force, due to international competition and the country's position in the global economy.

Small and medium-sized enterprises from the textile, clothing, shoe, construction and metalworking sectors, to name a few, do not «absorb», like they did 25 years ago, those who leave school early, which contributes to the increase in the number of young people who remain in school to complete mandatory education.

Finally, it should be noted that despite the progresses made, the concept of school leaving is not consolidated and the risk of leaving and the actual leaving are not properly monitored in any systematic, coordinated and global way, as both the 2014 Álvares et al.-ISCTE study and the more recent 2020 Court of Auditors Audit Report noted. This makes it more difficult to understand and to monitor concrete situations, as well as to define measures focused on the school population who are at risk or who have already left and who frequently find themselves in a situation of social exclusion. Notwithstanding the progresses made, at least one in every ten youngsters leaves school without a secondary education qualification.

1.6.2.4. Summary

Concerning our analysis of ESL policies, we are now able to conclude that:

1. Since the 1980s, Several Portuguese governments have been committed to creating measures aimed at promoting academic success and reducing ESL. These measures have grown in intensity and scope since 2000, when the European Union established the «Lisbon Strategy», which laid down particular political actions regarding the reduction of ESL (Magalhães et al., 2015).
2. Policy measures put in place in Portugal covered the three dimensions of prevention, intervention and compensation, and the country also adopted «strategic

- responses» (Álvares et al., 2014), before implementing the prevention ones, which had a significant impact, such as the legal determination to extend mandatory schooling to 12 years.
3. These measures were never properly coordinated or articulated, from their design to the execution and assessment, and so they never formed a national strategy for tackling ESL. However, care was taken to laid down social and socio-educational strategies and not just measures and policies to do strictly with school. Given the impact that poverty and the parents' lack of qualifications have on their children school paths, this broader political intervention has contributed to a greater number of students remaining in school and to the reduction of the ESL rate.
 4. In the strictly school framework, many intervention measures were put in place and these include a paraphernalia of resources and a great range of actions: from study support to curricular adaptations, from the assistance in the classroom to curricular flexibility, from the individual tutorials to alternative learning pathways for completing mandatory education. The fact that several of these measures are always interconnected and the lack of specific and systematic studies on the efficacy of each and every one of them make it difficult to isolate and assess their impact.
 5. By combining several studies, we can pinpoint three measures as having had the greatest direct impact on ESL: (i) curricular flexibilization and diversification in the 3rd cycle of basic education. Even though this hasn't been sufficiently highlighted, the creation of alternative learning pathways within the 9-years basic education (CEF, PIEF, Vocational), particularly between 2008 and 2012, which at some point were the choice of 30% of all enrolments, had a very clear impact on the number of students who remained in school and on the completion rates of that same schooling; (ii) the creation of professional education, an educational model aimed at students who do

- not wish to attend a general secondary education option (the «science and humanities courses») , and which currently covers more than 40% of secondary level enrolments and (iii) the promulgation of compulsory education to a 12-year period or until students turn 18, which made attending three more years of school mandatory, even for those who have very low expectations regarding school.
6. That is to say, the measures with the greatest impact are diverse and do not fit into a single political action dimension: one belongs to the set of national strategic policy decisions (prolonging mandatory schooling), another also results from a strategic policy decision, but it was taken under the school education framework, and it can be included in the prevention set (the creation of professional education), and the third has to do with school intervention, as remedial response in face of the repeated failure that affected several students and led towards leaving.
 7. It was the combined effect of political pressure, distributed over an extensive set of juxtaposed and simultaneous policies, and the persistence throughout time of some of the more significant measures – which implies a political decision by many governments, for about 30 years – that allowed for the progressive and consistent reduction of the ESL rate (Chart of the Policy measures adopted and reduction of early school leaving in Portugal).
 8. Indeed, the goal of reducing ESL was always pursued and the results are quite positive: in 2019, Portugal had a 10.6% rate of ESL, having progressed in line with the European average and the goals of the 2000 «Lisbon Strategy» and the «2030 Agenda». This positive evolution was ongoing, but it accelerated between 2008 and 2013 (as showed in the above chart).

9. Compensation measures aimed at young people who left school early are more recent and their impact is still pretty limited, particularly in the case of measures concerning the new and innovative offer of a second opportunity education.

Some challenges remain. We would like to highlight three of them:

1. Knowing that schools implement a very diverse set of measures and resources to the promotion of academic success and the prevention of early school leaving, it would be paramount to know more about the measures and educational actions that have a more positive effect, as well as the situations in which it has proven to be harder to improve results, so that our future actions can be more effective, pertinent and efficient. This would allow the adoption of a WCD perspective that seems promising in tackling ESL.
2. The fact that an offer for «alternative pathways» (CEF, PIEF, Vocational courses) is still available, after many years, to the basic education students with the worst academic failure history, should allow this policy to come out of the shadows, so that it can be properly equated by the several political levels in the field of education and also by the social partners. It might be more appropriate, useful and fair to review the model that creates such cumulative failure, preventing it instead of compensating for it or using belated, and even discriminatory and stigmatising, measures to remedy it.
3. Since the definition and application of the concept of ESL still lacks rigour, and given that we do not carry out a national or regional monitoring of the risk of leaving and of leaving, it would be timely and pertinent to undertake the conceptual

clarification and a rigorous monitoring of all existing situations, in every school and local community. That is the only way we can establish a global strategy for tackling ESL, with policies that are coordinated vertically and horizontally, and which involve the whole of society.

The international leaving pattern helps us to understand that there are difficulties everywhere when it comes to successfully including «non-traditional beneficiaries» of public education services, what we might call «the rest» of society, the poorer, the most vulnerable and marginalised. The more ethical, political and social pressure there is to get them in school and to keep them there, the more pressure there will be in finding innovative institutional solutions, because dealing respectfully with these new «beneficiaries» also implies facing the relationship between personal and social inequality, which, let us face it, implies looking at basic and secondary schooling policies through very different eyes. The goal of a «quality education for all» (as Jomptien declared in 1990) requires a positive circle of policy measures that are capable of using cross and cumulative strategies that act simultaneously and convergently.

It is not by chance that, in Portugal, the ESL rate progressed no more than 3.1. percentage points between 2015 and 2019. The rate of positive evolution slowed, and in 2016 it even receded.

At the moment in which Portugal has an ESL rate of 8,9% (2020), it must be emphasized that the challenges of a school for all include every policy domain, from social and preventive policies, to the «modes of school production» and educational compensation, and they implicate every actor, from local social support networks, to families, schools and

individuals. Additionally, the new focus on whole child development created by the adoption of the student profile at the end of secondary education holds much potential to be explored; but it has to be explored by schools and teachers and this is not a given. The traditional approach focused on cognitive development is very strong and a lot of effort is needed to support schools in overcoming tradition.

As McMahon and Portelli (2004:70) have written: democracy as a way of life is a process that associates «equity, community, creativity, and which takes differences seriously into account».

1.7. Answering the research questions

We replied to each research question throughout the report. However, for convenience of the reader, we now present short answers to each one.

1. Characteristics of ESL in Portugal and its evolution in recent years.

ESL refers to individuals aged between 18 and 24 who have stopped studying without having completed secondary education (ISCED3) and have not been in education and training in the last four weeks preceding the survey. This indicator is retrospective (as it questions individuals about their past educational and training path) and is carried out within the framework of the Employment Survey, thus not constituting one of the indicators collected by the Ministry of Education. However, the indicator still contains very different realities and fails to be very rigorous in terms of education and training.

The retrospective character of the indicator carries a great difficulty: it identifies problems many years after they occurred, making it difficult to assess more immediately the impact of school policies, models and practices. In addition, in Portugal, there is no statistical data regarding school drop-out produced by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, there is a gap between the moment the problem occurs and the moment we know it happened.

The Ministry of Education only deals with "retention and desistance rates" (dropout rates) – relation between the number of students who do not proceed to the next school year and the number of students enrolled in that school year. But this indicator counts "false positive" (it includes students who move to a private school or who are absent from the country with their families) and "false negatives" (it does not consider the situation of repeated absenteeism or abandoning students that kept their enrolment active because they are still within compulsory education). In conclusion, the only indicator we have to work with is the percentage of youngsters who completed secondary. To understand school dropout, this is very little. Additionally, the Ministry of Education's collection and registration processes for this data do not rest on any uniform system of procedures, which allows for a clear distinction between situations when students dropout, when they are at risk of leaving and when they fail academically. This would be fundamental for the production of reliable and useful leaving indicators, for both the population aged between 6 and 18 and those who have prematurely left school at 18 years of age or older.

Considering these limitations, we nevertheless have seen a positive evolution of the rate of ESL. Overall, the ESL rate in Portugal has decreased, between 2001 and 2019, from 44.3% to 10.6% and dropped to 8,9% in 2020. In the last 20 years, the highest decrease of ESL was registered in the North region. Madeira and Algarve are the regions which registered the

lowest decreased for the ESL rates. Azores and Madeira are the current regions with the highest level of ESL followed, within continental Portugal, by Algarve.

From 2003/2004 to 2017/2018, the actual schooling rate in upper secondary education increased in all the Portuguese continental regions, the highest rate was registered in the North and the lowest in Algarve. This was supported, mainly, by the extension of compulsory education from 9 to 12 years of schooling in 2009.

Even though, for over two decades now, every EU recommendation directs countries towards the need to identify students «at risk of leaving», by studying the specific causes and acting locally on the issues, promoting more «customised» education and training, schools are not clearly guided towards establishing a barrier between the risk of leaving and the actual leaving. The immediate consequences of this are the existence of an enormous disparity in the criteria for measuring ESL and the actions taken to tackle it and the effective impossibility of truly knowing what the ESL reality is in Portugal.

This lack of consistency and reliability in the current data on ESL before the age of 18 and data on those who leave at 18 without having completed mandatory schooling, makes it difficult or impossible to compare these data nationally and which makes it harder to articulate policies focused on identifying, characterizing and monitoring the situations, let alone arrange for a clear, integrated, focused and effective ESL preventive action.

Consequently, an early educational intervention is compromised. Also compromised are compensatory interventions, since ESL situations that take place before and after students turn 18 are not properly identify or monitored.

2. Typifying the population at risk of ESL

Students at risk of ESL are students that schools often label, early on, as “inadequate”. This happens in the 1st or 2nd grades. This detection is usually extensively documented, with teachers’ reports, later accompanied by reports from psychologists and, sometimes, even by doctors.

The early detection of the first signs of inadequacy, between the child and the schooling processes offered by schools, can be seen as the establishment of a curtain that labels and abundantly justifies these students’ exceptionality; a curtain that becomes thicker, as it rests more and more on the child’s inabilities. The manifestation of disruptive behaviors, that usually takes place afterwards, will also contribute both to push the student away from the general and common educational offer and to gradually stop him from being seen as he is; in all his potential.

In every case we examined, the social and family environments (in the social housing where most of them live) face the challenges of poverty and low qualifications, coupled with other situations which worsen living conditions (in 19 of the 25 cases), such as teenager parents, domestic violence, negligence, absence of the father or of the mother, abuse, separation from the parents and siblings through institutionalization, parents’ alcoholism, drug abuse and trafficking, parents in prison, the death of parents or grandparents. These help to contextualize the “inadequacies” detected by the school.

These students usually are subject of «orders to abandon the classroom» and other sanctions that are generally applied to inappropriate behaviors. Absenteeism begins in the 5th grade (the first year after the one teacher per class model). Disciplinary procedures take place from the 6th grade onwards (from requests to leave the classroom up to suspensions).

We can see that the corrective and sanctioning measures start by being small and infrequent, but the tendency is almost always for these measures to acquire a growing and exponential gravity. There is an effective snow ball effect.

Absenteeism and the inappropriate behavior that follows must also be seen as external manifestations of the lack of interest and motivation of these children when faced with what the school has to offer. Whether it is the general and common curriculum or the set of special mechanisms for «increased pedagogical support». The constant acknowledgement that students do not take advantage of these mechanisms that are made available to them proves this point and it becomes another "fault" they are responsible for.

Punishment constitutes the preferred educational procedure, when schools are faced with persistent inadequacy and conflict situations. It is crucial that we question the extent to which the systematic punishment is a pathway to implicate students in their learning process, to allow them to grow and to develop skills. The use of sanctions, in the cases under review, is very far from meeting any educational goals.

The transition between 4th and 5th grade, between the one teacher per class model and to the up to ten teachers per class model is a point for worsening of inadequacy situations. It is as if a dam of contention bursts and the inadequacy just overflows uncontrollably. Academic failure ends up affecting all these students, more than once and, in some cases, too many times. Failure begins in the 1st cycle (14 out of 25 cases). Retention almost always led to the complete repetition of the previous year, even in subjects where the student succeeded, and there are several cases of successive repetitions of the same grade.

As inadequacies and conflicts emerge, the way of looking at these students is usually based on negative pedagogical appreciations, methodically built on an extensive set of weaknesses

and inabilities, on what each of them is «unable to do». Before and beyond the school's actions and omissions, the language used hurts and mistreats. Thus, when faced with the difficulties these children have when it comes to integration and the inappropriate behaviors that they generate, schools tend to perform an analysis of the situations based on their disqualification as students and as people. The emphasis placed in the weaknesses and inabilities is permanent, and it affects almost every case we looked at. The pedagogical recommendations that schools issue are characterized by a generic, repetitive, hermetic and impersonal language. This language integrates them into an abstract collective of «at-risk and unsuccessful students», as being incapable, violent and lacking family support.

«School of inclusion» includes the denial of some students, not only because the «inclusion strategy» generally includes depleting the curriculum (making it shorter in the less demanding parts, without altering its configuration, in other words, its context and purpose, the school work proposals, the curriculum, the evaluation), but also because it includes reducing the «inclusion» and the academic justice effort to a few study support techniques and to practices of so-called «pedagogical differentiation». What is in question is a certain «mode of educational production», a certain rationality, that attacks and corrodes the anthropological foundations of education. By looking more attentively at the excluded, we can conclude that we must look more attentively at the modes of educational production.

It turns out schools practice a model of selectivity that particularly affects the students who come from poorer environments, with low qualifications. These are accompanied, more often than not, by health issues, the absence of a tranquil and encouraging atmosphere at home, negligence problems, and domestic violence and addiction.

In a nutshell:

1. Family setting: poor academic qualifications, poverty, unemployment, drug use/drug trafficking, negligence, domestic violence, early pregnancy, absent mother/father, parents and/or grandparents' death.
2. Individual behavior: absenteeism, lack of interest and motivation, poor academic performance, retention and year repetition, early pregnancy, drug use, health problems, high levels of anxiety, indiscipline and violence.
3. School setting: difficult relationships between students-teachers, systematic reports concerning the students' inabilities, negative expectations by teachers, retention and year repetition, referral to unwanted «alternative» pathways, «internal exclusion».
4. Community network: living in social housing, poverty atmosphere, proximity to peers who dismiss school, entry into pre-delinquency networks.

Regarding the mode of production of school exclusion, we found it can be structured into a sequence of 14 steps.

1. Generally speaking, schools detect inadequacy situations among certain students early (during the 1st or 2nd grade).
2. It produces several documents with the identification and analysis of these situations, whether they come from teachers (of general or special education) or from other professionals (psychologists and doctors), who point to pathologies.
3. That documentation works like an analytical architecture, whose foundations are personal weaknesses (and illnesses), family and contextual deficits (poverty, negligence, violence, etc.), school difficulties and behavioural inadequacies.

4. Students begin to feel disqualified and humiliated, at a quarterly and annual rate, delegated to lists of personal inabilities (not learning ones), and they are labelled and discriminated within schools.
5. Beyond this systematic disqualification, they are retained and forced to repeat the exact same year and curriculum, in the exact same way, several times in a row (which results in them sharing a class with much younger classmates).
6. Schools produce very generic and abstract recommendations (quarterly and annually), which are written and communicated in a repetitive and impersonal way to the students and their families.
7. The student, when faced with the school's actions, disconnects from the institution, and reveals an increasing lack of interest, refusal and rebellion.
8. Schools trigger a set of mechanisms to support the students from among the menu that the Ministry of Education authorises, which is generally made up of a reinforcement of subjects learning (with an emphasis on Portuguese and Mathematics).
9. When confronted with inappropriate behaviour and attitudes by students, and whenever these recur, the school punishes the faulty students ever more severely, in a discouraging framework that is very far from the pedagogical purpose envisioned by the Law.
10. The transition between the 1st and 2nd cycles makes matters worse, and so we witness a profusion of orders to leave the classroom, disciplinary procedures and suspension in the 5th and 6th grades.
11. The conflict between the school and the student is made worse by the accumulated retentions and sanctions, on top of the weaknesses that are

systematically communicated to the families and the students, who are clearly pushed out.

12. When confronted with the «negative spiral» he or she is placed in and blamed for (because he or she did not take advantage of the opportunities offered by the school), the student embodies the role attributed to him or her by the school, as the incapable, the «repeater», the rebel, the one with nothing to lose.
13. After several attempts of adopting pedagogical support and «recovery» measures, the school sometimes refers the student to special modalities, so that they can carry out their learning pathway in a different way (CEF, PCA, PIEF, Vocational Courses).
14. Once unteachable and uneducable students, who affirm their personality when acting against the institution, are created, and when they see themselves in a growing conflict stage, they break and begin to systematically skip school, and will often end up leaving school for good.

3. Consequences and effects of ESL and dropout on youth employment and social exclusion:

We crossed the quantitative data on ESL with the employment data, trying to understand the relation between ESL and employment/unemployment. The conclusions are mixed. It is hard to determine, for the Portuguese case, a correlation between ESL and employment.

The youth unemployment rate is higher for those with lower levels of education (basic education-2nd cycle). The unemployed population with the lowest levels of education (none and basic education-1st cycle), has the largest share of long-term unemployment. The risk of

poverty rate is higher for those with less education and, for these ones, has increased particularly with the economic recession.

For full understanding of how early school leaving impacts youth employment situations, social integration and quality of life, it will be crucial to produce indicators and data which allow to monitor youngster in early leaving situation and young adults aged 18 in a situation of effective dropout. The indicator of ESL created, conceived for the Employment Survey, as previously mentioned, fails to provide relevant information to understand the dropout phenomenon (when, how, what age and in what year of schooling) as it fails to deliver information on the reasons for dropping out and apprehend youngsters future goals.

Therefore, a system capable of monitoring early school leavers footpaths along their journey after dropout, could also contribute to formulate a more successful set of appropriate recovery measures. The most recent report on ESL situation in the country highly recommends for the definition of a global strategy to fight ESL that integrates a monitoring and evaluation structure; for clear and unambiguous definition of the concepts of ESL and ESL risk and the respective indicators in the national education system; for mapping ESL at national, regional and local level; for the implementation of effective control systems for the fulfilment of registration and attendance duties in compulsory education; and for interoperability of information systems for the collection of data from students in the national territory and in a timely manner (Tribunal de Contas, 2020).

4. Existing policies and programs of ESL prevention, with a particular focus on whole-child approaches:

Policies adopted in Portugal follow the usual European typology in the field of ESL policies: prevention, intervention and compensation policies (European Commission, 2013).

These measures have been put in place in the past thirty years, beginning in 1989 with the creation of vocational education and ending with a great number of compensation measures implemented in the second decade of the 21st century. Its persistence in time (the long duration of some policies, despite changes in governments) and the combination of multiple dimensions of political action (not only educational, but also social and territorial) constitute a structuring axis of the achieved success in reducing ELS in Portugal (Álvares et al. 2014). Public policies implemented at the beginning of the current century to hinder ESL had two important features: (i) they did not include solely the Ministry of Education, bringing together a set of actors who work in social policy to promote inclusion and fight poverty (widening of the pre-school network, expansion of access to Social Integration Income, programs aimed at certifying competences and adult literacy); and (ii) they are prolonged in time, avoiding the stop-and-go that often affects measures of education policy (according to the political orientation of governments).

One of these policies, TEIP, has undergone several adaptations but has been in place for the last 25 years. The same happened with the Choices Program, that is also still active after 20 years, and the measures related to the recognition and certification of competences and to adult literacy, which are also about to turn 20. The latter compensation measures were developed with the aim of educating and qualifying the adult population, since it has a known positive impact also in the schooling of children and young people.

The same happened with the strictly educational public policies. Vocational training has grown since 1989 and its impact in Portuguese society is very significant. In 1989, about 7% of young people (out of the population who continued their education past the 9th grade and into secondary education), did so by choosing technical and professional courses; in 2018, they were 42%. In 2004, this alternative offer became available in every public secondary school in the country alongside with the private professional schools.

Since 1999, alternative pathways within the schools were created: PIEF – Programs of curricular adaptation of education and training (1999), CEF – Education and training courses (2002) and the Vocational Courses (in 2012). All aimed at adapting the curricula for young people, who kept failing academically before they could reach or complete the 3rd cycle of basic education. These also played an important role as a strategy for keeping these students in the schools.

CEF, in particular, had a major impact in the number of students who stayed in school and completed basic education (9th grade). In 2007/08, out of the total number of students who were enrolled in the regular basic education and who completed it, about 70% did so through the regular model and 30% chose these «special» courses. In fact, the curricular offer in basic education, as a general and common educational offer, has never truly existed, despite being claimed by political rhetoric. Only during the second decade of the 21st century did these alternative pathways lose some relevance, covering nearly 14% of 9th grade completions. Since 2005⁵⁸, there is a fragment of the population that is enrolled in mandatory basic education and who are only able to complete it through alternative

⁵⁸ Between 2000 and 2005, this alternative learning pathways were only responsible for 3 to 4% of 9th grade completions (back-to-school education and the start of CEF).

pathways and, no matter what they are called (PIEF, PCA, CEF, Vocational), they have remained in the education system and have had a significant impact on the completion of mandatory schooling.

It is important to underline as a crucial factor of diminishing ESL, the extension of compulsory education to 12 years of schooling or 18 years of age that occurred in 2009/2010. Students who enrolled in grades 1 to 7 in 2009/10, had to stay in school for three more years after 9th grade or until they became 18. This led to a high-pressure effect, politically, socially (especially in families) and in schools, in favor of students remaining in school.

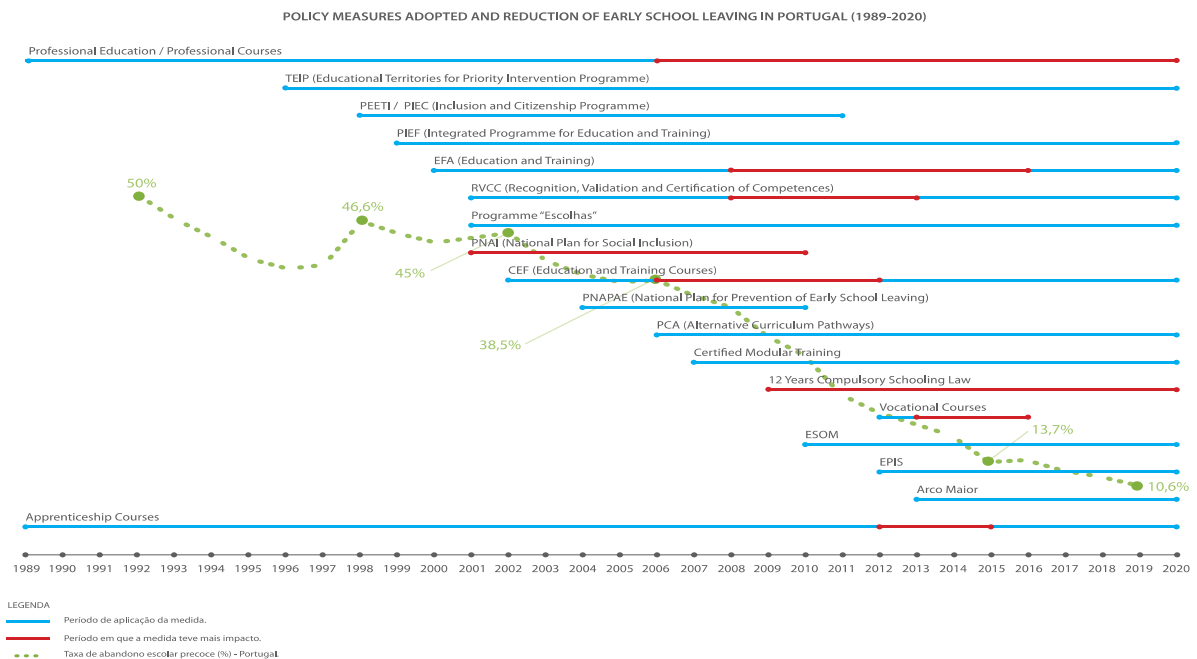
Public policies have been accompanied by private initiatives. These are focused on specific issues (i.e. learning to read, family mediation) and cater for small groups of young people in small sets of schools.

The compensation measures that had a greater impact were those aimed at the adult population, the RVCC – Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competences and the Education and Training for Adults Courses (EFA). Between 2008 and 2012, these measures were strengthened under the «New Opportunities Initiative» policy. Portugal had kept «back-to-school education» measures available for people over the age of 18 who intended to complete basic and/or secondary education. But, after 2001, the «New Opportunities Initiative» policy was put into place with the RVCC program and EFA Courses, reaching hundreds of thousands of adults between 2001 and 2020, with a particular emphasis between 2008 and 2012. Other compensation measures aimed ESL are two initiatives that emerged alongside the school system in articulation with public school, offering a second educational opportunity, beginning in 2010 (the Second Chance School of Matosinhos and

Arco Maior). Even though these initiatives are yet to have reached a thousand citizens, in August 2019 they were integrated in the public policy «Program 20 – A Second Opportunity Program» and they are the first step of a new public policy that seeks to promote second opportunity education, which did not exist in the country up to this point.

A ISCTE research on ESL in Portugal, by de Álvares et al. (2014), the national report compiled for the European Commission on the adoption of the 2011 recommendation concerning the decrease in the rate of ESL(2019) and the Court of Auditors Audit Report on ESL (2020) all conclude that there is no common and coherent national policy on reducing ESL. This suggests that ESL policy, besides comprising a set of measures that have been in place for a long time, has mostly consisted in a juxtaposition of measures that met somewhere in time and space, locally and in schools, and which have boosted its effects. The positive results will have been due to a multidimensional and continuous pressure, following the juxtaposition of an extensive set of measures, which were not previously coordinated or integrated, having never been a part of any coherent and consistent national plan.

The following chart tries to illustrate that, by showing on the same chronological bar the measures put in place, their particular emphasis (the years in which the policy reached the greatest number of people are highlighted in red) and the progress in the reduction of the ESL rate. We can observe that between 2008 and 2013 there have been a convergence in policy measures, a sort of «alignment of the stars», that leads to a decrease of about 17% of the ESL rate.



Source: Azevedo (2020)

In more general social terms, in addition to the public policy measures, the positive evolution of the parents' schooling deserves to be mentioned. They are part of a population of young adults whose qualification levels have increased at a fast pace and this has also certainly contributed to the promotion of the importance of staying in school within the family home.

Moreover, the «positive effect» on the Portuguese economy must also be considered. Its main model stopped being the recruitment of an intensive, cheap and unqualified labor force, due to international competition and the country's position in the global economy. Small and medium-sized enterprises from the textile, clothing, shoe, construction and metalworking sectors, to name a few, do not «absorb», like they did 25 years ago, those who leave school early, which contributes to the increase in the number of young people who remain in school to complete mandatory education.

In 2017, the Secretary of State for Education approved the student profile at the end of secondary education. Though not targeted at early school leavers, this profile is a cornerstone for the national curriculum and adopts a whole child development perspective that may well impact on ESL if schools effectively change their curriculum perspective and approach each child not only as a whole child but also as an individual with particular needs and challenges.

1.8. Suggestions for future action

Finally, we give some suggestions for future action in the field of ESL in Portugal. Despite the positive evolution of the ESL rate, a considerable number of students are still leaving school before completing secondary education or at risk of such. Furthermore, as we have shown in this report, ESL is a process that begins at a very young age and therefore has a strong impact on the well-being of children as they come into adolescence and become young adults. A negative impact on self-esteem and social inclusion. Therefore, action is needed until the rate of ESL is 0%.

In this context, we suggest:

1. Developing more research on the life stories of youngsters that were ESL and have come back to formal education through second chance schools. What changed in their lives? What were the outcomes of finishing school? This could be done with qualitative studies.

2. Do in-depth research on how different schools tackle children at risk of becoming early school leavers. What makes schools that serve similar student populations have different rates of ESL?
3. Support, develop and research “second chance schools” and their methodologies; with an eye at finding ways to integrate at least parts of these methodologies in regular schools and teacher continuous training.

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