

**Integration Policies in a Brazilian South-eastern Capital:
Formulation, Implementation and Some Comparisons with
Four European Countries**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the processes of formulation and implementation of policies regarding the integration of disabled children in the mainstream schools of a Brazilian South-eastern State Capital.

The investigation was carried out through a documentary analysis and through the application of a questionnaire and an interview to 25 head teachers of the primary State schools of Vitória. The intention was to identify *gaps* between what is mandated by laws or suggested by other relevant documents and what is actually reported as practice by the head teachers, and how integration was being interpreted and defined at the school level in that Capital.

In doing so it was hoped that some of the problems in making integration policies would be identified and practical suggestions for their solutions would be likely to be provided.

The study also included a comparative part in which integration policies of four European countries (Spain, Denmark, Holland and the U.K.) were analysed and differences and similarities were highlighted in an attempt to further illustrate and discuss some of the main issues of policy-making in and practice of integration which at the time were being debated world-wide.

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate *gaps* between the processes of formulating and implementing policies for the integration of disabled children in schools of the official¹ educational Systems of a Brazilian State capital (Vitória). Two underlying assumptions guided the study: one is that such *gaps* are an expected phenomenon in the process of policy-making, in the sense that such processes include on-going changes and dynamism. This may be especially true of educational policies.

The second assumption is that *gaps* do not need to be a negative factor of policy-making. When they are, they seem to indicate the presence of what will be called "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies. An implication of these assumptions is that *gaps* can (and should) be taken as useful indicators of the need for reviewing and evaluating the development of policy-making processes, and as such be identified and have their occurrence monitored.

In line with the above implication this study also intends to review possible *gaps* in four other countries via an examination of an on-going OECD study: UK, Holland, Spain, and Denmark. The idea of such review is to provide a basis against which to make some comparisons with the Brazilian case, the main focus of this study, with a view to locating the Brazilian case within a scale of integration policies and practices. This scale is to be built up in chapter 4, on the basis of what has been reported by some of the country members in the international setting.

The definition of *gaps* in the context of this research, as it is closely related to the other two key-terms adopted ("over-formulation" and "under-implementation"), is given in the following chapter. The next section of the present chapter see a more general description of the origins of this study in order to "set the scene" for the following chapters. Then the questions for investigation are set out, followed by a brief outline of the methods used for data collection, and by an overview of the following chapters.

It is worth making a note about the use of the term "disabled" children instead of "children with special educational needs". In 1990, when this study was initiated, it had

¹ The Brazilian educational system is divided in two main Networks: Private and Public. Both Networks offer primary, secondary technical and tertiary levels of education which can be provided in either segregated or ordinary settings. The ordinary schools of the Public Network can belong to any one of the following three Educational Systems: Municipal (corresponding to the British term "local" or "Borough"), State (corresponding to the British term "County") and Federal (corresponding to the British term "Central Government"). However, because the term "public" in the British context refers to private schools, and because the use of the term "state" (in the British context) could cause confusion with the Brazilian term for "State" (County) schools, the term "official" will from now on be applied to refer to the education offered in the state system (as applied in the British context). That is, "Official Network" will refer to the comprehensive education offered in all Brazilian Municipal (Borough or local level), State (County or regional level) and Federal (Central Government level) schools. For a more detailed explanation of the Brazilian educational structure, please see "The Current Structure of the Brazilian Education", in chapter 5.

been decided that the latter term would be adopted whenever I was to refer to disabled people. This was because I have always had difficulties in deciding about the use of a term which would be less labelling. Given the strong arguments put by Labregère (1990) and the British legislation about the use of the term "special educational needs", I had decided that this could be a suitable one to adopt, even though not feeling comfortable with it.

However, over the following years my thinking about this issue has become more critical, partly as a result of the further reading I carried out in reviewing the literature. I became uncomfortable with "special educational needs" just as much as I used to feel about previous terms such as "exceptionals" or "deficient". In the face of my difficulty to make a decision about the matter, and given the further arguments and discussions I read about it, I decided to adopt the view of those directly affected in the matter and refer to them as they claim they wish to be referred to: disabled people.

As in the words of Mason & Rieser (1994), from the Integration Alliance:

We wish to be known as 'disabled people' in recognition of the common oppression we face regardless of our specific impairment. People with learning difficulties reject 'mental handicap' wishing to be known as the former. (p.19)

Adopting "disabled people/children" has not made me feel any more comfortable, from a personal perspective. But in my view this is not an issue of personal nature, but of politics and rights. It now (1995) seems to me that it is not I, as an able-bodied person, who needs to be "comfortable" about these issues. And these are not issues about comfort in any way. It is disabled people themselves who must be heard and respected in the way they wish to be addressed. Thus, in recognition to that, I have replaced "special needs" by "disabled" people/children throughout the thesis.

The Origins of the Research

This research originated some 12 years ago. It was through the study of disciplines like Philosophy, History, Anthropology and Sociology within my degree in Psychology that I became acquainted with and interested in concepts which will be directly or indirectly present in this study. Although it is not the intention of this study to explore these concepts in detail, a few examples of them, taken from each of the disciplines mentioned above, are given in the next paragraph in order to give the reader an idea of the sources of my thinking about the topic of this thesis.

From Philosophy, such concepts include Epistemology, Analysis, Research, Definitions, Explanations, Scientific Thought, Phenomenology, Relativity, Nihilism,

Truth, Education, Moral, Micro and Macro Dimensions, Analogies. From Sociology, concepts include Dialectics, State Apparatuses, Groups, Organisations, Institutions, Order, Democracy, Equality, Justice, Materialism, Process, System, Politics, Laws, Hegemony, Power, Conflicts and Contradictions. In History and Anthropology I became fascinated by concepts like: Contexts, Culture, Perspectives, Time Dimensions, Historical Being, Stigma, Categorization, Values, Differences and Labelling.

Towards the end of my graduation I had already chosen the educational area as the one that would most provide me with opportunities to retain those concepts in my thinking through my working life. Also to apply them, because these were concepts I genuinely identified myself with (and still do), and are basis with which I could improve and explain (and thus make sense of, or understand) my own system of reference for being the person I am.

Working in education (as a classroom teacher, as an educational psychologist, as a researcher, as a lecturer) clarified my assumptions. In this field I could put together (many times without even realising it) those concepts and further develop my thinking. I could apply my understanding and experience of those concepts to the situations I was witnessing in my working life. I was able to observe things about the educational system which puzzled and annoyed me. I could see its selectiveness and its discriminatory mechanisms in addition to its positive aspects. I was also able to make comparisons and draw analogies between the micro-system I was living in (the classroom or the school level) and the macro-aspect (the political system) of the whole society and country I belonged to. There were many similarities between them.

Such comparisons and consequent analogies brought me closer to a political dimension in the way I saw and made sense of things. For example, given the due dimension of their particular contexts, a teacher in his or her classroom can be comparable to a Principal in his or her school, or to the President in his or her country, to the extent in which they have powerful roles and are responsible for ensuring the organisation and implementation of orderly systems in their own dimensions.

Through analogies like the one above, I came to understand the political dimension of things. "Political" in the sense of power relationships, and as such, in a very dynamic way. The "political" dimension, in this sense, pervades every relationship (party-political, administrative, personal, professional) at every level where they happen: governmental, organisational, institutional, professional, marital, familial, personal, etc². As a consequence, every one is a political being, and every one makes history.

² For a further understanding of the authors who have inspired this understanding of the political, see, for instance, Althusser (1978, 1980), Bourdieu & Passeron (1977), Foucault (1989).

Every act (be it personal or governmental) is political (and as a consequence, historical) in the sense that it inevitably generates practical consequences, be these easily perceived or not³.

From this I became used to constantly exercising translations of my understanding of the macro-level of policy-making to the micro-level of my work environment and vice-versa. In addition, my observations and experience made me realise that relationships established at both levels (macro and micro) have similar characteristics which are resultant from the above mentioned power dimension attributed to relationships. That is: sometimes, things are said, but not necessarily done. At a macro-level (which, for the purposes of this study is taken as the governmental level), this can be understood in terms of the official documents, laws and policies developed (the "said" things) but not put into practice (the "not necessarily done" things). At a micro-level (represented in this study by the organisational and institutional levels), this can be understood in terms of institutional or organisational policies developed in any written form, or even in terms of words of those who are officially representing them (the "said" things), but again not verified in practice (the "not necessarily done" things).

In a more practical example: a law, or a set of principles (the "said" things) can be passed at the central level of government (macro-level) and not be reflected locally or regionally (the "not necessarily done" things), as it would be expected to. As a consequence, the institutions (micro-level) might not be following what they were, in principle, expected to (the "not necessarily done" things). This seems to be true especially if they belong in a centralised system with a top-down model of policy-making⁴.

It appears that these *gaps*, or distances between what is said and done, can be verified at any level. Sometimes, the institutional level will reflect these *gaps* in their own micro-reality, as perhaps a result of examples traditionally set by the macro-reality where they belong. An example of this is also extracted from my experience. When in charge of a special class run in an ordinary school of the Private Network in Brazil some years ago, I was amazed to see how contradictory the practice of integrating those children into the ordinary classrooms and into the school as a whole was, regardless of how much the owners of the school expressed their wishes to see them integrated. There was a significant movement of "resistance", sometimes subtle, sometimes more outspoken, on the part of most of the school staff.

³ I am very aware of the fact that this notion of politics is shared by a considerable number of more contemporary authors, most of whom are cited or quoted throughout this thesis. The reason why I do not cite them at this point is because my own route through which I came to adopt this notion of politics was not by reading them, but earlier authors, like the ones cited in the previous footnote.

⁴ Further explanations on these terms will be provided in chapter 2.

In analysing things further, I came to notice how contradictory those owners were about integrating those children. At the discourse level they would genuinely state the rights those children would have to participate in all school activities and events and be in favour of the attempts to bring them back to the ordinary classrooms. In practice, however, there was very little (although unintentional) support for that to happen. On one occasion there was a whole-school event to celebrate the Olympic week⁵. In the Opening Ceremony, the order of appearance of all the classes in the Gymnasium was scheduled according to their ages: from the youngest classes to the oldest ones. "Strangely" enough, the special class group, of mixed ages and abilities, was completely "forgotten" to be scheduled, nor were any of its children scheduled to enter with any of the "normal" classes⁶.

In sum, what I have observed is that the "said" things seem to be exaggerated in number, at least in the Brazilian case. Historically, and with regard to the educational field, of which integration policies are no exception, there has been a high number of policies formulated which do not seem to be put into practice, sometimes because they were never really meant in that way, sometimes because of political changes, sometimes because they were simply irrelevant to the contexts were they were meant to be applied. I have chosen to call this excessive formulation of policies "over-formulation", and their practical inapplication "under-implementation".

Thus, these issues are my main concerns in this thesis. Coming from a country whose system has a long term tradition of centralisation and of not doing what it said it would do, and a professional experience in special education in which such a characteristic was also observed made me ask a few questions: Does it happen elsewhere? Would there be any special conditions for things like these to happen? That is: is it a "privilege" of a certain context with certain characteristics, or is it generalised? And what would these characteristics be? And of what nature: cultural, political, social, or any other?

The Objectives of the Research

Two ways of providing an account of those common characteristics are through documentary analysis and the verification of what is happening in schools of the official Network in one Brazilian State Capital in relation to the implementation of integration. Yet another and complementary way is to compare the Brazilian account with other countries' accounts about the same issues. This would provide a broader mapping on

⁵ An annual mini Olympic Games week, with sports competitions between schools of the same city or State.

⁶ I would like to point out that exposing that "special" group on their own can be a very arguable form of integration. Nonetheless, the example is still a valid one in the sense that it shows the contradictions between discourse and practice within the institutional level which I am referring to in the main text.

the basis of which it would be possible to enhance the knowledge about the formulation and implementation of integration policies taking place in some parts of the world.

To sum up, it can be said that the purposes of this research are to:

1. provide an account of the official⁷ discourse about integration in the three political-administrative levels in Brazil through a documentary analysis;
2. describe the integration practices in a Brazilian State capital as reported by the headteachers of the ordinary schools of the Municipal, State and Federal systems of the capital;
3. compare the two above and find out whether or not *gaps* can be verified. If yes, trace out their profile, that is, locate the situations when they are likely to happen and provide an account of their characteristics;
4. examine the main profile of other countries' accounts in relation to their policy formulation and implementation of integration and their possible *gaps* ;
5. compare the Brazilian and other countries' profiles;
6. map out a picture of *gaps*, where they are found to be similar, with a view to originate explanations and suggestions;
7. seek recommendations of alternatives or solutions to the Brazilian case according to its own context and in the sense of preventing ineffective integrative policies and practices from happening and consequently preventing the occurrence of the "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" cycle.

Research Questions

In order to achieve the proposals set out above, and in order to guide the investigation of the research, the following questions were formulated:

1. What is the Federal (National) discourse on integration of disabled children?
2. How is this reflected in Vitória, in terms of the issuing of directives at both State and Municipal levels?
3. Are there *gaps* at the discourse level? In what sense?

⁷As in footnote 1, the term "official" is applied here to refer to the documents issued by the authorities of the "Official Network" (i.e. Municipal, State and Federal).

4. What pattern of integration practice can be shown from the head teachers' descriptions of integration practices in their schools?
5. Are there *gaps* between the discourse and practice levels? In what sense?
6. What kind(s) of connection(s) and comparison(s) can be made with integration practices reported in other countries?

Method

The undertaking of the study is described in more detail in Chapter 6, and includes the following procedures:

1. Adoption of a theoretical model of analysis based on policy analysis to suggest consistent explanations about the *gaps* referred to in this study and elicit suggestions on how to prevent "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".
2. Documentary analyses of primary and secondary sources about official legislation, circulars and reports in Brazil and in other countries;
3. Application of a questionnaire to the headteachers of the 38 schools of the official Network of Vitória, the capital of one of the Southeastern States of Brazil (State of Espírito Santo). This instrument is expected to help to describe the integration practices and main obstacles as reported by the schools through their headteachers, as well as their possible causal interpretations of the obstacles;
4. Administration of a semi-structured interview concluded in Brazil as a follow-up instrument for focusing on the issues interpreted as relevant from the analysis of the questionnaires;

The Following Chapters

In Chapter 2 policy process is addressed. First, different concepts and models of policy are seen. Then a number of characteristics about policy is extracted from the literature review and summarized. These inform the references on which the writer is basing her definition of policy-making processes and their formulation and implementation aspects. Such references assume that policy is a dynamic process in which *gaps* become inevitable.

The chapter then discusses issues involved in policy-formulation and implementation, and goes on to explaining the occurrence of *gaps* and when these are likely to incur in "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on some of the issues related to integration. The chapter provides an account of the ways in which integration can be interpreted and then goes on to highlight some of the problems that arise when it comes to putting ideas into practice.

Chapter 4 provides accounts on the development of policies for integration and the integration practices as reported by the four countries being additionally studied and compared to Brazil. It ends with a summary of the relevant points for comparison, in chapter 5, with the Brazilian case.

Chapter 5 addresses the Brazilian educational policy process within a historical perspective, illustrating the issues of "Over-formulation" and "Under-implementation" introduced in the present chapter and discussed in chapter 2.

It re-addresses a few points made in chapter 2, when it discusses the legislative characteristics of the Brazilian educational system and its consequent prescriptiveness, setting the background for understanding the chapters presenting the findings (7, 8 and 9) and the conclusions (10). It also addresses research question number 6, when comments are made, at the end of the chapter, about the Brazilian case and other countries.

Chapter 6 introduces the research in terms of the practical and methodological aspects of its data gathering and data analysis. It starts with the characterization of the method adopted, that is, descriptive method, from which the data sources and the research instruments are derived and described. Two appendices (1 and 2) provide a full translation of these instruments.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 present the results according to what was gathered through the documentary analysis, the questionnaire and the interviews, respectively.

Finally, Chapter 10 refers to discussions and conclusions to be made about the completion of the research as a whole in the light of the research questions proposed, and with particular attention being paid to deriving possible indications about the nature of the processes being studied, that is, the *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of integration policies.

CHAPTER 2 - THE POLICY PROCESS

Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical reference about the policy-making process, with a special focus on its formulation and implementation aspects. It intends to show that there are *gaps* which constitute inevitable aspects in policy-making, given the dynamism and changes implied in the process. Also, that the historical and political contexts in which policies are made might generate *gaps* that lead to "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies.

This seems particularly visible in models of policy-making which follow a *top-down* perspective, with more prescriptive policies. In this sense, the study of policy-making, understood as a dynamic process, can help understand the *gaps* that occur in the Brazilian context and be a basis on which to compare and locate the Brazilian case in relation to the other countries seen in the present research.

The chapter was divided into six sections. The first section analyses different usages of the term policy and some of the models usually applied to understand and explain policy-making. The second section presents a set of characteristics adopted to define policy, based on the review of the literature provided in the first section.

The third and fourth sections address some issues about policy-making which are focus of this study: policy-formulation and policy-implementation. The fifth section addresses issues related to the occurrence of *gaps*. The chapter finishes with a brief analysis of the implications of *gaps* to "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies, while explaining the meaning of such terms.

Studying Policy: Concepts and Models

To establish the meaning of *policy* is not easy. Hogwood & Gunn (1984) provide ten different contexts in which the word *policy* is used. These include concepts of *policy* from a very general context (such as *policy as a label for a field of activity* (p.13)) to more specific ones like *policy as decisions of government*, (p.15) or *policy as output* and *policy as outcome*, that is, the product of a process (p.16 and 17 respectively).

They adopt the term *public policy*, elaborated within a governmental level, and characterize it according to a number of elements they think of as important. As they say,

Any public policy is subjectively defined by an observer as being such and is usually perceived as comprising a series of patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group and organisational influences have contributed. The policy-making process involves many sub-processes and may extend over a considerable period of time. The aims or purposes underlying a policy are usually identifiable at a relatively early stage in the process but these may change over time and, in some cases, may be defined only retrospectively. The outcomes of policies require to be studied and, where appropriate, compared and contrasted with the policy-makers' intentions. Accidental or deliberate inaction may contribute to a policy outcome. The study of policy requires an understanding of behaviour, especially behaviour involving interaction within and among organisational memberships.” (p.23-24)

The extension and flexibility of the above definition, and the seemingly careful choice of words applied, express how polemic and subjective *policy* can be. In their model of policy analysis -and as they follow a process framework- these are the elements that need to be dealt with by any policy analyst, despite inner difficulties originated from each of the elements.

Ham & Hill (1984) also start from a process framework for policy analysis within which *policy* is seen as both the stage of deciding about an issue (input) and the product of this stage (output).

Pointing out the non value-free character of analysis, they argue that analysts should not limit themselves either to the description of what goes on in a policy process or to simply prescribing what should go on in such a process. They should rather take into account all different contexts and broader levels of analysis that include not only *existing social and political relationships* but also *distribution of power within political systems* .(p.20)

The relevance of their view is in the consideration of issues which are part of policy formulation within a general political context in which many forces or influences play their role and participate. Political issues should not be analysed only *per se*, but in conjunction with other factors more directly or indirectly related to them, including the role of the government and the state.

Lewis & Wallace (1984) focus their study on the importance of the process of implementation within policy process. They assume a rather shorter view of policy: *a hypothesis bound up in uncertainties* (p.15). Hypothesis which in turn will be examined during the practice of its implementation.

In Lewis & Wallace's *evolutionary model* for policy analysis, implementation plays a fundamental part. It is a stage through which *policy* itself is tested, evaluated and then

changed or adapted (evolve, so the name of the model), depending on the results of the evaluation. The role of the policy analyst, unlike the views of the previous authors, will be a prescriptive one.

This definition of *policy* is too broad for the purpose of this thesis. It could be argued that anything can be a *hypothesis bound up in uncertainties*, so that anything may become an issue of *policy*, including matters that may not be of prime importance at a specific moment, but yet considered to be so in the eyes of the ones directly involved in the process.

In addition, there remains the question of how sure one can be about the representativeness of the views of policy makers. In other words, will the priorities set as such be a fact or an interpretation, or both? And if an interpretation, do they correspond to factual demands?

Among the policy makers themselves, there is likely to be disagreement. One part of a group in charge of the promotion of the policy process might have particular hypotheses to be "tested" in accordance to a specific point of view and rationale, while other parts might have others. Moreover, questions like who implements, who evaluates, who decides for change or not and on what basis, how the power is being shared and responsibilities delegated, can also play a significant role in the making of *policy* (Goacher et al, 1988; Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977).

Furthermore, things do not necessarily happen in a linear way. The rapidity with which policy-provoking events happen (especially in developing countries), may be the origin of the formulation of a *policy* contrary to the one just about to be implemented or even well before implementation starts, leaving no time for evaluations at all.

The point above leads to the possibility of a *policy* not being implemented at all. Hogwood (1991) suggests at least three explanations for failure of policies: because of a failure of the government in fully enacting the expected activities; because such activities, even if fully enacted, do not bring about the consequences theoretically expected; or because of other influences which were not previously considered, like other governmental activities or priorities set (p.8).

To these explanations, considering the context which is focus of this research (that is, a capital of a State in a developing country), the writer would add a fourth possible one: non-consideration of internal/national demands for reasons of excessive compliance with external/international demands, be it for actual pressure from outside or for pure political

vanity which sets the up-keeping of desirable appearances to and as recommended by the external world as a priority. For example, the eradication of illiteracy is a principle generally accepted and legally adopted by most countries, even though not practically observable in some of them (mainly developing countries). But given the international pressures for such social "illness" to be eradicated, it would not look politically acceptable for a country of the modern world not to have such a policy as a priority on their agenda, at least at a discursive level⁸.

However difficult to find a single definition for policy, this does not rule out the relevance of studying policy-making processes. As Hogwood (1991) says, *All policies involve assumptions... which ...are rarely spelt out, but policies imply a theory...* (p.8). Hogwood (1991) goes on to state the importance of teasing out the theories and assumptions of policies, because these theories or assumptions are usually rather implicit than explicit. Teasing them out is a vital task to be carried out because it provides a means of examining *the internal consistency of the resulting model and the apparent validity for its assumptions* (p.8).

The assumptions underlying policies in general can be many. As such, the study of policy processes itself is another complex matter. Policy involves several phases that are not easily defined or distinguishable: decision-making, formulation, power distribution, implementation and evaluation, to mention just a few.

Because of such a variety of subjects to be studied within policy, there have been many models proposing its study from a variety of angles. Besides the already mentioned Evolutionary model (Lewis & Wallace, 1984) and the Process framework (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984; Ham & Hill, 1984) there are the Rational, the Incremental, the Sociological perspectives, and so forth. A brief view of each of them shall now be given.

According to Etzioni (1967, p.385, In: Smith & May, 1982, p.117),

Rationalistic models are widely held conceptions about how decisions are and ought to be made. An actor becomes aware of a problem, posits a goal, carefully weighs alternative means, and chooses among them according to his estimate of their respective merit, with reference to the state of affairs he prefers.

⁸ I am not discussing here the validity of this principle. In my view, it is an unquestionable principle. My point is that sometimes external pressures can be of such an impact that governments might be overtaken by them and overlook what might be even more basic priorities in their own contexts (i.e. food to the population) for the sake of not being criticised by and not suffering sanctions from the international community.

This view is not free of criticism. One relates to the fact that in the policy-making process there are factors (for instance, environmental, political, values, etc) which cause constraints to a "smooth" decision-making (Smith & May, 1982). Another one relates to the fact that things are not easily predictable: not every change can be foreseen. This makes it impossible for the rational policy analyst to carry out a full evaluation of every aspect that might occur in the policy-making process (Richardson & Jordan, 1982).

Despite the criticisms, the rational approach has its defenders. In the words of Stewart (1982),

...the rational model... provides a framework for the discussion of policy whenever policy has to be justified... The rational model has a role in providing a framework that can be used to present, argue about and check upon policies derived and bargained for through a variety of ways, precisely because of its role in the domain of justification (p.26).

The Incremental model, on the other hand, has been described by Smith & May (1982) in the following way:

This model posits the decision-maker as starting not with some ideal goal but with the policies currently in force. Decision-making entails considering... changes at the margins. Only a rather restricted number of policy alternatives is reviewed and only a limited number of consequences is envisaged and evaluated for any given alternative. (p.118)

This approach seems to take account of some criticism made to the rational model. Nonetheless, it has also been exposed to criticism. One criticism, as reported by Smith & May (1982), rests upon the point that it is a remedial approach, i.e., it deals only with the more immediate situations and as such is conservative: it does not promote any structural change. A second one, also reported by the above authors, refers to a favouritism the incremental model gives to those already in power, leaving out the interests of those who are *underprivileged and politically unorganised*. (p.119)

Following a Sociological line of thought, Fulcher (1989) proposes that policy studies involve a number of interactions among *actors* from different contextual levels and with different interests. These interactions imply bargaining, negotiations, adaptations and accommodations to name a few. Also, *actors*' interests involved in policy process may vary for several reasons, ranging from the most personal contextual level to the group, institutional, organisational, national or international contextual levels.

She defines *policy* as *struggles* over matters that are at any particular (contextual) time considered relevant by representatives (*social actors*) of at least two different positions. She

"popularizes" *policy* by making it accessible to any potential *social actor*, providing they make the use of discourse, a linguistic code, a consistent jargon, as a tool through which to compete for their particular objectives and interests and legitimate their (political) actions. Her view offers a useful account of the way in which individuals can be relevant to policy-making.

Ball (1987) proposes an approach which is, in a way, complementary to Fulcher's, although he does not mention the discursive aspect. Arguing for a micro-political scope of analysis of how schools as organisations cope with environmental and internal demands, he uses the term *policy* as both a constant process of decision-making and a product generated by those decisions.

Policy analysis should focus on the more practical institutional level and the various conflicts, implicit or explicit, that underlie the negotiations, decisions, agreements and talks of the everyday routine of schools.

Ball's ideas seem to be in accordance with Weatherley & Lipski's (1977) when they refer to the role of *street-level bureaucrats* in the implementation of change and innovation. They argue that at this level constraints are such that the decisions that have to be made in order to accommodate such constraints and at the same time comply with the laws and directives issued may result in quite a different product being implemented than that originally thought of.

This seems appropriate and necessary when dealing with institutions, especially those located in developing countries, where significant or major changes and political lack of stability happen so frequently. This is therefore a useful approach to this study, since its main concerns relate to governmental policy-making at a more general systems level, and its effects upon and the way they are interpreted and put into practice (if at all) by schools.

The models for understanding and explaining policy processes are extensive. For the purposes of this research, however, the term *policy* will be applied to mean the official actions taken by the government.

In the next section, some common characteristics about the study of policy processes are summarised from the literature presented, in an attempt to inform the reader about the parameters on the basis of which further analysis of the Brazilian policy process, as well as comparisons between the Brazilian and other countries, are made.

What is Policy then?

A number of common factors are related, either directly or indirectly, to the general theme of policy and could therefore be extracted as basis on which to conceptualize policy. Such factors are as follows:

1. Policy involves dynamic setting(s) in and of which several *actors* may be part;
2. It involves interplays and interactions between *actors* conveying different perspectives, values and beliefs;
3. Its study implies the assumption of a basic theoretical framework upon which interpretations and explanations can be built;
4. It is an "elastic" concept: may be included in different contexts, used and adopted by *actors* with different viewpoints, and may be evaluated, changed and adapted both conceptually and practically;
5. It is related to decisions, negotiations of different interests, bargaining, implementation, values, considerations, changes and so forth.

A useful consequence of highlighting the above factors is that one does not need to speak of policy in terms of a single definition. Instead, one can talk about policy in terms of its conceptualizations, that is: the consideration of a whole background and the variety of factors which are inherent to a given reality put into context. Thus, the different ways in which people refer to policy can be equally valuable.

There seems to be at least one generally accepted point about how policy should be defined and analysed: any policy context is a dynamic one. The analysts' perspectives of the contexts and their consequent interpretation of policy processes may vary, but the context is acknowledged to be a dynamic one (See, for instance, Barret & Fudge, 1981). Since dynamic implies movement, and movement has change as a logical consequence, this dynamic context of policy process is a changing one.

Goacher et al (1988) offers support to this idea when pointing out that policy formulation as a process starts with changes in the routine procedures at the everyday administrative, political and practice levels. These changes result from the course of development of any system within the historical growth of societies.

Thus, as long as interactions happen, situations change every day, generating the need for adjustment and adaptation of the "old" situation (bringing the need for the formulation of policies) to the new demands brought about by the "new"⁹ situations. These adjustments need to be justified so as to be legitimate, or accepted by most without many complaints, and in accordance to the "new" demands.

The above point brings up the importance of managing the implementation of the changes either brought about by the formulation of new policies or by the intrinsic dynamism of the contexts in which policies are made. In this respect, Fullan (1992), when discussing school improvement, takes the view that changes are associated with implementation:

The causes of change also became more easily identifiable and understood once we possess an underlying conception of what constitutes change as a process over time. The factors of implementation and continuation reinforce or undercut each other as an interrelated system. Single-factor theories of change are doomed to failure... The characteristics of the nature of change, the make-up of the local district, the character of individual schools and teachers and the existence and form of external relationships interact to produce conditions for change or non-change. (p.26)

In addition, change implies a review, or evaluation of a previous situation. This evaluation has generally been said to be done either before the change takes place (as a background for predicting and attempting to avoid implementation problems) or during the process of change (Barret & Fudge, 1981; Smith, 1991; Fullan, 1982, 1991). The first kind of evaluation would involve a minimum level of planning, and examples could be found in the literature on rational model of policy analysis. The second kind of evaluation would be implied in an incremental model of policy analysis (eg: Lindblom, 1980).

In sum, policy is a process, and implies changes. These changes must be put in perspective: the contexts where they happen and the circumstances that led to them must be taken into account. Only then can theoretical explanations be provided. Because of the variability of those contexts and circumstances, there can be no single theoretical model to explain and enhance their understanding. A flexible approach is needed, one that borrows terms from different perspectives and tries to make more sense of the variables at play in the Brazilian process of making educational policies.

Because of the point made above, in this research, one of the factors taken as a background in order to conceptualise policy was that of the "elastic" characteristic of policy. This

⁹ The reason why "new" and "old" are in inverted commas is because sometimes, by the time the "new" situation is officially acknowledged as the "new" one developed from the demands which have been legitimated as priorities by the ones ruling the changes, it might no longer be so new at the practical situational level.

implies that all the views and different conceptions of policy explained so far are potentially useful and bound to be used to support explanations. Their major or minor usefulnesses and their application to theoretical explanations of policy-making will depend on the kind of situation being analysed.

One matter remains to be mentioned: the fact that the aspects of policy process being focused upon in this study are formulation and implementation. There are a few reasons for doing so. One regards the already mentioned diversity of aspects implied in policy studies. A deep study of all the aspects together would seem a hard task to complete in a single thesis. Thus the reason for investigating only two aspects of such a broad subject as policy.

One could argue this is too academic an approach which may deny the complex relationships and overlaps among sub-areas and therefore lose the perspective of policy process as a whole. There seems to be good grounds to support this argument, but it should also be pointed out that sometimes understanding the parts is an important requirement to understand the total itself. This seems especially true in the contexts of developing countries, where reality is so frequently changed and where everything can be potentially controversial.

The more diverse and controversial the issue, the stronger the need to understand its intrinsic and particular characteristics. The more one understands about the inner details of processes like policy, the more able one should be to approach the processes themselves. This is so whether or not the aim of the approach is just a theoretical study, an analysis or a description.

Moreover, formulation and implementation were chosen because they constitute relevant topics within the debates about policy process, which include discussions about decision-making, power, evaluation, interactions, contextual levels, and so forth.

Another reason for choosing these two aspects relates to the general aims of this research: first, to analyse integration policy process as it happens in the specific context of a Brazilian State Capital. And in this specific context, the main issues about policy seem to be linked with formulation and implementation. Second, to locate it within the international setting of integration policies and extract the main convergences and divergences between the Brazilian and other countries' contexts.

Brazil's historical context has been a dynamic one ever since its "discovery", especially regarding its political initiatives, changes and attitudes. At the policy process level, one of

the results of such a dynamism has been what I call in this thesis an "over-formulation" of policies accompanied by an "under-implementation" of them.

In the next sections a closer view will be given about policy-formulation and policy-implementation, in an attempt to set out some of their main issues and locate the origins of possible *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation", to be discussed more to the end of the chapter.

Policy Formulation

Governmental policy-formulation can have its origins either at the governmental level itself (through politicians) or from society (through its associations, trade unions, etc). The problems or situations requiring change can be perceived, both by politicians and civil sectors, either *a priori* to the change of a situation at the practical level (originating the official formulation and possible promotion of the change) or *a posteriori*, when it is realised that practice has no longer been the same or as expected for a while.

When sectors of society notice the problem before politicians do, the tendency is to show to politicians the need for adapting or changing the existing policy is. In this case, a pressure process starts from active groups within society (associations in general), in order to make clear the existence of new demands and of new practices already being adopted.

Politicians may become aware of the new situations, through their own observation and experiences and/or through the pressures from the civil sectors of society. In either cases, chances are that new policies will be formulated (or old ones will be reformulated) and consequent laws generated, or nothing will be done.

Whether the setting of the political agenda is initiated by society's sectors or by politicians, policy analysts will generally refer to it as the "agenda-setting" part of policy process, both in the sense of its establishment (Lindblom, 1980; Hogwood & Gunn, 1984; Hogwood, 1991) and in the sense of the avoidance of some themes or selection of specific ones (as posed by Bachrach & Baratz, 1970).

Non-formulation (or inaction) is another mechanism that occurs within policy process. For example, when there are conflicting interests between the government and sectors of society, or among different political parties. Illustrations of this can especially be found in developing countries' political settings, of which Brazil can provide many examples (Beltrão, 1984). One Brazilian example refers to the classical 13 years taken by the

Congress to formulate the final version of Law No. 4024/61 of Directives and Basis of Education (seen in detail in chapter 5).

When politicians notice the problem themselves, formulation or reformulation will be more likely to occur. The ways through which they become aware of the problem may vary from the simple realisation of economic consequences of not changing policy, to complex comparisons with other countries' realities and the consequent conclusion that a certain procedure may be good for their country as well.

Priorization of Issues

The perception of the need for formulating a policy or setting the agenda is not a clear cut process. There are, even within each of the two sectors (social and governmental), different groups with different and sometimes divergent interests. Powerful political groups may generate enough justification for developing a policy that apparently would be useful for all, but is actually useful to keep their current status-quo.

Groups aspiring to power may also promote countervailing mechanisms of action (such as strikes, for instance) that may impede those in power and force them to review their own justifications and negotiate with other groups.

Perhaps the question is how the changes noticed by policy-makers are interpreted and defined as a basis for developing a policy. To make another use of Goacher's (1988) ideas, in any political system, there are different tendencies on the basis of which things are noticed and interpreted as in need or not of being modified or made official.

The definition of this need may also vary according to the politicians' political preconceptions. And these will influence the policy in itself and be reflected on the way in which a policy will be developed. So, what may be defined as an issue to be discussed and developed within the legal area (and consequentially worthy of developing policies) by a certain political tendency, may not be seen as the same by another.

These different interpretations result in a process of negotiation among politicians as representatives of sometimes divergent political forces acting in the political setting. This may result in the formulation of a policy completely different from the interests of the demands that originated it.

Most authors seem to agree that rarely will a policy formulated express a consensus view of the different parts involved in the process. Offe (1976) states that:

... policy development cannot be fully explained by the needs, interests and demands alone, ... the process of the conversions of 'demands' into 'policies' is always refracted and mediated through the internal structures of the political system, which is what determines whether or not 'needs' are acknowledged as themes worthy of treatment. (In: McNay & Ozga, 1985, p. 93)

Influencing Aspects

The way in which demands are interpreted and prioritised as "policy-formulating factors" is related to a number of aspects, given the inner dynamics mentioned above. Among these aspects, three seem to be more closely related to the initiation (or not) of policy formulation: ideological, resources and strength of the policy to be formulated.

The **ideological**¹⁰ aspect influences whether and how policy will be formulated. When formulated, it generates at least two possibilities for the formulation of policy. One is to develop a reform policy aiming at modifying the current policies in practice. But the core principles underlying them remain basically the same.

An example of this situation can be extracted from the reports of the headteachers of the State ordinary schools, who were interviewed during the data-collection. Some of the subjects mentioned that the State government was about to implement an educational policy in line with the one that was being implemented by the Municipal government in the Municipal ordinary schools.

The policy itself was being welcomed in the Municipal ordinary schools: the Municipal government was carefully resourceful and heavily investing in training and In-set courses to implement it. Such policy (called "Bloco Único", see Appendix 7 for details) involves profound changes in attitude and in traditional ways of viewing education, for two reasons. Firstly, because it implies the end of the repetition of the academic year. Secondly, because of the adoption of a child-centred educational approach based on Piagetian constructivism.

¹⁰ Ideology is adopted here in terms of "attempted legitimation of particular group interest, both to the members of that group and to outsiders, while bearing in mind that this group may be dominant or subordinate, aspiring or established." (Salter, B. and Tapper, T., 1981, p.53). In the researcher's opinion, this definition of ideology makes it possible to include, among other things, the use of discursive practices as a means of legitimation and perpetuation of the established by the ruling groups, or as a means of construction of new beliefs and set of values to radically modify the established situation, if applied by groups aspiring to power.

To the State schools' headteachers such policy would not work out successfully because the State government had been expressing a lack of commitment to the implementation of its policies in general. Policies issued at the State level had not been properly supported in any way (financial, material or personal) for the last 10 years or so. Thus, to them such a step would not constitute any real change in terms of its practicability. It would represent another meaningless policy, since the underlying changes of value and attitudes expected would not happen without a clear investment and consistent prioritization of its goals.

The other possibility generated by influences caused by ideological aspects is the development of a transformative policy aimed at changing the current policies in a more radical way. In this case, their core principles are revised and changes are more profound in that the policies formulated can follow a quite distinct direction.

The same example can be given for this situation, this time quoting the implementation of the "Bloco Único" policy at the Municipal government level and its ordinary schools. In this case, the profound changes in attitude and in the philosophy of the educational system as a whole have been apparently effective, given the satisfied way in which most of the headteachers of the Municipal System referred to such a major change during their interviews.

It follows that the difference between a reformist and a more radical policy is that the former is likely to provide small or no modifications in the existing situation, without touching the philosophical/ideological trends underlying them. The latter results in a new view of the principles underlying the current policy and brings about changes in the established status-quo of a certain situation.

The **resources** aspect influences formulation in that it involves the setting of priorities and is an indicator of the implications of the implementation of a policy. A projection of resources is made in order to try to predict the feasibility of the policy to be implemented or to accommodate the priorities of the policy programme in an attempt to overcome its possible obstacles.

However, there may be problems when choosing the criteria for selecting the priorities. For instance, the criteria upon which to prioritize the allocation of resources might range from economic aspects, to effectiveness to the original social demands that may have "triggered off" the formulation of the policy. In the case of the implementation of the educational programme "Bloco Único" by the State Secretary of Education, it sounded clear from the

interviews that resources are not being released in general for projects that should already be being funded, let alone the ones which are about to be implemented.

Unlike the State, the implementation of the same programme by the Municipal Secretary of Education has been reported by most subjects as being taken as a priority for the past 2 years, and resources have been released to meet such priorities. The general consequences have been the more optimistic reports from the headteachers of the Municipal educational System.

The third aspect concerns the strength, or **coherence of the policy** being formulated. It expresses the possible ways in which the policy will be formulated so as to ensure satisfaction of the different interests involved and at the same time clarity of statements to be followed. Will the policy formulated in the form of law be able to reflect the day-to-day demands or will it reflect the political tendencies of policy makers? Is the policy being formulated in a way so as to enable effective implementation or is it simply a product of a political propaganda?

This is partly related to the way in which a certain policy to be formulated is legitimated. If legitimacy proves consistent and convincing to the point of having a good level of acceptance, the questions above will probably not be answered before implementation takes place and generates results.

The examples already given for analysis can be, once more, enlightening. The educational values and philosophy implied in the "Bloco Único" programme clearly reflect an ideological perspective, rather than an actual social demand. However, in the Municipal case, it seems that the legitimation procedures worked out accordingly, provoking positive results in terms of general acceptance, basically because of the resourcing and professional support that have been provided on a more consistent basis.

On the other hand, the State System has fallen into disrepute, as a result of a general lack of consistency in actions and political commitment (as interpreted by the subjects interviewed). These factors alone seem to have generated a previous lack of willingness of schools to face any new programme announced with a wish to help even its official proposal by the State.

Nevertheless, it is a task for the policy makers to be attentive to the everyday demands and develop related policies. Examples like the ones provided above make one wonder about the extent to which policy makers effectively represent, or are able to attend to or notice, all

the demands that are already provoking changes or are becoming relevant enough to consider the development of popular (as opposed to private interest-focused) policies.

Policy Implementation

According to Hogwood & Gunn (1984), studies about implementation of policy did not receive significant attention from researchers until the beginning of the 70's. Until then, implementation seems to have been more easily believed to be a non-problematic aspect of policy. It was with the attempts to analyse why some social welfare programmes in the USA in the early 70's failed to attain their objectives that the study of implementation gained special attention.

Despite divergences among authors as to whether implementation should constitute a branch of study in itself as part of policy process studies or not, most studies acknowledge that implementation may run into some problems which raise questions one should be aware of.

Influencing Aspects

One problem might be the **line of action** by which the policy is implemented. This relates to aspects such as enforcing the policy or promoting participation of the ones affected by the policy in order to implement it in a more democratic way.

Both lines can bring about difficulties, like a resistance to change, for example, which raise the issue of how important it is to consider the environment and context into which a policy is to be implemented. Lovenduski (1989) provides a good account about this issue in his study about implementation of British equal opportunity policies in the eighties.

To him, one of the basic factors for a successful implementation is linked to some political cultural characteristics of the environment where the need for formulating and implementing a policy is becoming an issue of relevance. In the British case, popular discourse on rights is unusual and so is the willingness to use laws for these purposes in a more assertive way (p. 10).

The difficulties in enforcing a policy seem obvious. The policy might well be implemented, if government is powerful enough to assure it without any discussion. But it may not be welcomed by everybody. Not to mention the ethical reasons implied in an enforcingly powerful action.

If a more participative line is adopted, there may still be some problems. As Child (1986) puts it when considering implementation of changes in organisations:

...Where there is ... total agreement on how to proceed ... participation may well be dismissed as a waste of time ... or ...where there is an inflexible opposition to a proposed change based on a fundamental disagreement with the aims of its promoters, consultation and participation are likely to be used simply as opportunities for obstructing implementation (p. 282)

These comments suggest that resistance is quite likely to occur, despite precautions. The Brazilian National Congress is a good example: it is well known in Brazil for its historical postponements and obstructions in its law-making processes.

Saviani (1987), in a study about the role of the National Congress in educational legislation shows it expressly when describing the already mentioned process of formulation of the first Brazilian Constitutional Law of Directives and Bases of Education (in more details in Chapter 5).

This Law (known as 4024/61) took 13 years between the beginning of its formulation (1947) and its final approval by the Congress (in 1961). As a result, this Law never had any significant implementation, and was soon after replaced by two other major Laws (in 1968 and in 1971), promoted by the military regime that took over the government in 1964.

Therefore, even aspects such as **participation and interests involved** need to be considered so as to open the possibility of adaptations during the process of implementation of policies.

The comments above also suggest the need for **flexibility** in bargaining, negotiations and compromises so as to ensure satisfaction of as great a number of parts concerned as possible.

And yet, total consensus cannot be guaranteed. Weatherley & Lipsky (1977) say it clearly when presenting their study on integration in Massachusetts. They point out that in adapting their practice to the new policy, personnel involved tend to develop certain strategies and mechanisms to compensate for difficulties found.

If, for instance, the training of personnel involved was not clear or in accordance with the main ideas underlying the new policy to be implemented, it is possible that it will be boycotted. As an example of this, we can again return to the Municipal and State educational Systems' implementation of the "Bloco Único".

In the Municipal case, the level of acceptance was reasonable among the schools. Whatever the possible divergences, no headteacher denied in the interviews that training and support was being offered for the purposes of the implementation of that policy.

In the State case, a clear willingness to sabotage any possible attempt to implement such a programme was implicit in the words of most of the headteachers of the State educational System, whenever they referred to the mentioned programme.

Another important aspect of implementation that might be a problem is the **time** required for a policy to be implemented. As Child (1986) suggests, it normally is a long process and the adaptations and negotiations that take place during the process may make it even longer.

Time spent in disseminating information and promoting discussions and meetings needs to be considered, at least the first time a change or a new policy is being implemented. It is my belief that the more an issue involving change is discussed and informed or disseminated among the parts involved, the lesser the risk of subverting the coping mechanisms applied when changes occur into strategies for avoiding changes.

These issues draw attention to the importance of **monitoring and evaluating** the process of implementation. Have the discussions, training, and information been sufficiently shared or passed on to ensure an effective implementation? Is there a common language going on among people involved in the changes programmed? What needs to be changed, modified or adapted from the initial purpose? Who will participate in this reformulation and how?

The process of monitoring and evaluating can be crucial if implementation is to take place effectively. But again, flexibility and adaptability is fundamental and should be seen more as a means of improving policy, rather than as an indication of failure.

In addition, monitoring and evaluating should not only to be done by the policy makers but also by the people to whom the policies are intended. This involves a great degree of awareness and consciousness of the issues, which relates to a good degree of information, discussion and debate.

The issues presented above are not exhaustive. Nonetheless, for the points taken as the focus of this study, that is, *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation", they provide a good ground on the basis of which to understand when, in the Brazilian context

of educational policy-making, *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" are most likely to occur, as discussed in the next sections.

Mind the Gaps !

Policy implementation is part of a political process involving the different interests of different social sectors. The inner dynamics implied in this process are something to be seen as positive. It can mean the possibility of progressing and improving the sources of a better life-standard.

In this sense, there is no point in talking about failure or success in implementation, as Hogwood (1991, chap.7) does. He lists some few reasons why implementation may fail: lack of availability of resources used as a reason for not implementing a policy; actual resource constraints; delays in implementation; failure by authorities to make sure the policy is being implemented; powerless government; lack of information in the implementing institutions; inadequate communication among implementing institutions; political opposition; forceful implementation; and lack of clarity of objectives of policy. The cited aspects, although relevant, do not necessarily imply a failure. Once conceived, every policy, even if not implemented, will sooner or later bear effects on at least those to whom it was intended to affect .

It would, therefore, make more sense to talk about differences in policies as intended and/or stated in legal texts and as observed in practice and the *gaps* derived from the two. But what are *gaps* ?

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (1988 edition) defines *gap*, among other things, as an *unfilled space; interval; wide separation (of ideas, etc)* (p.354). Its paperback edition (1988) defines it in terms of: 1. *a break or opening in something continuous...* 2. *an unfilled space or interval...* 3. *something lacking...* and 4. *a wide difference in ideas.* (p.330).

In the Roget's Thesaurus of English Words & Phrases (1987), *gaps* come associated with *descontinuity: interrupted sequence* (p. 49). Among the terms related to this meaning are *lack of continuity, discontinuation, disconnection, unevenness, interruption, lacuna, incoherence* (p. 49).

All the terms are somehow related. They imply a certain distance between an initial situation and another, something that might have been initiated but not (momentarily or constantly) completed.

In this sense, *gaps* would not necessarily prevent policies from being implemented or put into practice. As said above, the incompleteness can be momentary or constant. When applied to the formulation and implementation of policies, once taken into consideration the width of the contexts where they can be verified, *gaps* can be considered useful indicators of the need to formulate or reformulate directives and priorities, accommodating and adjusting such directives and priorities to the broader context from which they originated, in a continuous process of implementation and re-shaping of policy (Hogwood, 1991, Chap. 7).

A Brazilian example of *gap*

Since 1973 there has been in Brazil a central concern with implementing integration, expressed at all levels of education policy-making: Federal, State and Municipal. This concern has made possible the formulation of a series of policies at these levels, regarding the integration of disabled children. However, this integration can assume different connotations and practical meanings when and if translated into practice in their education systems.

An example of the above can be taken from the 1989 National Meetings of September and October, promoted by the Ministry of Education and three of its Secretaries of Education: the Secretary of Special Education (SESPE), the Secretary of Basic Education (SEB) and the Secretary of Secondary Education (SESG).

At this meeting representatives for teachers from almost all the 26 Brazilian States were present. Its main purpose was to set up the basic lines of educational action to be taken regarding disabled children in the ordinary system in the light of the principle of integration. Among the general outcomes of the meeting, there was a consensus for integrating "exceptional"¹¹ children. The minimal conditions for supporting integration, accepted in common agreement by the audience as essential, are summarized as follows:

1. integration should be defined;
2. population should be informed;

¹¹Term kept in the original as used in the resulting documents Subsídios para o Plano Nacional de Educação (1989), Brazil MEC/SESPE/SEB/SESG.

3. teachers should be trained;
4. special education should be included in teachers' academic core curriculum in graduation courses;
5. governmental (at Federal, State and Municipal levels) support should be constantly given;
6. technical support from specialists and opportunity for constant discussion and revision of plans should be made available.

Four years later (1992), discussions were still taking place in the States separately and in an uncoordinated way. These discussions referred to issues such as to if and how to provide as much information as possible to most sectors of society, educate the children and define integration, to name a few of the points discussed. In other words, there was no implementation of the points highlighted as conditional by the professionals who were present at those meetings for their support to integration to occur.

As mentioned in chapter 1, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" seem to be typical of Brazilian policies. Would this lack of implementation mean that there is no means of undertaking policy analysis in the Brazilian example? It does not seem the case. As suggested by some authors (Saviani, 1987; Beltrão, 1984), this has been used as a political strategy a number of times, and has served different political groups in power on occasion.

This is not to say that there has been no progress in the legislative level towards the formulation of directives for integration as a national target and belief. At the Federal administrative and political level, the new Constitution approved in 1988 translated into legal terms some issues that had for a long time been struggled for (for example, criminal penalties against any discrimination towards disabled people and compulsory schooling being legally required for them, preferably within the ordinary educational system).

At the States level the Secretaries of Education have issued Directives and Circulars containing practical suggestions and informing schools of the new principles to be followed. Their State Constitutional Code also expresses and follows the basic lines of the Federal Constitution.

At the Municipal level, the dissemination of the principle of integration has reached the professional categories involved, whose interest in specialization and follow-up courses seem to be growing. The Organic Laws of the Municipalities (see Glossary for explanation) are also in agreement with the States and Federal Constitutions, to which the Municipalities are expected to oblige.

There have also been isolated examples of effective integrative practices in some individual schools of the Private and Official Networks. Knowledgeable or not of the legal principles, directives and actions underlying special education and integration, these schools express a large commitment to integrating disabled children and have put a lot of their efforts and their possible resources into it.

However, the coordination of an integrative educational provision as a national project involving collaboration between and within the three political-administrative levels and the school level, or even among each of these levels in relation to the others is still an isolated phenomenon.

Such lack of collaboration could be linked to the prescriptiveness which is characteristic of the Brazilian political system. This prescriptiveness, in policy analysis terms, is commonly found in *top-down* models (for further details on this subject, see Ham & Hill, 1984) of policy-making.

Top-down models are, in turn, frequently found in political regimes with a centralised power structure. In addition, such policy-making models are, as compared to other models, more likely to strengthen the national demands at the expense of overlooking the local demands, thus widening the distance between a uniform, nationally-oriented policy and a varied, locally-based practice.

Top-down models of policy-making work as if based on the belief that the mere formulation of legislation will be sufficient to ensure its implementation (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). In this way, the higher the divergence of interests regarding the *top* and the *down* levels, and the stronger the focus of the policy is on the central, national interests, the larger is the *gap* between what is prescribed and what is observable. As such, the more likely that context will be to have policies which are "over-formulated" and "under-implemented".

In sum, the striking factor noted from the points observed in the three administrative levels is a discrepancy between the intentions as stated and the resulting outcomes. Despite the general spoken willingness to provide for disabled children within an integrative perspective, the actual practices seem to contradict the discourses used as background for these practices. Examples like this are not seldom in Brazil and have led me to observe the *gaps* characterizing the process of formulation and implementation of policies for integration.

Gaps, Over-Formulation and Under-Implementation

Thus, *gaps* which are not taken as indicators of the need for policy-revision, which are unnoticed or taken for granted as, for example, part of a cultural characteristic of a certain society might prevent implementation from happening. Typical examples of such *gaps* can be found in societies which limit themselves to formulating policies without a deeper consideration of their own realities and a planning of their own priorities. These societies might end up with an excessive number of formulated policies (which I am naming "over-formulation") and an insufficient number of them being actually put into practice (which I am referring to as "under-implementation").

One way of identifying and distinguishing *gaps* in integration policies and consequently of finding out whether or not they incur in "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" is to analyse documents from primary and secondary sources regarding the legislation issued on the subject. Another and supplementary way is to interview the subjects who are related to the policies concerned, either as the policy-makers or the policy-"sufferers". An interpretative method of analysis can then be applied, from which the discourse or implying set of ideas characterizing such documents and verbal statements can be extracted. In this study, both ways described above will be utilised.

As a means of supplementing the documentary analyses on which the discursive profiles extracted will be based and possible *gaps* identified and distinguished, and since the focus of the research lies in the Brazilian context, the interviews and questionnaires designed in this study will centre attention on finding out what Brazilian headteachers think integration is, what school-policies they develop regarding integration and how they set about implementing it. Headteachers constitute an intermediate type of subject: they are both policy-makers (in the sense of being expected to comply with legislation and implement it) and policy-"sufferers" (in the sense of representing the school, a setting immediately affected by integration policies).

The reason for carrying out such an investigation is the phenomena of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" described above, seemingly typical of countries like Brazil and contexts like Vitoria, the State capital chosen for this research to take place. This seems even truer in the case of policies developed more in order to correspond to circumstantial interests (be they external and international or internal and national) than to actual governmental priorities and environmental demands.

Integration and special education policies can be included in such cases. On one hand, legislation about them have worked so far more as a means to legitimate actions that have already been attempted for some time by the private sector (eg. private schools, special schools, associations of parents of *exceptional* children), than for actual reasons of political commitment on the part of policy-makers. Pressure by the private sector has been exercised in the sense of officially establishing the practices that were already being attempted by its agencies.

There is no denying that initiatives taken by the private sector have played a significant role in the development of practical contributions to the history of special education. Such initiatives have also influenced the integrationist movement in terms of supporting it or even taking a lead on pro-integrationist campaigns and on the dissemination of information. However, the long-term lack of governmental initiatives on the matter and tradition of reacting to pressure groups, rather than acting by itself and take the lead in establishing national priorities, have left the monopoly of special education to the hands of private initiative only.

A lot has been left out in terms of execution and coordination of actions, and in opportunities for diversification of practices at an earlier stage of special education history. Such historical orientation has mainly followed one line of thought, usually the thoughts of those personally interested in the matter, who would have the best intentions but not necessarily enough knowledge to make the best decisions.

The international setting has also influenced the development of policies for integration and special education. Like many developing countries, Brazil has not been able to exercise its political autonomy completely and its decisions have been influenced a great deal by what was happening in the international context. The reasons for that being several factors which range from economic dependency to simple political vanity or convenience, as shown in chapter 5.

Therefore, it seemed relevant to investigate if the same has really been applied to the area of policy for special education in Brazil, since integration has been a designated priority area since 1973, and a lot of investment has been put into professional specialisation as a means of implementing the plans outlined for integration. Despite these measures, only at the present moment (July 1994) integration is beginning to be talked about in a more widespread way, and the scarce practices observed still seem to be in the hands of private initiatives whose approach is still, in many cases, within a charity and/or deficit model.

How can, then, this phenomenon of stating one intention and acting in a different way be characterized? Is it possible to define it as a common process of implementation of integration? Do the subjects involved in implementing integration perceive this phenomenon? What would they consider to be the effects of these disparities to the actual integration of disabled children into the ordinary educational system? What possible practical alternatives could be drawn in case they consider integration as practically ineffective as a result of these *gaps* ?

This thesis attempts to answer these questions. It seems possible to infer that *gaps* can be found in either a conceptual framework¹² (and also between conceptual frameworks) or in a practical situation (and also between practical situations related to a same issue). They can also be seen in the relationship between conceptual framework(s) and the correspondent practice(s)¹³ they might derive.

Thus, it could be said that *gaps* might be found between countries' legislations or between countries' practices. They might also be found, within each country, in the relationship between the legislation produced at their different legislative levels (Federal, State or Municipal) and the actual practices verified within institutions and organisations. In the latter case, such *gaps* can, in the dynamism of the policy process, serve as indicators of and/or generate the occurrence of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". Thus the need for identifying them.

In the next chapter attention will be given to the analysis of some issues on integration which constitute aspects to be taken into account when formulating and implementing policies for integrating disabled children. Such issues will, in chapters 5 and 7, be located in the Brazilian context and analysed in the light of the policy aspects presented in this chapter.

¹² In the specific context of this research, "conceptual framework" is being applied to signify the present special education legislative spheres around which the movements for or against integration, as observed in the countries being studied, rotate.

¹³ The "practices" preferred to relate to the actual integration as described in the countries' reports, as reported by the subjects interviewed and as observed and interpreted by myself from the legislation consulted.

CHAPTER 3 - INTEGRATION

Is it idealistic to suggest that we must insist on greater priority being given to meeting the needs of all children in all countries and that this vision must include children who are disadvantaged by lack of schooling, poverty, ill health, malnutrition and disability?
(P. Mittler, 1993, p.3)

Introduction

This chapter traces the main theoretical issues currently addressed in the integration debate which are relevant to the formulation and implementation of educational policies. It intends to show the reader that integration is a controversial subject, which generates controversial policies.

The above point is relevant because it suggests that integration policies might have *gaps* as well. Also, in the Brazilian case some of these *gaps* are of the type which characterises "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" at both legislative (illustrated and discussed in chapters 5 and 7) and practical (illustrated and discussed in chapters 8 and 9) levels.

As a starting point, the historical evolution of the education of those considered to be "in need" and the resulting movement in favour of their integration will be presented because most of the current issues on integration seem to be connected to the ways in which it has been interpreted and defined, which in turn relate to the contexts where integration became historically relevant.

The interpretations and definitions of such issues have mostly been provided by two main lines of thought: the humanitarian and sociological accounts (Cole, 1989, 1990). It will be shown that the integration movement can have its original "birth" located in the 1950s and late 1960s, during which there was a boost given to democratic principles. The development of both humanitarian and sociological perspectives of analysis of integration had their boost thereafter.

After reviewing the historical background the issues on integration as currently posed by both humanitarian and sociological accounts will be presented. The chapter finishes with a brief overview of the issues presented and a short discussion of how these issues relate to policy formulation and implementation.

Historical Aspects

In the historical evolution of special education, the movement towards integration has been basically the same in most countries. Up until the second half of the 19th century, there would be no talk of integration. From Hurt's (1988) account of children who

have been educated outside the mainstream system it becomes clear that disabled children of those times were initially regarded as vagrants or delinquents. They would be considered a threat to the social values and moral codes of the time. Workhouses and reformatories were the usual places where these children would be deposited.

From his account it is also understood that the growth of the medical sciences and the subsequent "discovery" of idiocy and imbecility helped separating delinquents from idiots, the latter of which could be regarded as having the potential to be recovered as morally good individuals within society. Although by this time there already was some differentiation between sensory and mental handicaps, provision for them would not yet be within an educational responsibility. As Wedell (1990) says, these establishments aimed *...more at training than at education, in the attempt to engage those concerned in some form of employment...* (p.18). And Hurt (1988) again complements this view:

Because their condition was not always diagnosed, understood, or provided for, workhouses, reformatory and industrial schools held an indeterminate number of mentally and physically handicapped children throughout the nineteenth century and later. (p. 92)

But as the medical sciences developed even more, some more specific categories were appearing. As Ryan & Thomas (1981) put it:

From the 1860s onwards, the collecting together of idiots in asylums made more possible the systematic study of different types and causes of idiocy. Interest grew in developmental causes and hereditary influences, and new conceptualisations of the differences between idiots (or mental defectives as they became known) and the rest of mankind were proposed. (p.86)

By the second half of the 19th century, thus, a shift of areas of domain was happening: from voluntary and charitable initiatives to health and social care. The potential educability of some of those children was being acknowledged. On the other hand, to distinguish the children who would from those who would not be able to be educated, trained or treated, a whole system of diagnosis, assessments and labelling procedures was developed. It appears that this scientific development laid down the origins of what Hegarty (1987) now calls a *handicap language*, which has *...helped in securing systematic provision for a considerable number of children whose needs had received only sporadic attention.* (p.31)

Sensory impairments would now be regarded separately from mental handicaps and in relation to each, more distinguished degrees would be discovered and some medical-pedagogical case studies would be reported in works by doctors like Itard and Sèguin. Nonetheless, Cole (1989) points out that *There remained much confusion about*

definitions of the degree of handicap... Limited ability was frequently confused with mental illness... (p. 21)

Regarding the integration of these children into the mainstream system, some concern would already be expressed in the second half of the 19th century. In the words of Cole (1989), *Integration was a topical issue and a consciously pursued aim (p.30)*, So, some few integration experiences would be attempted throughout some countries, but on the whole provision would still be made in segregated settings, basically because many boarding schools would still use, as again Cole (1989) expresses it, *...the voluntary residential institutions for severe cases and for the children from unsatisfactory home backgrounds. (p. 30)*

In addition, segregated institutions were strengthened after the 1860s by yet another relevant factor, namely, compulsory education. As Hegarty (1987) points out: *As universal education spread, the needs of those with more generalised difficulties in learning came into clearer view (p.12)*. Greater expectations would be made of schools, and such expectations

...had to be achieved with large classes and few resources... As the spread of compulsory education introduced more and more children who did not fit the mould... The net outcome was increased pressure for separated provision, whether through special classes in schools or through separate schools. (Hegarty, 1987, p.12)

Up to and around the first half of the 20th century, with the further development of medical research, and with the development of intelligence testing which helped further asserting the degree of educability a child would have, educational provision and a widespread use of categories of handicap became more frequently adopted. Educational provision, however, did not constitute priority and was still within separated boarding schools. As Heward & Lloyd-Smith (1990) remind us, some of the influencing factors for this being

...cost, social attitudes and educational understanding about educating these groups of children ...who were socially and politically unattractive. (p.24)

As a result of the World Wars, there occurred yet another expansion of special schools, because the ordinary ones

...were stretched to capacity with the post-war expansion. Both buildings and trained staff were in short supply. Classes were large and schools were not ...well placed to respond to the individual needs of pupils with difficulties. (Hegarty, 1987, p.13)

However, by this time integration was already becoming a more formal issue in some countries (e.g.: UK, USA). In others it took about 20 years longer for a more democratic education to become official concern to governments, as was the Brazilian case (Lin, 1987, p.261). Nonetheless, the underlying reasons for integration to become a concern in those countries are very similar and can therefore be taken from the British literature. Hegarty (1987) highlights two important factors that influenced the taking up of integration on a more official basis.

The first is the debate about comprehensive schools which broadened the general expectations about the ordinary schools. The schools would now be expected to provide for both the more and the less able. The second was the realisation of the fact that it was not only the disabled children who were being failed, but large percentages of the "normal" ones as well. The need for a general school reform was beginning to be strongly acknowledged.

Wedell (1990) provides us with some further factors. One was the development of research in two directions: the recognition that the use of categories was not so useful to the education of those children, and the recognition of the influence of environmental factors on their disabilities. This brings us to the idea of relativity of integration as a concept, further discussed later.

Another factor pointed out by Wedell (1990) and shared by Hegarty (1987), which influenced the integration movement significantly during the 1960s were the movements concerning the civil rights of the ethnic minorities in the USA. The campaigns and publicity mobilised in order to remove the restrictions imposed on such groups reached the minority group of the handicapped as well who, in the words of Hegarty (1987), *followed suit* (p.16). There was, thus, a growing acknowledgement of these children as having the same rights as any other human beings to participate in and contribute to society and have access to all facilities and provisions made to individuals in general.

There seems to be a general agreement among writers that these historical facts originated the current plea for integration, as well as the issues it implies. It seems therefore safe to say that the concrete movement for integration at a more formal and international level was born between the 1950s and the late 1960s.

As said above, there are two main ways in which such historical facts can be analysed and interpreted by authors: within humanitarian or sociological accounts. These accounts give rise to and influence the integration issues being presently debated at a theoretical level, which bring implications to the practice of integration. A brief

description of each account will be given next, followed by a brief discussion of other approaches they have inspired. Then, the actual issues on integration and the different ways they are interpreted will be discussed.

Humanitarian Account

The humanitarian account could be described as a general trend or set of beliefs which beginning was marked by a charitable ideology and the evolution of which up to the present days is marked by a shift into a human rights ideology (Roaf & Bines, 1989). Acquisition of knowledge about the facts concerned also plays a significant part in this account, and the matching of this knowledge with the human rights ideology will be reflected, in special education terms, in a strong concern for provision and a view of integration as a process through which to increase participation and achieve normalisation.

Oliver (1988) offers a neat description of the basic elements of the humanitarian account as it is currently characterised. As he states,

There are two major elements to this account: it is argued that policy decisions are rationally based on the collection of facts and that these decisions are underpinned by humanitarian values and the concern to do good and to resolve the problem once the facts are known. (p.14)

In special educational terms, he carries on, such an account

...can be detected in explanations in terms of the benefits that accrue to the disabled child... Current demands and moves towards integration are not seen to contradict this but are a consequence of gradually acquired knowledge that special schools may not always be the best or most appropriate place to educate children with disabilities. (p.18)

Therefore, values seem to be essential to the humanitarian account. And as values have been shown to change with History, the humanitarian account has inevitably changed its focus as well: from a charity to a rights one. Focusing on rights, the development of the principle of normalisation will be a significant factor concerning the way the humanitarian account approaches integration. It will be expressed in terms of the advocacy of the co-experience, in normal conditions, of the disabled and able bodied people, in the sense of facilitating their integration with themselves, with their families and with society. This principle of normalisation will be presented in more detail later.

Sociological Accounts

The sociological accounts for interpreting the movement towards integration also consider the importance of historical analysis. But the historical progression is taken as

a means of showing the underlying mechanisms that occurred in order for integration to take place and become a major issue.

Analysis on the basis of these accounts usually focuses on assumptions about vested and political interests (Tomlinson, 1981, 1982; Fulcher, 1989), power relationships and struggles (Booth, 1988; Fulcher, 1989; Barton & Tomlinson, 1986). In the same line of thought, Cohen & Cohen (1986) offer a precise definition of what they call a *conflict* sociological perspective:

The “conflict” sociological viewpoint emphasises the importance of critically examining the system of special education not so much in terms of meeting special needs in the most appropriate ways but in broader sociological and structuralist perspectives as serving to reproduce and perpetuate a particular social order. (p.xiv)

Barton (1988) distinguishes three types of sociological accounts of social policy and disability. One is the *social investment* account, the function of which is not just to do good, but also to ensure *social and political stability* (p.14).

A second type is, as in Cohen & Cohen’s (1986) description, also called *conflict account*, based on pluralist and Marxist theories. Both of them acknowledge the existence of divergent groups and interests exercising pressure for determining policies, but the Marxist-based account reduces these conflicts to a two classes conflict: workers and employers (p.15).

The third type is the *social control* account, which is also based on pluralist and Marxist theories. The pluralists

... limit the scope and intentions of social control to disruptive and disaffected groups. Marxists ...see the process of social control as much broader: ‘gentling the masses’, ‘pacification of the working class’ as well as ensuring social order and social reproduction (p. 15)

Other Approaches?

Humanitarian and sociological accounts have been effective in inspiring other authors’ thoughts and criticism, which in turn have generated alternative ways of viewing special education and integration.

Cole (1990), for example, questions the tendency of sociological accounts to emphasise theses of social control and vested interests (p.106). He argues that studies based on historical data show more support to a rather *liberal humanitarian view of the development of special education* (p.106).

Norwich (1990) argues that sociological accounts based on social attributions of power, besides being mostly related to *non-normative* categories of special educational needs (such as moderate, learning and behavioural difficulties), offer only one focus of analysis (p.62). He claims that the sociological argument that the *non-normative* categories imply value judgements could also be applied to other, more *normative* categories (p. 18). He defends a general systems framework, which enables the consideration of special needs in terms of different and inter-related human aspects: biological, sociological and psychological (p. 31 and 32).

The translation of this approach into the field of integration opens up the possibility for a *negotiated* separated education (that is, an option for segregation -or not- based on a clear decision about this being the most appropriate way of education, depending on the case) and for an educational provision where organised and multidisciplinary action becomes possible (p.71). The author recognises, however, that extra-cost requirements could be a limitation to this approach.

On the other hand, Tomlinson (1982) criticises the humanitarian account when she says that

The idea that the development of special education was solely a matter of 'doing good' and was civilised progress, can possibly be traced to eighteenth-century humanism and nineteenth-century Christian reformism. But humanitarianism can itself become an ideology, legitimating principles of social control within a society. (p. 7)

Oliver (1992) agrees with the exposure provided by sociological accounts about certain ideological aspects of the integration movement. However, he states that such accounts limit their debate to it, and so fail to take into account what he names the social creation of disability. In his proposal, he quotes himself and differentiates social creation from social construction in the following way:

The essential difference...centres on where the 'problem' is...located... The social constructionism view sees the problem as being located within the minds of able-bodied people, whether individually (prejudice) or collectively, through the manifestation of hostile social attitudes and the enactment of social policies based upon a tragic view of disability. The social creationist view, however, sees the problem as located within the institutionalised practices of society. (p.21)

It seems clear that the actual actions that have taken place legally and historically within special education and about integration have been influenced and shaped by both humanitarian and sociological accounts (Barton, 1988, p. 17). The way these influences are exercised will be presented below, throughout the arguments made by different authors regarding each of the following issues on integration.

Integration Issues

The principle of comprehensive schooling, the establishment of compulsory education, the development of research and the civil rights movement are factors that together have set the general context in which integration began to be officially addressed in many countries. As the movement developed through legal and formal actions, its main issues emerged on a more apparent level and the debates originated from them were expanded. It is relevant, therefore, to see what these issues are and what they consist of.

It is worth mentioning that the issues to be highlighted are in no way unconnected. There is no clear way to say exactly where one starts and the other ends. Therefore, the separation by themes provided hereafter should be seen as a mere way of providing a general visualisation of the issues during their presentation.

Integration - Rights and Principles

In the history of special education, a significant writer has been Wolfensberger (1972), who further developed the principle of *normalisation*. The term was defined as the offering of opportunities on a more equal basis to those people who had so far been considered "different", within a deficit connotation. The idea was to provide disabled people with as normal a life as possible within their communities. They should have as many resources and possibilities as possible to develop themselves to the full of their abilities and have access to an adequate life within their society.

In the words of Mikklesen (1978, in: Pereira, 1980):

Normalisation does not mean to turn the exceptional into normal, but to offer him conditions of life that are identical to what others receive. They must be accepted with their deficiencies, because it is only normal that any society has people with diverse deficiencies. At the same time, there is the need to teach deficient people to live with their deficiency. To teach them to live as normal a life as possible, in which they benefit from the services offered and from the existing opportunities of the society in which they live. (p. 2)

However patronising such principle can be considered today by some critics (Tomlinson, 1981, 1982; Fulcher, 1989; Barton, 1988; Barton & Tomlinson, 1984, 1986; Booth, 1981, 1988), the attempts to put such view into practice by most countries gave rise to practical issues which contributed to broadening the theoretical dimension of integration. Within this theoretical dimension, the principle of equal opportunity was developed.

This principle, when translated into education, implies that its aims shall be the same for all. Participation is the key-word (Hegarty, 1987; Booth, 1982). Individuals should

be able to take part in the educational process independently of any particular conditions of theirs, be such conditions to do with race, gender, religion, or capability. They should have equal conditions to compete for a better life and have equal opportunities for participation and integration in society.

A clear idea of integration within this scope is stressed in the ILEA Fish Report (1985):

... the important human needs are common to all and of greater significance than the special needs associated with disabilities and difficulties. Unless and until this is recognised and accepted, those children and young people with special needs will continue to be marginalised, and efforts to achieve their integration into society will tend to remain limited. (p.6, 1.1.30)

Hegarty (1987) supports this view and goes further when linking integration to two other general rights, besides the right to participate in society, namely: the *right to education* and the *right to equality of educational opportunity* (p.60). In his view, these two principles also lead to integration because they imply, respectively, attendance of children at school (p.60) and *enhanced level of educational provision*, which *...must be defined... in terms of a common educational system* (p.61).

In agreement with this view, Labregère (1990) points out that the assumption of the principle of equal opportunities helps to place special education within an educational perspective, and therefore to be seen as a right in itself. As such, provision must be available whenever any extra help is needed for educating children, be this help temporary or permanent. (p. 25)

Booth (1988) refers instead to the principle of *equality of value*, and goes on to distinguish *equality of value* from the principle of equality of opportunity. As he says:

... a rhetorical commitment for equality in general and equality of opportunity in particular can be an effective way of obscuring one's support for an inequitable society. ...the rhetoric of integration has served segregative processes in a similar way...formulation of a principle of equality of value should point up ...the nature of inequalities and devaluations in our schools and in society and certainly would not wish to be linked to a notion of equality of opportunity. As social policy, equality of opportunity is one of the main ideological vehicles for hiding the economic means whereby inequalities are generated. (p.117)

The explanation he gives for equality of opportunities as an ideological means of promoting inequality lies on the assumption that *...societies and schools provide arenas for competing interests.... Therefore, the advancement of the participation of one group... will inevitably be ...at the expense of the re-evaluation of another. (p.117)*

In Booth's view, promoting change and effective integration implies adopting a critical approach in which curriculum and social relations are constantly challenged. Curriculum is to be seen within a comprehensive scope whereby a wide range of subjects can be offered to all, with attention being paid to individual needs. This requires flexibility for possible adjustments in teaching methods and in the pedagogical structure. A crucial aspect of an actually integrative practice will be the commitment of teachers and professionals to the revision of the power conferred to them by their own professional skills in our hierarchical society.

In agreement with his view, Fulcher (1989) believes that the current discussions about integrating disabled children do not really refer to integration. Instead, they hide an underlying discourse of professionalism.

Expertise is then called on to help complete the task of integration in the mainstream schools, at the expense of placing in special settings, labelling and/or marginalizing the ones who really cannot be sufficiently trained (p. 56). According to Fulcher, professionalism and specialisation maintain special education within the scope of disability, and not within the scope of pedagogy, as it should be in her view. As she says:

The extensive and extending employment of professionals to regulate those called disabled in a range of welfare state apparatuses, including educational apparatuses, also benefits professionals, rather than those called disabled. Practices which reinforce professionalism, the master strategy in these practices, are the use of sub-categories of disability and its synonyms. In educational arenas, this includes an extensive range of non-normative categories: it includes the notion of special educational needs. (p. 43)

Tomlinson (1982) also addresses this professionalism issue. In her view,

The notion that a variety of professional groups are solely engaged in 'doing good' to the children they refer, assess, place and teach in special education is something of a rationalisation. Professionals and practitioners have vested interests in the expansion and development of special education. (p.5)

However, there are the authors who defend the need for professional expertise and training, if integration is to happen effectively (Fish, 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990; Hegarty, 1986, 1987; Wedell, 1990; Labregère, 1990; Warnock, 1978; Goacher et al, 1988).

For example, Goacher et al (1988), referring to the relevance of training in order for the implementation of policies on integration to take place effectively, state that

While mainstream placement clearly has its political, psychological and social importance, it will, in the end, be the quality of the education provided that will allow the proper judgement of integration ... Training plays a crucial role in the implementation of any new policy... (p. 82)

These authors place an emphasis on provision within an interactive perspective, which takes into account possible changes in the environment as well as in the disabled child. Relativity will play an important role here, and these aspects will be discussed later.

One common point seems to be possible to be extracted from the writers concerned with rights and principles: the importance of expressing a commitment to integration. It is because such commitment has been strongly expressed by different authors that the questions about rights and principles have become one of the major issues regarding integration.

Integration - Aim/Concept or Means/Process?

Another issue refers to what could be called a double scope of integration: is it an aim or concept in itself, or is it a means or a process through which to achieve something else?

As Cohen & Cohen (1987) observe:

... 'integration' is a concept most usually applied to the bringing of handicapped pupils from segregated special schools into ordinary schools. Increasingly, proponents of integration... have defined it as the process of developing the participation of children and young people in their communities... (p.xvi)

Hegarty (1987) offers a similar distinction:

... focus on integration has arisen out of the special school context: certain children are educated away from their peers... and debate has centred on returning them to ordinary schools... (p. 9)

He points out some problems against this kind of definition and goes on to say that it would be better to speak of participation instead of integration because participation incorporates the proper concern, that is, the extent (or lack) of participation of children with difficulties in ... *the educational provision available for all pupils in the ordinary school.* (p. 10)

As an aim or concept, integration tends to focus more on the educational perspective and its provisional aspects. However, as Hegarty (1987) warns, this educational focus does not necessarily take into account possible changes to be made in the educational system, and therefore does not see this change as part of the provision to be made as well. Such focus, as it has been approached in practice,

...directs attention to the pupil as someone who needs to be integrated rather than to the school which may have to change its practice before an appropriate education can be offered to that pupil. (Hegarty, 1987, p.9)

Dessent (1987-88) expresses a similar viewpoint about such an emphasis on provision. He implies that focusing too much on provision characterises what he calls the *integration myth*, which *...involves the view that integration should be the aim for children with special needs in order for them to be educated...* (p. 280). In his view, this is a myth because for the majority of disabled children, integration is an inappropriate term, since it implies integrating children who had already been separated from the ordinary system. In this sense, it implies integrating children who are fundamentally different (p. 280).

As a means or a process, integration tends to focus more on a systemic perspective where education in the mainstream school is one step of a more general principle in which participation is a central notion. The definition usually accepted for integration is the one provided by Booth (1981), where integration is seen:

...as a process of increasing children's participation in the educational and social life of comprehensive primary and secondary schools. (p. 289)

In this way, as Cohen & Cohen (1986) express, it becomes possible to apply integration

...not just to handicapped children but to all pupils who have needs and interests to which schools do not respond... [because] Integration... is about social engineering, about changing societal values via the education system. (p. xvi)

Therefore, this notion of integration as a means or process is more linked to ideological and valorative aspects. As Dessent (1987-88) specifies:

meeting special needs within mainstream schools involves ...questions and decisions concerning values and attitudes, rather than 'how' questions... (p. 281)

However, as Norwich (1990) points out,

The idea of integration as a process is similar to the idea... of integration being a means to an end. Though both ideas enable a more dynamic view of the process of bringing people... into the mainstream of life... they leave open the crucial question of what are the ends of integration... (p.55), which ...depends on larger questions about the aims of education within the context of individual differences. (p.56)

Be integration taken as an aim or concept or as a means or process, no author seems to deny the political dimension that integration implies in the process of its

implementation. From deciding the basic assumption which will give the desired direction to integration, to deciding how best to allocate resources or modify the curriculum, to give just some examples, there are a number of apparently unnoticeable but relevant processes going on.

For as Goacher et al (1988) say when studying the implementation of the 1981 Act, which, in the view of many, is considered one of the main integrationist legal mechanisms in the UK:

Implementation...is not a simple linear process whereby policy statements, in the form of legislation, emanate from the top of a hierarchical system and are implemented in a systematic way by organisations set up for the purpose. This is partly due to the fact that all policies are, in the end, implemented by individuals and those individuals will interpret them in their own idiosyncratic ways. (p.19)

Integration - Segregation, Desegregation and Non-Segregation

Concerns about integration as being an aim or a means involve another discussion: the direction in which integration is defined. Does it imply educating disabled children in the ordinary schools, in special schools, or in both systems?

As seen before, one of the results of the introduction of compulsory education was the demand for ordinary schools to provide education to a larger proportion of children who would otherwise have been placed in segregated settings. This has been verified in a number of countries. It also brought as consequence the realisation that disabled children would be part of that larger proportion (Daunt, 1991; Labregère, 1990; Fish, 1990).

It follows that many countries have initiated legal procedures to regulate the situation in order to accommodate their children within their regular educational systems. Under the idea that children should be placed, as far as possible, within the mainstream of education (an example of this, expressed in the UK movement for integration, is in the Warnock Report, 1978), provisions were initiated in the sense of bringing those who were being segregated back into the ordinary educational system, with the exception of those considered more profoundly disabled. This process of desegregating these children became associated with integrating them.

However, some authors have claimed that the question is not just to re-integrate pupils who have been segregated, but also to prevent those who attend to ordinary schools already, but who could be considered in special need, from being segregated (Booth, 1988; Dessent, 1987-88). These writers are usually advocates of the principle of comprehensive schooling.

This principle implies the ordinary, regular educational system being able to offer quality education for all, regardless of individual characteristics of people. It also implies the offering of a curriculum which is at the same time the same for all in terms of the range of subjects offered but the teaching of which takes individual differences into account and therefore is flexible enough to be adapted to such differences without missing out in educational quality.

Tomlinson (1986) provides a good summary of the establishment of comprehensive education during the 1970s, when

A common school, underpinned by egalitarian ideologies and attended by middle- and working-class children, was envisaged... One dilemma which was slowly realised during the 1970s was that, if selection by ability was inadmissible, so was selection by disability or inability. The 100-year-old principle of segregation gave way to notions of integration and comprehensive schools were expected to incorporate many nonconformist and troublesome children who would previously have been candidates of exclusion. (p. 265)

It is out of this theoretical context that Dessent (1987-88) proposes the use of the term *non-segregation* (p.280) as opposed to integration because the latter ...*implies that the children are first separate, ... implies some prior conceptual or actual segregation of the children.* (p.280). As a defender of the comprehensive school, Dessent (1987-88) points out that the term integration might incur in referring only to desegregating those children who are already out of the ordinary system. These children, however, compose the minority of disabled children. The vast majority is within the ordinary system, and either at risk of being excluded or of not receiving the appropriate provision to their needs.

Hegarty (1987) also makes a distinction in relation to this issue and calls attention to aspects of provision. To him, concerns about integrating children who are already in school differ from concerns about integrating children who are in separate schools. The first concerns are related to changes in the school system and educational provision. The second concerns have more to do with movements towards desegregation, which in turn brings about implications to the special school system and the reform of the general educational system (p.48-49).

As explained earlier, the above author places integration within a moral issue linked to three basic rights (*to education, to equality of educational opportunity and to participate in society* - p.60), and concludes that

Children with special needs have a right not merely to education but to an enhanced level of educational provision. ...Provision for these pupils...has to be conceived and delivered within a comprehensive

framework that takes account of the normal educational provision made for all pupils. (p. 61)

As a general result of these discussions, the linking of integration with comprehensives has generated arguments that oppose ordinary to special schools and vice-versa. Few writers who defend a comprehensive school find room for any form of segregated provision. This causes some animosity from professionals who defend segregated special education towards those who defend comprehensive schools and integration.

Norwich (1990) expresses caution in relation to this matter when he mentions the fears of some parents of taking a firmer position in favour of integration. As he says, *for many parents, integration could be seen as removing provision for suspect motives (p.57)*. To him integration should not need to mean the end of special schooling: there are those who prefer a specialised provision, among whom professionals, parents and children are included. He concludes that

What some parents are demanding is a genuine choice which depends on there being some alternatives and implies that what is chosen may not be the education in ordinary schools. (p. 58)

Special Needs - Concepts, Language, Categories and Labels

In the UK, a significant document which has opened up the integration movement at a more official and legislative level has been the Warnock Report (1978). Such report is now recognised as a significant document which also contributed, in many aspects, to the organisation of the international pro integration movement. Among the contributions is the location of discussions on integration within an educational perspective.

The report is nowadays known as one of the basic documents which laid down the theoretical basis of much of the current integration movement in Europe (Daunt, 1991; Wedell, 1990). Because of such relevance acquired by the report, it is worthwhile having a closer look at it.

Among the major consequences promoted by the Report in the integration movement are:

- 1) the shift of perspective of special education from a system seen as separated from general education to a system which is now seen as part of the general education (Labrègere, 1990);
- 2) as part of the general education, an emphasis is given to provision (Wedell, 1990; Labrègere, 1990), and;
- 3) an assumption that the concept of *need* is something relative (Daunt, 1991; Wedell, 1990; Norwich, 1990) to two factors. First, to the actual difficulty presented by the

child at any time of its schooling process and to the fact that this difficulty can be temporary or continuous. Second, to the environment where the child is, which can also cause, or affect *need* .

The following quotation exemplifies this relativity expressed in the Warnock Report (1978) which states that special educational needs should be considered

in relation to everything about him [the child] his abilities as well as disabilities - indeed all the factors which have a bearing on his educational progress. (3.6).

At a philosophical level, the consequences of such assumptions imply the adoption of a new language in and from which special education assumes a new perspective. Such language refers to the introduction of the concept of *needs*. As Labregère (1990) demonstrates, by establishing the term "special educational needs", the focus of special education is shifted from a within-individual approach (deficit model) to an environmental one, in which the environment is perceived as one of the factors promoting a depreciating difference. (P. 26)

To Labregère (1990), at the practical level this terminology enables one to shift the focus of questions from an individual-based approach to a system-based one. Questions then emerge such as: What can the system do? or, What must be changed in it? and What needs to be provided so as to ensure these children get an education? (p. 24)

Fish (1988) expresses agreement to this when concentrating the focus of his analysis of special education within the consideration of a carefully well planned reform of the educational system with an extended range of provision so as to meet the special needs of the children.

Booth (1992, p.3) presents a different view about the term when, for instance, he writes in the introductory chapter:

We avoid talking of 'children with special needs' because it misleadingly implies a dividing line between ordinary and extraordinary, or special, students and curricula

If, on one hand, an approach based on education, provision and a new language helps moving away from a deficit model, it does not ensure, on the other hand, the end or solution of old dilemmas like the labelling process and its derived implications. The very consideration of the needs in order to determine the best provision implies the knowledge of the kinds of needs to which proper provision is to be made, which at the core still implies categorising.

However, categorisation should not necessarily be seen as leading to a negative outcome. As suggested by Norwich (1990), the mere argument that categorisation promotes stigmatisation and may not give specificity in relation to what is the best help to be given to a child, although significant, does not, in itself, deny the relative value of some classification. As he observes,

The identification of child characteristics, both assets and deficits which are relevant to learning in an educational sphere, depends on what counts as worthwhile educational goals. (p. 15)

To him, categories can actually be helpful in developing an educational programme committed to meeting individual needs within a relative perspective in the sense of depending ...on an educational value framework and... arising ...out of complex causal interactions. (p.16). He argues for an approach which, despite requiring a need to categorising, is in fact positive. As he says,

In this orientation, an interactive approach requires general classification and categorisation as a basis for explanation, but of both child and environmental characteristics which contribute to learning difficulties. (p.16)

Booth (1988), once more, presents a different view of this issue. He seems to agree that integration of disabled children is a relative concept. But he points out that the relativity of its definition may contribute to the sustenance of delusive discussions about integration which in fact, in his view, only mask the real focus of discussion. To him, this focus should be placed on integration as a political process..., being it ...about the transfer of power. (p.101)

The frequent changeability in the categorisation of disabled children in the history of special education is seen as being no mere coincidence, each reflecting the results of the competition between groups with vested interests over making definitions of weaker groups and having the relevant say on categories and on decision-making processes (Cohen & Cohen, 1986, p.xii).

Tomlinson (1982), in the same line of thought as Booth, provides a summary of the above views when she writes that:

Needs are relative, historically, socially and politically. The important point is that some groups have the power to define the needs of others, and to decide what provision shall be made for these predetermined needs. The unproblematic acceptance of 'special need' in education rests upon the acceptance that there are foolproof assessment processes which will correctly diagnose and define the needs of children. ... The rhetoric of special needs may be humanitarian, but the practice is control and vested interests. (p. 75)



Fish (1985) differentiates between disabilities, difficulties and handicap. He states that *Handicaps are determined by society through its laws, norms and institutions and not by disabilities* (p.5) In this sense, a disability or a difficulty might not necessarily be unconditionally handicapping.

The degree to which situations are handicapping is determined by the community, its attitudes and its provision for individuals who form part of it (p. 5).

Such a view brings a crucial point back into perspective: the environmental aspects and its effects on education concerning all those involved in the educational process: students, educationalists, parents, policy-makers, specialists and so forth.

Perhaps the most interesting view is given by Oliver (1992). He proposes a *new view of integration* from the point of view of a disabled and active person himself. In his view, disabled people are the ones who should be speaking for themselves and fighting for the policies that they consider best suitable for them. Criticising some authors who refer to disabled people as people with disabilities, he argues:

We know that we do not just happen to have a disability or that we are people first; our disabilities are essential parts of self, to be affirmed and celebrated, not denied or relegated to an appendage; and as such, we demand to be called disabled people. (p.21)

Provision for Integration

The relativity of the notion of handicap brought about by the Warnock Report when introducing the term *special needs* linked up the idea of a continuum of provision to special education. As Wedell (1990) writes:

By stressing that the aims of education were the same for all children, and that the concept of handicap was relative, the [Warnock]Committee laid the basis for the integration of children with special educational needs... The continuum of special education had to be matched with a continuum of provision. (p.22)

The idea of a continuum of provision was first posed by Deno (1970), when proposing the idea of a *Cascade of Services*, which she describes as follows:

...the system serves as a diagnostic filter. The most specialised facilities are likely to be needed by the fewest children on a long term basis. (p. 235)

Claiming that her system could be applied to developing special educational services for all disabilities, she developed a gradation of services, from regular classes to *non-educational* (p.236) services, sub-divided into seven levels of provision in which the special teacher is a crucial part, for s/he acts as an *experimental scientist* (p.236),

whose ...*hypothesis-setting, hypothesis testing, theory building approach...* (p.236) provides the continuous on-going of the system.

Booth (1981), demystifying the idea that integration was occurring, uses a structure which is very similar to Deno's. He traces a *continuum of provision* (p. 289), the bottom of which, namely, hospital schools, is taken as an indicator of the occurrence of integration. In other words, the more integration was occurring, the less children would be provided for by the boarding services of the bottom of the continuum.

Booth's idea of a continuum, although synonymous to placement (see quotation below), starts from the assumption of integration as a process through which participation should be increased and an inclusive, comprehensive education is reached which allows for diversity to exist based on the principle of equality of value of people, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

This implies that aspects of provision (in the case being discussed, the continuum, or change of placement) on their own are not the focus of the integration process, but part of it. Other aspects such as changes in attitudes, values, power relationships and policy-making are just as crucial to the process. As Booth (1981) himself puts it, after presenting his *continuum of provision*:

Of course such a change of placement could not constitute integration by itself. It could only be a first step in providing the opportunity for a handicapped child to participate in ordinary school life through the development of an appropriate curriculum and level of support. (p. 289)

The quotation above puts together two other highly debated themes within the area of provision for integration: curriculum, and resources. These are also related to the issues about types of needs, and as such bring back questions about the relevance (or not) of identifying and specifying categories and degrees of needs in order for provision to be made.

Regarding curriculum Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas (1986) propose the idea of a curricular continuum. Parallel to and part of the general continuum of provision, the curricular continuum would offer a range of variations in the curriculum contents, from the more specialised one, having ...*little or no reference to work being done by age peers.* (p.331), to the normal curriculum, which would have *little or no modification* (p.330).

Cole (1989) states that such models are simplistic and can be misleading because they tend to assume full-time education in regular classes as equalling maximum integration or special institutional settings placement as equalling the maximum of segregation

(p.4). To Cole's critique it could be added that such a view of a *curricular continuum* might limit the notion of integration to curriculum issues which are linked up to issues of placement. This view of integration, in agreement with Booth (1981), should not be the case. Putting too much emphasis on placement might limit discussions about integration to aspects of desegregation, which should not be the case either (Dessent 1987-88).

In addition, the *curricular continuum*, as described above, seems to place too strong an emphasis on aspects of the contents to be taught. It does not seem to address questions about how to teach, who to teach, when to teach and who teaches, to mention just a few other factors implied in the curriculum theme.

It is perhaps because of the points made above that Cole (1989) considers that *functional, social and locational* integration¹⁴, as described in the Warnock Report, represent a broader view of the provisional aspect of integration. Broader or not, such levels of integration were meant *to provide a framework for the planning and organisation of new arrangements for the education of children with special educational needs*, as proposed in the Report (Para. 7.10, In: Goacher et al, 1988, p.6).

From this it could be argued that such levels of integration imply possible levels of needs, which brings about the question of priority of access to available provision (Wedell, 1983, In: Goacher et al, 1988, p.4). In other words, the relevance of resources for integration is brought into light. In the words of Goacher et al (1988), this view

...reflects on the relationship between children's needs and available resources. Where resources are scarce ... access to them must necessarily be restricted. From such a perspective, the degree of needs becomes, inevitably, related to the number of available 'places' and degree of needs come to be interpreted as priority of access to provision.
(p.5)

Goacher et al (1988) also present a critical view of the definition of special educational needs proposed in the 1981 Act. They point out that

The definition asserts the interactive nature of special educational needs, in that it implies that the 'learning difficulty' is relative to the compensatory resources of the 'generally made' provision. ... However, the Act does not offer any indication of the criteria on which the call for 'special educational provision' should be based... (p.10)

¹⁴ According to the Warnock Report, *functional integration* refers to pupils with special needs participating in ordinary classrooms; *social integration* refers to occasional interactions between children with and without special needs, for example, at meal times; and *locational integration* refers to when children with special needs are taught in the ordinary school, but in a separate unit or class. (from: Allan, J., 1994)

Thus, to the above authors some specific criteria on which to define and make use of special educational provision is necessary. Booth (1987), however, argues that special provision is generally confused with special placement and that the argument for centralisation of resources is misused. He states that

The misapplication of arguments for centralising resources depends on the confounding of 'special provision' and 'special placement'. Special provision can be delivered to any site. (p.200)

If this is so, then special educational provision might not be any more limited by resources than any ordinary educational provision.

Despite differences in opinions about focusing or not on provision in order to promote integration and on how this provision should be practised, there seems to be no disagreement among authors about the need for an integrative educational provision to recognise individual differences and the possible extra differences of others, who might have some extra requirements in order to achieve the same conditions as others to enjoy and participate in society. Special education, in this sense, can be seen as an extra-requirement but belonging in the general educational system.

However, the forms in which these extra-requirements will be met might vary considerably. An example can be extracted from the Greek case, as reported by Labregère (1990). The Greeks quoted their priority target of developing its special class system as an example of how integration is to be put into practice in their view.

Another example given by the above author can be taken from Portugal whose laws, despite stating that education must be provided for all, lack the necessary provision. This generated the creation of a kind of compensatory law under which families have the right to receive extra financial allowances to educate their children when a school with proper provisions is not found.

These examples show some of the difficulties that have been encountered by some countries to adapt their reality in order to effectively implement integration.

Further Comments

It seems there is a general acceptance, by most authors, of integration as linked to the acknowledgement of the broader right of participation in society. It also seems undeniable that there is a great deal of relativity implied in the more practical aspects of integration.

Therefore, it appears appropriate to say that differences of opinions seem to start when integration is translated into its practicalities. Focuses of analyses, then, stem from the

repercussions of integration to educational provision to discussions around the concept of needs and to sociological analyses of vested power and interests.

Perhaps the main conclusion to be taken from the review of the literature on integration issues is that a broad perspective should be taken if integration is to take place. For there is a whole variety of factors and arguments implied in each issue. If on one hand this variety promotes the complexities of integration both theoretically and practically, on the other hand it only reflects how much part of human historical development it is. As such, it cannot be an easy subject to talk about or to put into practice.

The question of how to formulate and implement policies for the integration of disabled children is inevitably related to a variety of contexts, of an individual, social, cultural and political order, to mention just a few of the dimensions involved in the whole process.

Again one come to the problem of relativity of contexts, concepts and definitions, perhaps the biggest issue of integration related to its implementation and the relevance of it within an international scope. In the words of Mittler (1993),

...how relevant to children in developing countries are the issues which preoccupy us in North America and Europe...? To some, such issues may seem an irrelevant luxury when the day-to-day concerns of families with a disabled child are with the basic necessities of food and drink, the beliefs and superstitions of neighbours about disability and their inability to secure a school place for their child." (p.9-10)

In this sense, it could be argued that the relativity of contexts, concepts and definitions, if not taken into account by policy-makers, can be another contributing factor to the occurrence of those *gaps* which promote "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies.

Nonetheless, these apparent difficulties do not represent a reason for giving up discussions and progressions on the field. This very dynamism promotes changes and progress in educational history, and it is only a good sign that integration constitutes no exception.

The next chapter highlights the integration policies, reported to the OECD study, of the four additional countries selected for comparison with the Brazilian policies: Denmark, Holland, Spain and the UK.

CHAPTER 4 - INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTEGRATION

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the development of current integration policies and practices in Denmark, Holland, Spain and the United Kingdom. As pointed out in previous chapters, the overview provided here will serve as a basis against which to compare the situation in Brazil, in chapters 5 and 10.

The reason for choosing these four countries as parameters for comparison lies in the fact that they constitute distinct examples of history and practice of special education which are, to a lesser or greater extent, acknowledged by authors (Daunt, 1991; O'Hanlon, 1993) as representing higher or lower levels of integration practice. As a consequence, in relation to the occurrence of *gaps* in integration policies, these countries provide useful examples on the basis of which to build an imaginary scale.

Daunt (1991, p.122), for instance, creates something similar to a scale when he categorises some approaches to integration in some countries members of the European Community. He classifies such approaches as *radical* (where he places the Danish and the Italian cases), *gradualist* (where he includes the French and the British cases), *conservative* (in which he cites the Dutch and the German cases as examples) and *a new departure*, where he quotes the Spanish case.

The countries who he considered as having a *radical approach* were characterised as having higher levels of integration as opposed to the ones considered to have a *conservative approach*. The countries included within the *gradualist approach* were placed somewhere in the middle of this classification, and the Spanish case was mentioned as heading for a high integration level, but also a more singular example of integration because of its innovative aspects, when compared to the others.

In similarity with the classification proposed by Daunt, in the imaginary scale proposed in this study Holland could be placed at its beginning, exemplifying a country with lower levels of integration, and Denmark could be placed at the other end, exemplifying a greater level. In the middle of the scale the United Kingdom would be placed, followed by Spain, which would be placed closer to Denmark. Brazil would then, in chapter 10, be placed somewhere along the scale, making a better visualisation of its situation possible in relation to the international cases considered here.

It is important, however, to clarify that the references on which the present chapter was written belong to a study promoted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Permission was obtained from the OECD to gain access to the

data gathered in this study. The purpose of this OECD study has been that of identifying and describing common patterns and practices of integration throughout its member countries. Reports have thus been produced by their respective governments on request by the OECD in order to carry out the investigation. These reports describe what their integration policies consisted of at the time the reports were produced, what possible changes were about to happen and the practical implications of the system described to the implementation of the principle of integration.

It is worth pointing out that these reports are of a general nature and have constantly been up-dated so that changes in those reports might have occurred at the time the present chapter is printed. Nonetheless, the reports still provide, in general terms and as regards the historical briefing of each educational system as it concerns the topic of integration, as well as some of the considerations that those reports provide concerning the practical aspects of integration, a useful means through which to further analyse the situation to be described about Brazil.

The description of each country will be first given in terms of a general background of their current educational system and how integration of disabled children into their mainstream of education has come to be considered and practised. The descriptions will then include some general comments about the implications of their system to the practice of integration. The chapter finishes with a summary, from the countries' accounts, of the main points of relevance to the formulation and implementation of integration policies in the lights of what has been discussed in chapter 2.

Denmark

In Denmark, up to 1900 special education was provided for only a few categories of special needs: the deaf, the blind and the mentally handicapped. Such provision was offered in segregated institutions. The first special educational provision within ordinary schools happened in the early 1900s, in the form of special classes. Initially in towns, then in small towns and rural districts. According to the Danish Report,* the appearance of special classes or schools for other disabilities provoked the transformation of the status of the existing provision, which by then existed in the form of inadequate and infrequent "offers", into a status of rights for disabled children.

As a result, after the Second World War special education stopped existing in the form of a segregated provision which replaced ordinary education. It was extended to become a partial replacement to or a supplement of ordinary education. Nonetheless, up until and during the 1950s, disabled children were still defined in terms of medical

* OECD, 1993, p.95

diseases (hearing/visual disability, mental deficiency, speech impairment) and of psycho-pedagogical assessment and intelligence, hearing and reading standards.

During the 1960s and 1970s, there was a shift into a more individualized attention being paid to the situation of the pupil as a whole in the school. Criterion for deciding on a child needing or not special education was the assessment of what could/should be expected from the child in terms of achievement and of what the child would actually benefit from special education. Descriptive terms up to then based on medical jargon became more general and pedagogically-oriented, eg: "learning difficulties", "pupil with special needs" "whose development calls for special support", etc.

In a nutshell, in the first seventy years of the 20th century there were three main features in the development of special education in Denmark, as regards its provision:

1. A change from segregation in institutions and special classes to a supporting effort to or in connection with ordinary schooling;
2. A change from special provision granted only to those medically, psychologically and pedagogically assessed and labelled, to a supporting effort ensured to all those who benefit too little from ordinary education, after individualized assessment of pupil's whole dimensions;
3. A change from a special help offered to a few with physical and psychological handicaps, to a supplementary provision for pupils and people in their environment.

In 1980 (1 January), legislation implementing the principle of Normalization came about. This marked a process of general revision which had unofficially been initiated in 1964, based on the three principles of Normalization, Decentralization and Integration, of the overall social security system. This revision brought implications to the social, health and educational sectors. For instance, until 1980 the education of the 1% of total students, who were severely handicapped, was left to the Ministry of Social Affairs and seen as a sole matter of the State. As of 1980, it became responsibility of the educational sector, although co-operation among the social and health sectors is emphasized.

Thus, as a result of the revision carried out, Normalization represents all the efforts to bring all handicapped citizens up to an equal position to all others at administrative, political and legislative levels. It challenges society's pre-conceptualized views, rather than intending to adapt individuals to "normality". Decentralization implies redistributing responsibility from the State to the most local authority level possible. Municipalities were brought together in the 1970s to make local districts which became powerful enough to ensure better services to citizens (because larger) but still small enough not to destroy a *real grass-root democracy* (Danish Report, p.4, [OECD, 1985](#)).

Integration is a more subtle principle because it is not directly expressed in laws but is the final target to be achieved through the legal enforcement of the other two principles (Normalization and Decentralization). Through the legislation on Normalization, all "special laws" regarding people who would previously be fitted into some categories of special needs were cancelled. Provision for them is now the responsibility of Parliamentary Acts for the general educational, social and health systems.

The only legal provision directly related to integration is the Parliamentary Resolution elaborated in 1969 which states that *the primary and lower secondary school should be expanded so as to provide for the teaching of handicapped pupils, to the greatest possible extent, in an ordinary school environment* (Contribution from Denmark to "The Synthesis Report on Integration", p.5).

Public (state) education is free from 5-6 years onwards, including the usual main provision until 16-19 years. Adult education (up-dating skills courses) have become a priority for those who began working early (14-16). According to the OECD Danish Report^{*}, there seems to be no child outside education, 0,5% in special school and 1% in special classes.

As a general educational principle adopted in Denmark, everyone should have access to education and training. This principle has influenced educational legislation. For example, it inspired the 1975 Education Act, which establishes comprehensive basic school from 1st to 10th forms. Overall reform provided by this Act includes:

- assurance that education and training are offered to all;
- same relevance given to different courses;
- courses made attractive to those who stopped education in basic school;
- legislation to ensure above factors to handicapped.

In accordance to the general education principles, it is the goal of Special Education to promote equality and integration. To reach this goal, governments, authorities and agencies involved are expected to:

- provide special support (aid, treatment, rehabilitation, education) to handicapped people;
- encourage the involvement of handicapped people in planning different activities;
- focus on those who are already handicapped and on preventing handicaps resulting from social and labour market conditions.

There are basically 4 general categories of special needs: specific physical difficulties (which would account for the traditional hearing impairment, blindness, motor handicap and speech impairment); specific learning difficulties; general learning

* OECD, 1993, 1995

difficulties (involving the traditional mental retardation, slow learning, learning disabilities) and maladjustment (involving social-emotional and behavioural problems, autism, etc).

It is a general principle that the curriculum contents must be offered to all pupils, regardless of their degree of disability. Some exceptions, however, are possible to apply, like the existence of special classes for some particular subjects. The study plans of such classes are determined by the Local Council, which in turn follows the recommendations of the school committee -or school governing board. Such plans can include alterations, when considered necessary, regarding the normal plans of study.

Another possible exception refers to when alterations are needed for the teaching of most or all subjects, in which case the normal plan of study and its timetable has to be modified or adjusted to an individual plan. This adjusted plan must have its arrangements and adjustments described and justified in relation to the pupil's needs. This special plan is to be prepared by the teacher(s) responsible for the delivery of the special education and discussed with parents and pupils, following specific recommendations of -and sometimes discussion with- the school pedagogic-psychological advice office.

Regarding the total lesson time, it may either be lengthened or reduced (when the child is receiving a one-to-one type of education). But such decisions are subject to the approval of parents and the Local/County Council and reduction is only possible when due to a health condition. Exemption from learning some subjects may also be obtained, providing parental approval and providing it is not done with Danish and Maths. Such decision is to be taken by the headteacher after recommendations from the pedagogic-psychological advice office and the child must replace that time by receiving education in another subject .

Referral to special education is only carried out after a psycho-pedagogic assessment, which can be requested by the following people and under the following circumstances:

- 1) Class teacher (based on observation of pupil or talks with other teachers);
- 2) School Doctor (based on knowledge of any psycho-medical problem examined);
- 3) Headteacher (based on any relevant information given in the act of admission);
- 4) Parents and/or pupils themselves, if so wished.

There are some principles based on which the intake of children into special education is made:

1. *Proximity*: The child should attend school as close to home as possible;

2. *As little intervention as possible: The child should not be offered more support or special education than absolutely necessary;*
3. *Integration: Instruction of the handicapped child should take place in an ordinary and normal school if at all possible;*
4. *Efficiency: Measures must be taken to ensure that the child derives maximum benefit from the subjects taught at school and thereby develops its own ability and talents to as large an extent as possible;*
5. *Motivation: It is essential that the special education established is in accordance with what the teachers involved and the parents think is most suitable for this given child. (Hansen, 1992, In: Daniels, 1995, p.110-111)*

As can be seen, parental involvement is a strong feature of the Danish system (parents are the most representative segment of the school board, which in turn is responsible for most of the decisions about the actions of the school). It pervades decisions about the planning, decision-making and carrying out of special pedagogic provision. Although referral to special education is to be taken up by the headteachers, it is still subject to parental approval and wishes. The head teacher can only carry on the referral, in case parents disagree, if the head teacher considers it to be extremely necessary. In the Danish report^{*} it was not clear, however, the criteria on the basis of which the head teacher can consider referral *extremely necessary*. In addition, parents may decide whether they want the special education provision to be offered within an ordinary or special setting.

In terms of types of provision, special educational provision occurs within the idea of a continuum, when:

- 1) the child remains in the ordinary classroom, but receives supplementary lessons in one or more of the curriculum subjects;
- 2) special educational help replaces one or more of the ordinary educational provisions, in one or more curriculum subjects;
- 3) special educational help replaces the whole of the ordinary provision given, for which the child is either placed in a special class of the ordinary school or in a special school;
- 4) the pupil is originally registered in either an ordinary or special school but receives education in both of them.

Complementing what has been described in terms of special education provision there is the Ministry of Education and Research Statement No.537 of July 16, 1990. This Statement refers to additional special education provision for pre-schoolers and years 1-10 which cannot be offered by the ordinary system. The aim of such provision is to encourage pupils' development according to the guidelines stated in the State School Act (as amended in 1978).^{*}

* OECD, 1993, 1995

In sum, the Danish report* expresses pride in its educational system and on the fact that there is only a small percentage of pupils in special settings. The general strive is towards more integrative practice, and finding a means of bringing even this small percentage of children being educated in separate settings into the mainstream of education. From the report*, it seems that the small number of legislative measures taken about integration is regarded as an advantage over the implementation of integrative practices. Perhaps because, as suggested in chapter 2 (see "Policy Implementation - Influencing Aspects), the lack of legal prescriptiveness permits a more locally-oriented practice, which seems to be more effective when it comes to putting educational policies into practice.

Holland

The Dutch report* states that special education in general developed away from ordinary schools, and provision for the deaf and blind developed out of private initiatives. A relevant observation to be made is that the Dutch report* seems to refer to special education and special schools as if they had the same meaning. This makes it difficult to interpret the cases when legislation is referring to special education as synonymous to segregated provision or when it means that special education be provided for in integrated settings.

Nonetheless, the Report* states that in 1920 the Primary Education Act included all special education provision in the ordinary schools. At present, some of the general features of the Dutch educational system include:

- the principle of freedom of education (set in the Dutch Constitution), which refers to: a) the right of the families to choose the school thought most appropriate for their children; b) the individual right to set up and organise schools; c) the right to determine the schools' ideological convictions;
- two main types of school: Public (state) and Private (which include the religious and non-denominational schools);
- Centralized education policy (Central Government control through Legislation and Regulations), by: a) directly, ie, imposing qualitative or quantitative standards; and b) indirectly, ie, regulating financing and resourcing of schools from the government and conditions schools have to fulfill (eg: regarding teachers' legal status)

As regards the segregated special education system, a quotation by O'Hanlon (1993) seems quite appropriate:

The Netherlands is unique in the European context for its highly developed and well-supported special school system which is expanding and growing in spite of the counter-efforts to establish 'integration' or

* oecd, 1995, 1995

mainstreaming as a legitimate form of schooling for pupils with special educational needs. (p.113)

The quote above is an illustrative summary of segregated education in Holland. There are 15 different types of special schools there. 70% of all disabled children are distributed among 3 main types of special schools: those for children with learning disabilities, those for educable mentally retarded, and those for pre-schoolers showing developmental difficulties. It is reported that the number of these three types of children has raised in the last 10 years. On the other hand, the number of special schools for sensory handicaps has decreased.

Special schools work on an individualized pedagogic programme basis. The curriculum to be followed has to be the same offered by ordinary schools in terms of content, but there is more flexibility in planning, pedagogic techniques and timetabling. It can be taught individually or in groups. Procedures for admission into special schools involve inter-disciplinary assessment and referral of the child to the due school, which has a final say about the acceptance of the child. Referrals are usually made in cases when a child has *an obvious disability* and are normally initiated by the previous ordinary school where the child was attending. Monitoring exists to the extent in which the board re-assess the progress of the child placed in special school after 2 years.

According to official studies (Ministry of Education and Science)*, there has been some growth in the number of referrals to special education in recent years. Such studies attribute this growth in referrals to the following factors:

- the ordinary system's selectivity and inflexibility in curriculum and in pedagogic methods;
- the teachers' attitudes and perspectives regarding their roles;
- the teachers' working conditions;
- the teachers' lack of motivation to work with disabled children (related to government financial cuts);
- the "fact" that children receive better provision in special schools and the gradual decrease in stigma for children coming from special schools;

Inbalance between the abilities and potentials of the children and the expectations and demands faced by them at home, at school and in society in general has been found as a conclusion of these studies. As a consequence of such conclusion, in 1985 a Special Interim Act was brought to force, re-establishing a dual educational system with special provision being provided in special schools for those whose handicap the ordinary school system (primary and secondary) cannot provide for. This Act is to be in force until 1995 only. Such Act encourages transference to and placement in ordinary schools

* OECD : 1993, 1995

whenever possible. It also encourages links with ordinary (primary and secondary) schools. It has been decided by the Ministry of Education and Science that such Act will not remain as such and special education legislation will again be part of the ordinary education legislation. In order to do so, it is also intended to expand (make more flexible) the ordinary education legislation.

The 1985 Interim Act aimed at re-establishing integration by: 1) encouraging close links between special and regular schools; 2) supporting the setting up of integration through school counseling services, three national educational advisory centres, specialized support organisations, improving diagnostic measures and teaching skills in regular schools in an attempt to reduce referrals.

Despite the Interim Act's efforts, there have been no *positive* results yet regarding the 3 main types of special provision. Teachers still seek for solutions outside the school. The long-term separateness of the educational systems and of special expertise seems to prevent provision in ordinary school to happen at a higher rate. Other features associated to this lack of *positive* results include:

- Decrease in the number of enrollments in teacher training courses over the past ten years;
- Slight increase in the number of pupils and growth in the number of part-time workers provoking an increase in demand for teachers;
- Integration movements have not affected the contents of teacher training programmes;
- Separate funding (ie, for the special system and for the regular system);
- Funding for the hours of teachers and specialists in special schools depends on the number of children in the special schools. This incentivates the special schools to assess the children referred to them as eligible to special education. In addition, there are no incentives for special schools to refer children back to regular schools, which makes school initiatives regarding school-policy on integration unattractive;

In 1990 the Ministry of Education and Science's Report "Together to School Again" proposed that action should be taken to encourage regional co-operation among the three main types of special schools and regular schools under a same regional administration. In October 1991 the Parliament agreed with this proposal. The definition of integration resulting from this Report is in terms of mainstreaming: *the extension and intensification of services and activities, especially on school and group level, in order to supply a maximum of intensive care for pupils, especially those with SEN, so that they can attain the goals and sub-goals of the school in a certain amount of time* (OECD Study, The Netherlands Report)*. Thus, the years of 1991-92 saw the efforts and attempts to set up supportive networks for closeness between the above mentioned schools.

* OECD, 1993, pp.5

The report* envisaged that in the near future provision would be made for these children to attend ordinary schools according to the lines of the "Together to School Again" project. The schools involved are the ones who decide the provision to be offered. Funds would come from the additional allocation made to the special school involved. How to spend this money would be decided on the basis of a plan made by the involved schools of each network. The report* did not make it clear who eventually makes this decision and what this plan should involve. Legislation to support this new provision was in process in June 1991 and its implementation was expected to take place over a long-term prospect (i.e.: not before year 2000).

Policies for 1992 by the Government intended to improve: 1) opportunities for children with physical, sensory and severely mentally retarded and maladjusted children; 2) quality of specialized special education institutes. As for 1993 the intention was to provide support to the two above improvements by installing computers for children with physical, sensory and severe mental retardation.

The Dutch report* shows considerable differences from the Danish one. The organisation of their educational systems have started from different perspectives, the Dutch one being more selective and segregationist. It is not surprising that Holland is now finding more difficulties in implementing integration. A more centralized line of policy has also marked the Dutch system. Given the possibility that this centralization prevents more locally-oriented practices to take place more independently and in accordance with local demands, there seems to be a need for reviewing this style of policy-making. Nonetheless, the system has more recently been attempting to adopt more integrative practices, and according to the report true efforts have been made in this direction. The success of those efforts seems to depend a lot on the capacity the system has to review and adjust its own policies.

Spain

Geo-politically speaking, Spain became divided into "autonomous communities" (OECD Report, pg.1) after its 1978 Constitution. These communities amount to 17 out of which 7 are completely independent of State directives with regards to legislative measures. Therefore, these 7 communities rule their own political projects in several different areas, of which education is part. The other 10 communities are directly managed by the central government, whose representative in the educational area is the Ministry of Education and Science (MEC). The Spanish Report* consulted and mentioned heretofore for the purposes of this study refers to the one provided by the Ministry of Education and Science responsible for the 10 communities directly managed by it.

* OECD, 1991, 1993, 1995

The Spanish Report* states that in the 1960s there had been a lack of administrative initiative regarding provision for those with developmental problems, as well as a lack of financial resources for provision. Provision was mainly organized by disabled people themselves and through their families, in the form of parents associations. Such associations generated growing pressure in the sense of charging their local authorities and funding agencies with the responsibility to provide for their children.

During the past 20 years, general changes have taken place in both conceptual and provisional aspects of special education. Conceptual aspects refer to movements towards democratic principles and the role of schooling in ensuring such democracy takes place in society by educating its citizens and providing equality of opportunities for them. Provisional aspects refer to the way the system is practically organized so as to respond to those conceptual aspects.

Among the positive changes which had been introduced by the year 1970 are: 1) Education to be seen as a public service; 2) free educational provision for 6-14 year olds; 3) greater access to secondary education for the economically deprived; 4) more active and participatory pedagogic methods; 5) special consideration for providing for the socially, mentally, physically and sensorially impaired children.

Nonetheless, the Spanish Report* states that during the 1970s there was a general lack of adequate working conditions for specialists, lack of official programmes to pursue, geographically unbalanced distribution of services and lack of criteria for evaluating pupils. There was also an absence of regulations for special schools, provoking a parallel system of education with overlapping and uncoordinated actions among special schools themselves and among special schools and ordinary schools. After the second half of the decade the picture is reported to have improved.

In chronological and legal terms the above mentioned factors were expressed in events and legislation that came to be as follows:

1. With the 1970 General Education Act, special schools were set up and special classes were created in some ordinary schools to provide for children with behavioural problems and learning difficulties.

2. In 1974, as a consequence of a strong economic crisis, broader sectors of society became aware of the needs of some citizens but on the other hand many of the projects originated from the 1970 Act suffered cancellations and impediments. However, the Ministry of Employment set up a Congress known as *Minusval 74* with the intention of extending the awareness about needy people throughout the whole of society. As a consequence of this, there was the creation of the *Service of Recuperation and*

*OEC D, 1993, 1495

Rehabilitation of the Physically and Mentally Disabled (SEREM), which brought about the provision of specialist advice for those entitled to financial aid. The schools were equipped with specialist staff who were subordinated to administrative, rather than to education authorities, to care for their pupils.

3. In 1975 the *National Special Education Institute* (INEE) by the Ministry of Education and Science was set up, aiming at:

- 1) organizing schools technically and administratively;
- 2) enabling private centres to become free through the offer of subsidy;
- 3) taking up the development and organization of special education.

4. In 1978, consequently, the *Royal Foundation for Education and Care of the Disabled* is created as a coordinating agency of general special needs policy in the educational, social and labour areas.

5. Still in 1978, the Constitution of December 27 represents a breakthrough when it considers education as a right for all and obliges public authorities to promote integration of all the disabled into the whole of society. As a consequence, *School Integration Programmes* (IP) are devised and will be of significant importance in that they attempt to ensure that democratic principles are put into practice in the educational area (OECD Report, p. 4).

6. The year of 1978 also sees the INEE (National Institute for Special Education) presenting the *National Special Education Plan*, which included for the first time aspects such as normalization of services, educational integration, personalized care and sectorization. However, its underlying principles were only implemented seven years later.

7. The 1980s were characterized by the Spanish Report as a decade when actions were taken in the sense of consolidating the philosophical principles underlying the new concept of special education. Among the practical examples of this statement are the events described below.

8. In 1982 the *Integration of the Disabled Act* of April 7 is brought about. This Act provided the framework and guidelines for up-dated integration measures for the education of the disabled.

9. In 1985 the *Royal Decree* of March 6 puts Integration Programmes into practice in the Autonomous Communities and in the areas subordinated to the Ministry of Education and Science. School becomes open in the sense that:

- every child can be educated;

- education is meant for the maximum development of all;
- provision has to be individualized;
- provision has to be given in the ordinary schools as far as possible;
- provision has to be offered as close as possible to where the disabled lives, which implies organization through geographical areas and populational needs.

10. Still in the same year of 1985, the *Right to Education (Organic) Act* 8/85 of July 3 reviews the structure of the Spanish Educational System as set in the 1970 General Education Act. It regulated democratic participation in school community life; the general running of schools and the financing of some schools based on the principles of freedom, tolerance and pluralism, as an extension of the Constitutional principles of 1978.

11. In 1986 the *National Resource Centre for Special Education* is created, aiming at enhancing research, information and specialist training in special education. It also coordinates programmes for monitoring integration progress and produces and adapts materials for disabled children in order to support the Integration Programme.

12. As a general result of legislation during the 1970s and 1980s, in 1990 the *General Law of Spanish Educational System* of October 3 is brought to force. Valid up to present, its main concerns are: 1) assurance of Constitutional Right to Education; 2) universalization of schooling according to demographic aspects; 3) diminish social differences; 4) improve teaching quality by decreasing teacher/pupil/classroom ratio, providing interdisciplinary teams for supporting schools, incorporating new technologies in schools, teacher training and infant education support programmes.

From the Spanish report,^{*} integration has progressed during the past 20 years. Spain is a peculiar case from the two previous one in that, unlike the Danish system, it did not start off its educational structure with clearly democratic principles. Nonetheless, and unlike the Dutch report, it did not develop to a totally segregated or parallel system of education. Overall, it has managed to implement its integration programme (Marchesi et al, 1991) on a clearly more successful basis than the Dutch one.

A clear feature of the Spanish programme has been the financial resources invested in it, and the general commitment expressed at the central level and at the level of the implementing institutions involved.

Another feature refers to the decentralization of the power to implement the programme, and the respect shown to the local demands, sometimes even to the individual demands of each school, in inviting localities and schools to participate in the central project, rather than forcing them to accept it.

* OECD, 1993, 1995

United Kingdom

According to the British report,* in the U.K., the education of *defective* children, as they were previously called, was not considered within the general educational framework until the 1921 Act. This Act was the first one to include the education of *defective* children in a general education Act, but children still remained segregated.

It is in the next 20 years or so that major changes will be noticed regarding these children. Among those changes there will be a greater concern for a comprehensive, less selective, type of schooling. Reflections of this will be seen in the 1944 Act, which brought the now called *handicapped* or *disabled* children at least theoretically into the mainstream. Education could be provided in ordinary schools providing the disability was not serious and the schools made all the necessary arrangements for it to happen. Nonetheless, in practical terms the actual structure of special education did not change much, despite the better understanding of issues regarding handicapped people which were brought about by the consequent changes in terminology portrayed by the 1944 Act.

Other changes kept on happening in addition to or as a consequence of the 1944 Act, all of them reflecting the increase of awareness regarding disabled people by most sectors of society. As examples of such changes one can cite the *Mental Health Act* of 1959, which gives local health authorities the duty of providing training for those at compulsory school age who were suffering from a *disability of mind*. The Act, however, does not define what "training" is.

Another example regards the 11-plus examinations to select children for grammar, technical or secondary modern school, which are put into question. Thus, Circular 10/65 of July 1965 announces the government's intentions to review these examinations with a view to ending selection and eliminating separatism/elitism in secondary education.

The *Plowden Report* (1967) is another example. It endorsed provisions of the 1944 Act and reiterated those of Circular 2/76 of 1954, about there being no reason for unnecessary segregation: children should be in ordinary education whenever possible. The Report also questioned the terms *educable* and *ineducable* and the practical usefulness of the categories of handicap. Assessment should be a continuous process, multidisciplinary, and start as early as possible. As a consequence, decisions should never be forever, but monitored and reviewed. The *Plowden Report* also pointed to the need of a general enquiry into special education.

* OECD, 1993, 1995

Following similar lines regarding a more democratic and egalitarian approach, the 1976 *Education Act* sought to bring LEAs who had not yet adopted comprehensive education into line. It made integration the norm to be pursued (unless it prevented efficient education in ordinary school from happening or where there would be too much public expenditure).

Nonetheless, a major change comes about in 1978, when the *Warnock Report* is published, giving considerable attention to parental participation. It calculated that up to 1 in 5 children were likely to need some special education provision at some point in their schooling life, and 1 in 6 would require it at any point in their school life. This argument led to the notion of a continuum of needs dividing handicapped and non-handicapped children, rather than such division being determined by strict categorization. This in turn led to the adoption of the term *in special need*, the main implication of which being the ecological, or environmental perspective, which accepts that needs do not always result from learning difficulties, but these might sometimes be caused by environmental factors. The traditional "within-child" approach is arguably (as seen in chapter 3) put into question.

If in the U.K. the 1970s could be characterized by an open-mindedness towards more democratic and egalitarian values with policies that reflect this way of thinking, the 1980s will show a rather conflicting picture. Although the rhetoric will still remain that of a democratic and egalitarian world, the actual provisions to enforce the discursive level will be constrained by priorities given to financial cuts. A market ideology will be on the increase, bringing practical consequences to the future legislation. According to the White Paper published in 1980: *Only when the economic situation improves sufficiently will it be possible to bring to fruition all the committed efforts of those engaged in meeting special educational needs.* (p.23) Thus setting the scene for a lack of financial resourcing.

For instance, the *Education Act* of 1981 endorsed the rights of parents to participate in decisions and implemented the recommendation of the Warnock Report about assessing children before the age of two if necessary. These measures reflect in theory the discourse of a democratic and egalitarian society. However, the government refused to make any extra financial allowance to implement this Act, so giving LEAs little incentive to adopt the spirit of the Act.

At the same time, during the 1980s, there were radical changes in curriculum, appraisal, financing of schools, examinations and reporting results reflecting a change towards a market-oriented educational system which tries to offer maximum possible choices to the "consumer", resulting in the 1988 Education Reform Act.

These changes will provoke a few areas of conflict between the 1988 and the 1981 Acts. Wade & Moore (1992), highlight the following:

1. Partnership in decision-making (1981 Act) has become elected parent representation on governing bodies (1988 Act), changing the spirit of partnership into a relationship on which there will be a lot more strain put;
2. Emphasis on special needs (1981 Act) exchanged for emphasis on standards of attainment (1988 Act), clearly demonstrating an ideological change towards a market-oriented educational system;
3. Focus on individual needs (1981 Act) exchanged for focus on cost-effectiveness (1988 Act), again demonstrating a market-orientation;
4. Integration and collaboration (1981 Act) threatened by competitiveness between schools upon number of pupils and good results which might prevent admission of children with learning difficulties into schools, brought about by market ideology (1988 Act);
5. Schools opting out from LEA funding (1988 Act) threatening liaisons with LEAs, jeopardizing special education provision which used to be possible due to collaboration between established, LEA-run services (1981 Act);
6. Child-centred devised provision for special needs (1981 Act) overtaken by a subject-oriented provision required by the National Curriculum (1988 Act);
7. All-round characteristics of assessment procedures to diagnose special needs (1981 Act) impaired by the Standard Assessment Tasks (1988 Act), on the basis of which disabled children are more likely to under-score.

At the time of the writing of this chapter (1994), much still remains to be seen in the British context. Lloyd-Smith (1992) states that the 1988 Act had already gone through a few revisions, given the dimension of the reactions it generated. Its strictness, according to the author, has softened considerably, but there will still be quite a few things to be reviewed. And as most authors would agree, there is some waiting to be done until any more conclusive idea can be reached about the future development of integration in the British experience.

As it stands, it seems that integration is under concrete threat. Signs of it can be taken from the financial cuts education has constantly suffered during the past 15 years or so, which bear similarities with the Dutch case. Another feature which has been pointed out by some authors (see for instance Galloway, 1989; Lloyd-Smith, 1992) refers to the centralization of the power in the hands of the central government. It has been argued that Local Authorities are gradually being deprived of their autonomy to make decisions regarding education as a consequence of the implementation of the 1988 Act and its market philosophy, which takes power and money from LEAs as schools opt to be out

of their administrative sphere. As a consequence, the schools are more directly funded and monitored by the Department for Education.

Latest developments in educational legislation (i.e. the 1993 Education Act) seem to reinforce the idea of integration being at risk. Criticisms about the 1993 Act regarding several aspects of its implementation are made by many authors. One major point refers to the power conferred to Local Education Authorities and their responsibilities towards special education. As Henwood (1995) puts it:

The 1993 Act has left many unanswered questions - especially in respect of the future role of LEAs. It lays important and increased responsibilities on LEAs for the delivery of services to individuals but continues to leave the development of the schools sector to market forces. (p.21)

Complementing this view and offering an alternative relating to the clustering of schools in a collaborative approach to tackle the special education provision under the economic constraints promoted by legislation since the 1980s, Evans et al (1994) point out that

If large numbers of schools become grant-maintained, the power of the LEA to influence schools' activities will diminish to the extent that it may no longer exist. ... collaboration between schools will have to be generated and sustained at the level of the schools themselves. ... The Code of Practice (DFE, 1993)... requires schools to publish policies for special educational needs and clarifies their responsibilities. It may be that, when this becomes clear to schools and governors, then the benefits of collaboration will become more evident ... (p.110)

Another concern expressed by authors refers to the implications of the 1993 Act to the issues of rights. In this respect, Riley (1995) makes the following point:

The issue of rights is central to the implementation of the 1993 Education Act. The Act reaffirms the rights of children and young people with special needs to be educated in mainstream schools but is likely to create new tensions and difficulties. ... The central problem of the 1993 Act is that it promises more than it can deliver in that:

. it encourages GM [Grant-Maintained] schools to consult local authorities about special needs, but denies LEAs the power to ensure that GM schools accept pupils with special needs;

. it increases parents' rights of appeal against LEA special needs decisions, but withholds from LEAs an overall lead on special needs in their locality, thereby limiting the extent of parental redress. (p.33)

Thus, the British experience has been that of a changeable one. Its educational system, as regards disabled children, started off from a segregative perspective, evolved into a more integrative one and is now at risk of becoming segregative again.

Further Comments

What do the countries' accounts described in the present chapter tell us about policy formulation and implementation for integration? A few points can be taken which are of relevance to this study.

From the Danish account, two aspects appear to be particularly relevant. One is the lack of excessive legislation, and the other refers to the fact that the implementation of the existing legislation is not centrally controlled, but locally controlled. It seems that, when the successfulness in integration is evaluated from the point of view of policy-making, its high rate of integration is somewhat related to those two aspects. It is as if too much legislation incurs in too much regulations, which requires a lot more mechanisms of control of implementation, which inevitably result in centralisation and the diminishing of local autonomy.

From the Dutch account, it seems that coherence with a certain line of thought is a relevant factor. As it was seen, the provision for special education in Holland already started from a more selective and segregative perspective, making it more difficult for changes towards integration to be promoted -and implemented- over its history. In addition, and confirming the lessons taken from Denmark, it seems that a centralised system of government regarding the formulation and implementation of its policies does not help to promote changes.

From the Spanish example, two factors seem to play a role in the successful development of their integration programme: a governmental commitment to change towards integration, expressed in the continuous launching of financially enabling and decentralising legislation (even though centrally coordinated) which takes into account the very local demands, and a carefully planned programme to implementation, with clear steps set and clear support provided to schools and professionals involved.

From the British example, a striking factor seems to be the implications of a system which is contradictory in discourse and practice. Contrarily to the Spanish and Danish cases, the British case has shown a lot less practical commitment (i.e. funding, resourcing, support, enabling policies) to the implementation of integration after the 1981 Act. Given that the discourse pro-integration has been claimed to exist in the UK since much earlier than the publication of the Warnock Report in 1978 (as opposed to the Dutch case, in which, at least, it has been acknowledged that legislation has only recently turned to a more integrative approach to special education), it seems that the points of this thesis, about *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" could also apply to the British case...

In the next chapter, the Brazilian account on integration is provided, with a view to setting the background to the presentation of the findings, to the discussion of the research questions and to making comparisons between the countries' reports described in the present chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT

*What happened to us
Happened to our country
Our country,
Our birthplace, our grounds
What happened in heaven
Happened in the soldiers brothers' countries
What happened to us
Has always happened
They've taken our freedom
Our vote
Our cry
They've forgotten, however, to enslave
The seed of hope
Hidden in the live soul
Of that innocent and dreaming child
(Rotman, 1986, p.41)*

Introduction

This chapter presents the reader with a broader view of the Brazilian context, with a view to reaching three aims: 1) to illustrate the points made about *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation"; 2) to locate, whenever possible, the integration issues discussed in chapter 3 when describing the development of the Brazilian integration movement as reflected in the development of its educational legislation over time; and 3) to make some comparisons between Brazil and the countries accounted for in chapter 4.

In relation to the first aim, three factors are to be demonstrated. One is that the Brazilian educational policy-making process tends to be of a prescriptive nature (see for instance Tejo, 1978; Freitag, 1978; Januzzi, 1985), both horizontally and vertically. By "horizontally" it is meant policies made for different areas of need (Health, Educational, Social, Economic, etc.) in the society. By "vertically" it is meant the hierarchical order of the three politico-administrative levels at which policies are made: Federal, State and Municipal.

A second factor is that such prescriptiveness is mainly regulated by two frequent aspects of the Brazilian context: its dependent relationship with the international setting (politically and/or economically speaking) and the constant presence of at least two conflicting dominant groups struggling for power and the consequent contradictory formulation of policies, which try to conciliate those diverging interests.

A third factor is that the reasons which generate the prescriptive character of Brazilian educational policies will originate the *gap* situations in which "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" can be observed.

It seems imperative that a historical account of different periods be given. In this way, it becomes possible to visualise the development of integration over time in Brazil and so locate some of the issues discussed in chapter 3, now regarding the Brazilian context. This will be done throughout the presentation of the historical periods, whenever it becomes possible to speak of integration.

The third aim, regarding comparisons between the Brazilian and other contexts, will be approached together with the first one, at the end of the chapter, and then further discussed in chapter 10, after reviewing the more current situation of Brazil (i.e., after 1988), in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

The first part of the present chapter provides a brief view of the Brazilian geo-political system.

In the second part, a historical view of the development of the educational system and of the educational policy-making in Brazil and its extension in the State of Espírito Santo and its capital Vitória will be highlighted, with a view to illustrating how the regulatory mechanisms of external-dependency and internally conflicting relationships in the political *arena* leads to prescriptiveness and "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". This historical view covers the period from the year 1500, when Brazil was "discovered"¹⁵, up to 1988, when the current Brazilian Constitution was established¹⁶.

This chapter ends and introduces the next one with the third section, which attempts to interconnect the ideas discussed throughout the present chapter while making some comparisons with the other countries studied.

Throughout this chapter the variety of different names used to refer to disabled people will be adopted as originally described by the literature and will be written in italics. This shall give the reader an idea of this variety and set the background for the understanding of chapter 7, where these terminologies will be further discussed.

¹⁵ The word "discovered" is in inverted commas because it is well known nowadays in Brazil that the Portuguese did not find Brazil by accident, when looking for the route to the Orient, as is told by History books produced during the Military regime and before. It has been historically proved (Tejo, 1978) that such "discovery" was deliberate, but pretentiously casual in order to safeguard the Portuguese rights (under threat due to the circumstances regarding the Portuguese relationship with the international setting) over the new world discovered at the time, the Americas.

¹⁶ The reason for covering this particular historical period in this chapter lies in the intention of providing the reader with a general background to the understanding of the period afterwards, that is, the period between 1989 and 1992, which will be discussed and analysed in chapters 7, 8 and 9. This period consists of the substantial one from which to draw impressions and interpretations because it was only during this period that legal documents regarding special education and/or integration were produced also at the Municipal level, permitting thus fairer comparisons about special education policy-making and integration developments at the three levels altogether.

Geo-Political Features¹⁷

Brazil is the fifth country in the world, in terms of size. It has a land area of 3.287.000 square miles and a population of around 150 million inhabitants, of which almost half is under the age of 25. The average rate of the growth of the population is 2.48% per year. The average demographic density is 16.6 persons per square kilometre, with a very high concentration of the population living in the South and South-East regions, the smallest but also the richest ones. This represents a considerable unbalance in the country's demographic distribution. Besides the two geographical regions mentioned, there are three others: North, North-East and West-Central.

Brazil is a Federal Republic and has 26 States, 1 Territory and one Federal District. Each of the States is administratively divided into Municipalities. The country has a presidential system of government¹⁸.

The official language of the country is Portuguese, spoken by all Brazilians, with a few Indigenous peoples as exceptions. Most Brazilians are Roman Catholics, but there is also a stable establishment of the Protestant Church with its various denominations. Church/es and the State are separate. The country has a multi-racial origin, with the three basic races which compose most of the Brazilian population being European White, Indian and African Black, with Asian (mainly from Japanese immigration) influences coming in fourth place.

Since 1984 Brazil has entered a new political phase known as "Nova República" (New Republic). The term marks the exchange, in the country, of its last military presidency for its first civil one after a period of 20 years of military regime (1964-1984). In political terms, it marks the popular victory of a long-term struggle for a real¹⁹ democracy in the country. Strong values and principles of rights, equal opportunities, participation in society are intended to more directly orientate policies in the country

¹⁷ Extracted from the booklet *Brazil*, organised and published by the Brazilian Embassy in London, third revised edition, Dec.1988.

¹⁸ In a presidential system, the Federal government is responsible for international and regional policies, national security, issuing of currency and supervision of economic and financial matters, as well as for the planning and development of several other aspects. The State governments have power in all aspects not specifically reserved to the Federal sphere and may legislate together with it in areas like education, justice and regulation of economic activity. The States are governed by their elected Governors and Assemblies. The Municipalities follow the same structure in their functioning, fulfilling an administrative role in their relationship with the States which is similar to the one the States play in their relationship with the Federal sphere. Thus, the Municipalities will be governed by their elected Mayors and Municipal Assemblies. At the Federal level, Legislative actions concern the National Congress, made up of the Senate (each State elects three Senators) and the Chamber of Deputies (whose number of Deputies per State is determined by their population), all members of which are elected by direct vote.

¹⁹ "Real" is being applied in the sense of a factual popular participation in deciding the destinies of the country, as opposed to some populist moments in which there was popular manifestation, but not necessarily participation.

from 1984 onwards. A new National Assembly was set up in order to generate and promulgate a new Constitution.

The above Constitution took four years of elaboration and was discussed with all sectors of society -through their respective associations and representative entities- and was eventually promulgated on the 5th of October, 1988. This Constitution represents a typical example of the points discussed elsewhere, regarding the contradictory formulation of policies originated from the attempts to promote policies which conciliate diverging interests. Its final shape brings out issues of prime concern to different parties and interest groups, in an attempt to tackle the most different matters ~~from~~ the most possibly different angles.

On the other hand, such Constitution also represents the result of a remarkable learning process of implementing democracy. Compared to previous Constitutions, it assertively brings out all the democratic principles fought for up to then. Most laws to be regulated from this Constitution onwards will, for the first time in a long historical period, express more clearly the same democratic trends.

At the level of the actions the same has been reflected. Gradually, the population seems to become more participative and less fearful, expressing more clearly their aspirations and grouping themselves in associations in order to try to accomplish their wishes. Thus, one of the main politico-legislative consequences of such a concrete movement towards democratic practices has been the decentralisation of power²⁰.

In the educational *arena*, too, there have been democratic reflections. Examples of this are: the characteristics of the new Law of Directives and Basis of Education, which is presently in discussion in the Senate (after having been approved in the National Chamber of Deputies) and about to be voted; a more effective²¹ shift in the conception of special education from a charitable to a rights perspective and from an outside-the-

²⁰ Such decentralisation has also been noticeable in politico-economic terms. Up until the Constitution of 1988, the three politico-legislative levels of the Public Administration (i.e., Federal, State and Municipal) were tightly linked up in a strict hierarchical structure where the most local level of administration would be subject to their superior levels. Thus, the Municipalities would be autonomous in producing their own legislation according to their local reality, providing its subjection to the State Constitution, which in turn would also be autonomous in producing it according to its own needs, providing its subjection to the Federal Constitution and directives. However, such political autonomy would be rather relative, especially because the financing of any political resolution at either State or Municipal level would always be subjected to the approval of the Federal Ministry of Finance. Even other Ministries of the Federation would be subjected to the Finance Ministry, which would have a significant executive power, since the main target of the government, at a national level, was the economic, rather than the social, growth of the nation (Cunha, 1980; Saviani, 1987). Thus, the historical process that led to the New Republic in 1984 has gradually been bringing back the local political autonomy.

²¹ The term "more effective" is being applied here to emphasise that such a shift had already occurred, in terms of the generation of some legislation, in the Law No.4024 of Directives and Basis of Education the discussion of which had been started in 1946 and the actual promulgation of which only occurred in 1961.

mainstream to an inside-the-mainstream special education provision, and legislative actions towards the general (not only educational) integration of disabled children.

There are, nonetheless, other aspects of the Brazilian system which have suffered severe criticism by researchers and political analysts. These issues compose the factors to be demonstrated in the next section. They also include the historical moments which prompted changes in the educational policy-making process.

Integration and Legislation Over Time

Brazil was "discovered" by the Portuguese on the 22nd of April, 1500. Perhaps one of the main struggles the country has since been going through regards the establishment of its cultural identity and autonomy (Tejo, 1978; Ribeiro, 1988; Freyre, 1990; Barbosa, 1992), the absence of which is sometimes manifested politically, sometimes economically. In the Brazilian history, changes in the political context have mainly happened from a top-down initiative. The "top" would be involved in a dependent relationship (for political or economic reasons) with other countries, and this would primarily influence Brazilian politics. As a consequence, Brazilian laws have acquired a rather prescriptive tradition²².

At the policy formulation level one of the consequences of such lack of political autonomy has been the formulation of many policies which, although of a progressive nature and expressing good intentions, never -or seldom- come fully into practice. Another consequence is a distorted and frequently ineffective practice regarding the target people concerned, when the policies are put into practice. These situations have been respectively defined as "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

The educational *arena* has not been an exception. The example given in chapter 2 about the formulation and implementation processes regarding the 1961 Brazilian Law No. 4024 of Directives and Bases for Education is well illustrative. It is largely acknowledged as an out-dated law, and most of the social provisions it prescribed were not only not put into practice; they also contained ideological principles which had very little to do with the actual social and educational demands of the time in which the Law was passed. In the words of Niskier (1986):

²² In the beginning, for instance, the legal "changes" promoted would basically serve the interests of economic exploitation by the Portuguese Crown (Tejo, 1978). And afterwards, such top-down "changes" would serve the interests of whatever Nation Brazil became indebted to: England, during the 19th century, and USA from the 1950s onwards. At present, the Brazilian debt is fiscalized and monitored by the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the effect of which still being the formulation of prescriptive social and public policies which aim at making possible the payment of interest on its external debt. (As in the Conference given by Dr. Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, President of the Brazilian Press Association, in the documentary *Life and Debt*, by Octavio Bezerra Cavalcanti, funded by the Television Trust for the Environment-TVE-London).

In a country which has a fast growth, everything evolves very quickly. The LDB [Law of Directives and Basis for Education]²³ began to be discussed in 1947 and only came into effect in the academic year of 1962²⁴ when most of its articles were already out-dated... The LDB wore itself down even before getting off of the paper. (p.41)

However, since 1984 changes have been taking place in terms of acknowledging the importance of the consideration of local needs in the formulation and effective implementation of policies. But the analysis of why and how such changes were needed, of what exactly these changes currently consist of, and of the extent of their effectiveness in practical terms requires one to go back in time and compare them with the previous relevant legislation and their respective innovations as well as the context in which they were generated.

Before 1822

From its "discovery" up until 1759, education in Brazil had been provided by the Jesuits. It was turned to the interests of the Church in catechising²⁵ the indigenous tribes, and also serve the educational needs of the sons of the settlers and small nobles. Education was provided in the churches, in the nobles' homes or in the indigenous tribes. Between 1759 and 1807, with the expulsion of the Jesuits and the Marques of Pombal at the leadership of the finances of the Portuguese Empire, the need for education in proper school buildings, rather than at home, arose.

This was so because his politics attempted to recover the Portuguese Crown from a long period of 60 years (1580-1640) under the dominance of the Spanish, which left the Portuguese Crown in a difficult financial situation. Brazil was the only "resource" left to Portugal, and its further exploitation the only alternative solution seen by Pombal. The actual solution sought implied expanding the Portuguese administration more directly into and over Brazil, hence the need for a more formal education to be established in proper educational institutions. Thus, the teaching profession is formally established in this period (Ribeiro, 1988).

Between 1807 and 1820 Portugal is invaded by the French, and with the help of the British the Portuguese Royal Family escapes to Brazil. The settlement of the Royal Family in the colony strengthened the need for a better structured education (Ribeiro, 1988), and anticipated the historical moment of the Brazilian Independence. It also

²³ Words Between | | are my own explanations.

²⁴ Brazilian academic years go from end of Feb. beginning of March until the end of Nov. beginning of Dec. with a one-month winter holiday in July, dividing the year into two semesters.

²⁵ From the Latin word *catechizare*, i.e., to indoctrinate

resulted in the transference of Portuguese debts so that Brazil became the payer of the Portuguese debts to the British help and favours.

Despite the Portuguese expulsion of the French, the Royal Family remained in Brazil, to the general discontentment of the people, both in Portugal and in Brazil. Popular pressure increased influenced by political forces opposite to the Crown, requiring the Regent Emperor of the time, D. João VI, to return to Portugal. Before doing so, and for reasons of strengthening his political popularity in Brazil (where the Republican movement was beginning to gain force) and at the same time ensure Portuguese dominance over the colony, he proclaimed the Brazilian Independence in 1822. And so Brazil becomes a nation to whom Independence was given, rather than conquered.

The relevance of these first three centuries to Brazilian education, consisted of three main factors: the setting up of an effective, though materially precarious, educational system by the Jesuits in their religious missions; the destruction of this same system by the Portuguese Crown represented by the Marques of Pombal; and the attempts to set up another educational system, especially after the moving of the Royal Family to Brazil.

As a result, most of the educational provision for primary and secondary students was cancelled, and focus was given to higher education, mainly concentrated in the Portuguese universities and of very difficult access to most people. Regarding special education, no concerns were demonstrated during those times. Such a lack of concern can be somewhat understandable when taking into account the difficulties through which the primary and secondary levels of education, which should be priority, were going.

The period 1822-1889: From the Monarchy to the 1st Republic

Its Independence proclaimed, Brazil becomes the Brazilian Empire and in 1824 it was conceded its first Political Constitution of the Brazilian Empire. In this Constitution, although free primary education was ensured to all citizens, in 1878 only 2% of the population had had access to education (Januzzi, 1985) and indigenous and black people were not included in this percentage. In terms of delegating powers for educational legislation to be provided based on the principles of the 1824 Constitution, nothing was said in the text of the Constitution itself (Saviani, 1987).

The result was that only one general Law regarding basic education -the Law of Oct.15, 1827- was formulated between 1824 and 1946 (Januzzi, 1985; Ribeiro, 1988). Such Law was too advanced for its time. Besides proposing a very sophisticated and detailed teaching of Portuguese, Mathematics and Moral and Catholic principles, it proposed the

adoption of the *Lancaster-Bell* pedagogic method. As Januzzi puts it, regarding the use of such a method:

...ultimately confirmed in the reports of Ministers, the difficulties in finding teachers capable of teaching the contents proposed became obvious. How, then, to enable students for such a task? The result was the non-implementation of such a kind of education. (1985, p.20)

In terms of legislation for the *deficient*, as disabled individuals were called at the time, there was no mention of educational provision. This was so despite the existence, since 1600, of a private and segregated educational provision for the physically handicapped.

The first educational provision for the *deficient* endorsed by the central government would only appear in 1854, with the creation of a teaching post for the *blind* and the *deaf-dumb* and of the *Imperial Instituto dos Meninos Cegos* (Imperial Institute for the Blind Boys) by Imperial Decree No.1478 of September 19. In 1856, the *Instituto Nacional dos Surdos-Mudos* (National Institute for the Deaf-Dumb) was also created through Law No.839 of Sep. 26²⁶.

These provisions constituted an important step towards debates involving the educational aspects of provision. Nonetheless, such provision would not be practically taken up by the central government until the advent of the Third Republic. Its responsibility would instead be attributed to the Provinces and their scarce resources and consequent scarce effectiveness.

In 1850 slavery was abolished and this fact has consequences which will have implications throughout the following 20 years. One of them is the release of foreign capital (namely English), engaging the country in a process of modernisation of society. The Brazilian intellectual elite becomes largely influenced by liberal European ideas. Liberalism and Scientificism are believed by the elite to be the way by which the country would be levelled up to the standards required for nations of that century. Another consequence is the widening of the school population, since blacks are now considered citizens by law, and as such entitled to education. However, their treatment in practice is reported to be quite a discriminating one, despite the abolition of slavery.

Many reforms were proposed, based on imported models. And yet, the struggle for these reforms begins and remains, in the belief that the way to implement them (for they were

²⁶By this time, States and Municipalities had not played any role yet because they had not been established. A federative system, which divides the nation into independent or autonomous States co-ordinated by a Federal (central) government will only happen after the Proclamation of the Republic, in 1889. Until then, all policies were made at the central (Imperial) level and directed to the whole country and its Provinces.

not thought of by their proposers as diverging from the Brazilian reality) was by turning them into laws. In this respect, Reis Filho (1974, In: Ribeiro, 1988) says:

It comes from then, such an obvious distancing between the legal Brazil and the real Brazil which, in the Republic, if not until our days, implied two different worlds sometimes incommunicable: the official Brazil and the observable reality (p.61)

By the end of the Empire, education in general was still not a priority. The ruling class, despite the emergent growth of modernisation, was still agriculturally based: it did not require much of an educated, specialised labour force (Januzzi, 1985; Saviani, 1987; Ribeiro, 1988). Ex-slaves were still doing the same activities they used to do when slaves, for a very low wage. The central government would only concern itself with higher education (the only means of social ascension for the elite), leaving primary education to the resourceless Provinces.

In 1889 the Republic was proclaimed. What the Republic represented in its first three years (i.e., until the promulgation of the first Republican Constitution, in 1891), in the opinion of some historians and social anthropologists, was a solution of consensus for the co-existence of two opponent ruling groups: the still strong monarchic aristocracy and the emergent and increasingly stronger agricultural oligarchy of the coffee. As Freyre (1990) says:

...the Monarchy came to project itself in the 1889 Republic through the presence, in the government and in other headship posts, of councillors, barons, and other nobles from the Empire... No regime or system, neither economic... nor political... lets itself be substituted at once by another, from night to day; and in the life of the institutions, such a transition takes, sometimes, such a long time... that the registering dates of the end of this regime or of the beginning of that system don't mean, in their chronological purity or rigidity, more than superficial changes. The true transformations are seen within a rhythm which, not being chronological, much less logical, is mainly psychological, besides being sociological. (p.387)

This slowness in making changes was reflected in the educational field. Education in general remained neglected and so did special education -let alone integration, about which there was no official talk. Any integrative action would refer to the education of the ex-slaves and some deaf and blind people, and in a charitable sense.

The period 1889-1934: From the Republic to the 2nd Republic

The advent of the Republic and the 1891 Republican Constitution brings about a degree of decentralisation when it establishes Federalism and the creation of the States. In terms of educational legislation, though, changes were not really substantial (Januzzi, 1985; Ribeiro, 1989). The central government ensured only its dominance over the higher education level, again leaving primary and secondary education to the States, as

the Provinces were now called. Moreover, free primary education, as ensured in the 1824 Constitution was abolished in the 1891 one.

Education was already acquiring a strong positivistic influence (based on the ideas of Augusto Comte), which could already be noticed in the educational reform promoted by Benjamin Constant, in 1890. Such reform was promoted at all educational levels and remained until the beginning of the 20th Century when, with the advance of industrialisation, the need for a more effective vocational education arose.

Teaching in the first decade of the 20th Century became strongly scientifically based, representing a breakthrough in the traditional humanistic perspective of education. However, this scientificism added too many new subjects to the curriculum, promoting the appearance of an encyclopaedic type of teaching. The result was the promotion of more educational reforms aimed at prescribing socio-political changes oriented by a national-developmental ideology. On a more general level, such an orientation had its peak with the promulgation of the 2nd Republican Constitution, in 1934.

In the meantime and despite the usual lack of resource, some States of the Federation (e.g.: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in the South East region, and Rio Grande do Sul, in the South region) invested part of their budgets in education and it is in these States where the organisation of some schools for the mentally *deficient* began.

The following years were marked by a timid growth in educational provision for *deficient* people in some States, sometimes in private institutions, sometimes within the mainstream, in special classes. The States alone were responsible for provision, and only a few of them took a lead regarding special education provision until the next period. This period also marked the beginning of provision for the mentally retarded (so far provisions had mainly been made to the blind and deaf). Espírito Santo State was not included among them²⁷.

Another factor, linked to the attempts to educate *deficient* people in the mainstream schools, referred to the visit of the Russian Helena Antipoff. She left a significant contribution to the history of special education. She changed the term *deficiency* to *exceptionality*, attaching a wider sense to it, a sense of difference, rather than one of impediment. She was also responsible for many attempts (at the level of the South-eastern State of Minas Gerais) to educate *exceptional* children in special classes in the ordinary schools and to collect, from the teachers, the first impressions on the

²⁷ Note that Municipalities hardly existed, for the country was not yet sufficiently populated to justify such geographical-administrative sub-division.

effectiveness of such experiences. This constituted the first empirical data on the advantages and disadvantages of special classes.

She firmly introduced the importance of diagnostic procedures to orientate practice, and funded the Pestalozzi Society, responsible for the treatment and education of several types of *exceptionality*, as well as being innovative in its provision for severely handicapped children. Antipoff acquired national respectability and was able to influence many other States' policies and initiatives regarding special education.

Nonetheless, no Federal law or provision would yet be observable in terms of assuming any direct educational responsibility. In fact, according to Januzzi (1985), in 1927 the central government, through its Educational Reform expressed in the Decree-Law No.7.870, gave leave of absence for *deficient* people from the educational system in some cases, and prescribed special schools or classes in others, without, though, mentioning its own participation in it. As she states,

The Francisco Campos Reform, Decree-Law no. 7.870A of October the 15th, 1927 (Primary Teaching) ... prescribes compulsory [education] for children between 7-14 year olds ... But it would leave out, those for whom there was: a) lack of school within a distance of 2 kilometres, for the girls, and 3, for the boys; b) physical or mental incapacity, confirmed by an educational doctor or another reliable means ... (P.72)

And in its Article 254 it would mention *e) schools or special classes for the mentally retarded* (Januzzi, op.cit.). In this period, although there was some concern about the education of *deficient* people and a certain growth in terms of special education legislation and provision at the States level, this was so within a segregative perspective. As for general education, the changes reflected a strong influence of international perspectives in the formulation of its policies.

The period 1934-1937: From the 2nd Republic to the 1st Coup d'état

This was a period of intense debate and discussion all over the country in which there were, in political terms, two competing groups: a traditional one, weakened and remainder of the agricultural oligarchies and in favour of an economic model of exporting agricultural products; and the growing industrial middle class, in favour of the strengthening of the national industry and economy.

The aims of the second group, gaining political force, were expressed in the 1934 Constitution, when it put the need for the elaboration of a National Plan of Education to co-ordinate and supervise educational activities at all levels (Freitag, 1978). Another important aspect brought back by this Constitution was free education. It also introduced compulsory primary education, raising the number of the school population.

As a result of the policies originated from the opposition between the two hegemonic groups, the *exceptional* – again not mentioned in the Constitution and special education remain untouched and not seen as priority in the Federal sphere. What filled the Federal agenda more and more, as 1937 approached, was the search for ways of maintaining the balance between the opposite power groups (and their own confusion, which caused their own sub-divisions). Eventually, in 1937, the president, assuming the side of the industrial-urban groups, applied a *Coup d'état* and conceded the 1937 Constitution in a dictatorial regime (Freitag, 1978; Haussman & Haar, 1978).

The main features of this Constitution were, at a general level, the centralisation of power in the Federal sphere, and at an educational level, the emphasis on vocational education for the lower classes as a means of developing the country. Again, no official talk of integration. However, an emergent lower-class was already visible, which was even more the contingent of disabled people in the sense that they constitute a large part of the students population characterised as *slow learners*, *hard of learning* and *maladjusted* (see, for instance, Novaes, 1980; Aquino, 1988; Freitag, 1978).

The period 1937-1946: From the 1st *Coup d'état* to the 3rd Republic

The dictatorship installed took place until 1945 and was named *Estado Novo* (New State). In the words of Freitag (1978),

The educational politics of the New State ... aims, above all, at transforming the educational system into a more effective instrument of manipulation of the lower classes. Previously excluded from the access to the educational system, now, a "chance" would generously be opened to them. ... The true reason of such an "openness" lies, though, in the changes occurred in the economic infra-structure, with [caused by] the diversification of production. The several industrial ramifications, in special, require higher qualification and diversification of the labour force, and therefore a higher training ... The State, attempting to meet the interests and needs of private enterprises, assumes the training of the needed labour force. Such political initiative, although of interest to the productive forces [labour force]... directly benefits the different sectors of private industry. (p.46)

Following the 1937 Constitution, a significant legislation was the Educational Reform promoted by the Minister of Education, Gustavo Capanema, in 1942. This reform imposed a strict Federal system to all schools of all States of the country (Haussman & Haar, 1978) and changed the secondary education in the lines of the ideology and discourse of the New State (i.e.: the need to modernise the country in the lights of the international trends, and the need to provide a high quality vocational education). Despite its mention in the 1937 Constitution, primary education was hardly touched. Special education, once more, received no significant attention in Federal legislation.

One of the implications argued by authors about this "dismissal" of primary education was the turning of the Brazilian educational system into an even more selective one, with a considerable raise in the number of drop outs resulting from repetition that happen in the first year of the primary educational level (Freitag, 1978). When they reach the secondary level (approximately 14 year-olds), very few students are attending school, compared to the whole Brazilian school-age population²⁸. From this picture, although Brazil lacks official statistical data about the disabled population, it is not difficult to estimate that these students are even worse off.

The period 1946-1967: From the 3rd Republic to the 2nd *Coup d'état*

With the end of the World War II, during which the national-developmental aims obtained a relative success and the country experienced certain economic growth (Freitag, 1978; Haussman & Haar, 1978), the latent political conflicts came to the surface and economic difficulties returned. The strictly nationally-oriented economic policies no longer served the interests of the growing foreign capital brought about by the industrialisation and modernisation in the country. The president was overthrown and another Republic (the Third Republic) was established, with a view to conciliating the conflicting groups in power.

A new Constitution was promulgated in 1946, emphasising the need for elaborating new laws and educational directives. In 1947 a Committee in charge of the National Education Plan was set up by the Ministry of Education. In 1948 a major education Bill was presented to the National Congress, which was only approved 13 years later and after numerous reforms, additions and amendments. This law is known as the Law No.4024 of 1961 (LDB), establishing the Directives and Basis of National Education.

No author seems to disagree that the Law No.4024 of Directives and Basis of National Education (LDB) was born already failed (Freitag, 1978; Haussman & Haar, 1978; Niskier, 1986; Saviani, 1987; Ribeiro, 1988). It was out-dated, contradictory to the 1946 Constitution (e.g.: it omitted the point of primary education being free of charge, already mentioned in the 1946 Constitution) and contradictory to itself, for it attempted to express -and reconcile- too many divergent ideas. But such was the Law adopted and applied to guide education on a daily basis until its first reforms, with Laws No. 5540 of 1968 reformulating higher education and No. 5692 of 1971 reformulating primary and secondary education.

²⁸ According to Ferreira, 1994 (page 70), 50% of the students in the first grade are estimated to be failed -and so repeat the grade in which they are- every year.

In terms of special education, Law No. 4024/61 brought about an advance: for the first time ever, a Federal Law specifically mentioned the education of the *exceptional* in two of its articles. In article 88 emphasis was put on the need for placing *exceptionals* in the ordinary schools as much as possible, with a view to integrating them. In article 89 a special supportive financial scheme was set for private initiatives concerned with or providing education for *exceptional* children, subjected to approval by the State Educational Councils.

Despite this improvement, however, Law No. 4024/61 did not go much further, and it remained unclear in some important aspects. Mazzota (1989) highlights a dubious interpretation from article 88. As he says:

On the other hand, it can be interpreted that, when the education of exceptionals does not fit in the general educational system, it will be framed within a special educational system. In this case, one might understand that the educational actions developed in special situations would be outside the mainstream, or the "general educational system". (p.6)

And again, regarding article 89, he points out that despite the explicit commitment of the public power regarding the financing of private initiatives, it is not clear,

Within this "commitment" ... the condition for occurrence of the education of the exceptionals; if by specialised or common services, if in the "general educational system" or outside it. (p.6)

At the level of the State of Espírito Santo, the first special educational provision²⁹ occurs in this period, although still within a segregative line: the first special classes for children with speech and hearing *problems* and the first special class for the *mentally deficient*. No legal provision was found in the sources consulted regarding this period, the same happening at the Municipal level.

By the time Law No.4.024 of Directives and Basis of the National Education was approved, in 1961, the country was in a fertile political moment: the long-term and historical adoption of foreign ideas as basis for national decisions was under severe popular criticism. Alternative and popular educational methods emerged, most of which proposing to take the Brazilian context and people's characteristics as a starting point for educational practice.

The early 60s was a period of intense intellectual activity in Brazil, expressing sharp criticism against any threat to the growth of political awareness of citizens or any mechanism used for manipulating or alienating the people. Education would be seen as

²⁹ Source: Seminar provided by the Secretary of State for Education and Culture (SEDCU), Department of Technical and Pedagogic Support (DAT), Special Education Sector (SELE)

a means of acquiring critical thinking, of attaining freedom of expression and of contributing to the growth of the country, based on the interests of the people of the country. Illiteracy should be stopped.

Successful educational programmes (e.g., Paulo Freire and his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) were developed and spread throughout the country for their effectiveness in reaching and facilitating the learning of even the most distantly located peasants. Meanwhile, an already strong ruling class (which included the higher military posts) had developed from the preceding period, which rather gave priority to the international influences and capital. The opposition between these two divergent interests, one social-marxist oriented, the other international, human-capital oriented, together with a technically weak and politically compromised presidency gave way to the 2nd *Coup d'état* on March, 31st, 1964.

The "Revolution", as said by its first president, had the basic intent of re-establishing popular order and national stability. And despite the discursive intention of maintenance of the 1946 Constitution, four repressive Institutional Acts from 1964 to 1967 radically replaced the contents of the previous Constitution (Freitag, 1978; Ribeiro, 1988; Niskier, 1990), until its eventual official replacement, by the 1967 Constitution.

The period 1967-1984: From the 2nd *Coup d'état* to the New Republic

This period was mainly marked by fear and terror. The above mentioned Institutional Acts strengthened the executive powers of the Federal government and de-mobilised opposing political groups. Trade Unions were nearly dismantled and the political parties were reduced to two: one representing the government and the other representing a weak and condescending opposition. Universities were closely monitored and political demonstrations against governmental measurements by any groups, including students, were strongly repressed. It was a time when people "disappeared" with no explanation. Others were luckily exiled from the country.

The educational arena also suffered legal consequences which reflected the political context of this period as well as its ideology. One of them was the expansion of the duration of primary education (infant and fundamental cycles) from 4 to 8 years. Another one was the re-emphasis placed on the education provided in the schools of the official network being free of charge as well as on the compulsory aspect of education in the 1st grade (fundamental cycle). A third consequence was the reduction of the duration of secondary education (intermediate cycle) from 7 to 3 or 4 years and the emphasis on its vocational characteristics. A fourth consequence was the introduction

of a national curriculum: all schools would have a common and compulsory core curriculum and a multiple number of optional disciplines.

All these modifications were introduced in the 1967 Constitution and regulated by the aforementioned Law No. 5692 of August 1971, which reformed the directives given to the first and secondary grades, as set by the previous Law No. 4024/61 of Directives and Basis of Education. Although the provisions of Law No.5692/71 were not limited to the ones mentioned in the above paragraph, it can be safely said that these are quite relevant ones, given the size of the resulting controversy among its critics and proponents and the number of educational research generated by such law in the following years.

Regardless of the controversy, there are some common points and analyses made by different authors about Law No. 5692/71. One is the idea that the extension of the primary education cycle to 8 years served the purposes of including Brazil, at the discourse level, in the hall of the "great nations" or developed countries. (Cunha, 1983)

This idea has been traditionally used by researchers to explain the reasons for which the non-autonomous Brazilian governments manipulated the people by presenting certain types of measures which could be compared to what happens in the first world, thus enhancing a nationalist view of the country, which was supposed to motivate people to peacefully collaborate with governmental attitudes. At the same time, developed countries who had long been pressuring Brazil to take certain types of action and prevent some unacceptable things from happening in the country would be satisfied.

A second point, also concerning the expansion of the primary education cycle, is the idea that such measure served to conciliate internal politico-economic conflicts happening in the country at the time, between the ascending middle class and the lower class. Freitag (1978), adopting a Gramscian perspective of analysis, points out that such expansion of primary education served the purposes of differentiating even more the hegemonic classes from the working class. The incentives which had been given to the secondary and higher levels of education up to then had provoked the lack of a necessary extra labour force to be available to the emerging industries, since most of the school population was rather pursuing further qualifications than entering work at an earlier stage. It also provoked a shortage of clientele for the private education sector, which had been the main responsible for primary education, but where the lower class could not have access due to the fees to be paid.

Thus, in providing a longer, free, compulsory and vocational primary education in the educational Systems of the Official Network the lower class could no longer be said to

have no access to basic education. Also, a new market would be opened to the private sector, who would predominate in provision at the secondary levels. In addition, class division would be maintained by making the main access to social ascension (higher levels of education) difficult to the lower classes.

Saviani (1986, 1987) adopts a similar perspective of analysis regarding the Law No. 5692 when he says that such law *completes the cycle of educational reforms intended to adjust the Brazilian education to the political rupture originated by the Coup of 1964* (p.122) Nonetheless, authors like Niskier (1986) expressed some sympathy for this controversial law: *it sought to encompass our educational reality, focusing its great lines on an adequate solution and trying to solve the problems of the Brazilian education, giving continuity to it* (p.39)

Despite the controversial nature of the 1967 Constitution, there were some innovative factors concerning special education. Its text (Title III, Single Paragraph, Article 166) adopts a greater concern with some aspects of integration. It states that *deficient* people should be offered special and free education and that focus should be on the provision of assistance, rehabilitation and reinsertion in the productive life. It also forbids discrimination of *deficient* people through ensuring their acceptance in work places and equity of salaries and it states the need for removing architectural barriers to facilitate their physical access to places.

On the other hand, its Articles 175, 176 and 177 of Title IV leaves room for further interpretations and different provisions: it states that the education of the *exceptionals* will be legislated by a special law, that education, apart from being a right of all and a duty of the State, must be provided for at home and at school, and that each educational system (i.e.: Federal, State and Municipal) should individually provide conditions for an efficient education of pupils in need. It remains unclear the extent to which conditions can be considered proper and education can be considered efficient.

The specific organisation of the Constitutional legal provisions outlined in Law No. 5692/71, confirms the above point (in its Chapter I, Article 4): it leaves room for exceptions to be made for disabled pupils regarding the implementation of the national curriculum. Also, in its Chapter I, Article 9 this Law refers to the prescription of subsequent special Norms to be set by the Educational Councils in order to regulate the attendance of disabled pupils.

It is possible that these contradictory legal provisions are reflections of a legislation which only served the purpose of placing Brazil among the "great", developed nations, at a discursive level: in doing so Brazil would be presenting itself as having laws

considered as progressive as developed countries'. Nonetheless, the educational connotation of integration received an actual legal boost from 1968 onwards. From this year until 1974, an effort was being made to transfer more responsibilities for disabled pupils to the educational area by setting up special Committees reviewing provision for disabled pupils and by attempting to create a more central, Federal institution, belonging to the Ministry of Education, who could organise special education provision throughout the country.

The creation of the National Centre for Special Education (CENESP), in 1973, may have resulted from such attempts. By this time the emphasis on the principle of Normalisation and on teacher training was already being expressed by some legislators. Nonetheless, the allocation of provision was still based on a medical model which mostly implied the use of categories and a provision based on segregated institutions, even after the creation of CENESP in 1973 and the reformulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in 1982.

At the State level of legislation it was not until 1980 that a more concrete legal provision concerning the integration of disabled children was produced in Espírito Santo, though not yet regarding the educational aspect of integration, but disabled people's right to work: State Law No. 3372 of the 21st of October 1980. It regulates the acceptance of registration of *deficient* people for a public contest of any State post, provide a special Commission, appointed by the Secretary-Governor responsible for the State's personnel, evaluate, test and certify the ability of the *deficient* people to exercise the function s/he is applying to.

The educational aspect of integration in the State of Espírito Santo was legally tackled in the Resolution No. 99 of 19 of December 1980. It establishes the norms for special education and provides: a) the definition of the *special* clientele to be served by special education in the State and their possible placements, b) the aims of special education, c) the qualifications required of professionals working in special education, d) the duties of the State educational system towards the specific needs of disabled children, e) the regulations to be followed by special educational establishments and f) curriculum guidelines.

The Resolution states that the clientele consists of those who *are different from the so-called normal individuals* and require an educational provision which is different from the regular educational provision. It states that while there is the absence of studies characterising the clientele of special education, use should be made of the nine categories of special needs proposed by Lloyd Du: *gifted, slow learners, educable*

* In. Resolução CEE Nº 99/80

mentally deficient, trainable mentally deficient, visually deficient, hearing deficient, speech deficient, physically deficient and emotionally and socially disturbed.

Regarding placement, the Resolution states three possibilities: regular classes, special classes in the ordinary schools and special schools. The clientele in special classes or schools might, however, be placed in the regular classes at any time during the academic year, if so required. It does not mention, however, who is or are responsible for making such a requirement.

The aims of special education should be directed to the full development of the clientele and to a non-segregative approach: special education being offered in the regular schools and in close links with the families and the communities to which the clientele belong. Special education should also aim at promoting the clientele's awareness of their own limitations and at their social adjustment. It should aim at providing an occupational training as part of the special educational curriculum, with a view to developing the clientele's perspectives about work. Finally, besides including a professional interdisciplinarity, the aims of special education should include early diagnosis of special cases and a preventative action in order to minimise their incidence.

The Resolution states the need for qualification and specialisation of professionals at the higher educational level, although it also makes the exception of accepting teachers who qualified at the secondary educational level and have two-years experience teaching in the regular education to work in special education in case there is a shortage of personnel.

In relation to the duties of the State educational system towards the specific needs of disabled children, the Resolution states that the State system should provide special assistance in cases of hospitalisation and residential education and that the extra human resource needed by the schools of the State system from the medical, psychological and social areas could be obtained through contracts, agreements, or *integrated actions* between the State educational sector and institutions belonging to those areas of competence.

According to the Resolution, the creation of special educational establishments depends on authorisation and acknowledgement by the State Educational Council. The Resolution states that special education may have its own curriculum, providing it is implemented with the help of a special teacher when in the ordinary classroom, providing it is developed by special teachers when in a special class of the ordinary school, and providing it is developed by special teachers and in a diversified way which

covers all the areas in which the clientele need special education when in a special school.

Still regarding the curriculum, the Resolution provides that the first and secondary educational levels follow what is prescribed by legislation for the regular curriculum as a whole, with special adaptations being allowed to teaching methods, sequence of contents and pupils' promotion to more advanced levels.

This first official legal provision made at the State level in the State of Espírito Santo brought contents with an integrative perspective of special education, although it also made room for a good deal of exceptions to be made. Such a process typically exemplifies the State's prescriptive character of legislation in an attempt to change reality and for the sake of acting as it is expected to by the Federation: following the Federal trends. This maintains a dependent relationship between the State and the Federal sphere, reinforcing a policy-making process at the State level which is based on attempts to conciliate the sometimes conflicting Local and Federal demands. The general result is the "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of contradictory or ambiguous laws.

For instance, the Decree No. 1512 of 30th of January 1981, regulates the creation of special schools and special classes in the ordinary schools. In its Article 16 it states that *The creation of special schools will depend on a specific project proposed by a proper organ of SEDU [State Secretary of Education].* And in its following article it allows the creation of special classes for *mentally and speech and hearing deficient* in the ordinary schools, providing: their needs are clearly recognised by the State Secretary of Education; there is appropriate physical space in the ordinary school for this class to be set up; there are the necessary qualified professionals; and there is a minimum of five disabled children in the school.

These provisions make it difficult for special classes or special schools to be set up, because the requirements set out are very luxurious and expensive ones. As a result, disabled children are more likely to be left with the two most common types of "alternative" observable in this System: segregation to a totally specialised -and charity oriented- institution, or total lack of access to education.

At the Municipal level in Vitória, no legal document covering the educational aspects of disabled people was found from this period.

At the socio-political level, the country, by 1984, was different from that of 1967. From 1979 on, with the entrance of the last military president and his accomplished promise of political amnesty and *Redemocratization*, the left-wing had the time they

needed to reorganise themselves. The existence of more than two political parties, forbidden in 1964, is again allowed and the immediate multiplication of political parties reflects the political deprivation the people had been subjected to and their eagerness to exercise their rights and citizenship.

The popular mobilisation for the right to vote for the next president, grew larger and stronger. Thousands of Brazilians went to the streets in 1984, to demonstrate. In all Brazilian cities and capitals the people would shout the slogan: *Diretas Já* ("Direct Elections for President Now"), because the mandate of the last military president was about to finish and a transitory, consensus presidency was being proposed for the next four-years period until the people became again "ready" (politically mature, as defined by some politicians of the old regime) to vote. But the people had found itself "all-ready" (my own pun).

Nonetheless, despite the intense popular mobilisation, the Congress and the Senate voted for the 4-year transitional presidency.

The period 1984-1988: The New Republic

People felt deceived, but not defeated. This period, when the New Republic Constitution was promulgated, was of intense political growth and maturation. Once established the New Republican transitional government in 1984, the procedures for the formulation of the New Constitution, founded on democratic principles, began immediately. It took four years of intense participation of all sectors of society, who willingly contributed to the elaboration of the so awaited *Magna Carta* (Constitution).

It was approved and promulgated in October, 5th, 1988. One year later, the first presidential election took place, totalling 25 years of complete abstinence of the Brazilian people from the exercise of vote. All the while and up to the present moment much legal educational provision took place.

From 1984 onwards there was a change at the Federal level to a clearly, directly stated defence of special education provision in the mainstream and as a means of promoting the integration of disabled children.

In October 1985, the document *Special Education - New Proposal* was issued by the Ministry of Education (before MEC, now ME) through its Secretary of 1st and 2nd Grade Education (SESG) and National Centre of Special Education (CENESP). The document set the initial basis and principles for a new guideline to special education, based on the New Republican democratic aims of extending equality of opportunities for all. It placed special education *in tune with the objectives and goals of general*

education, emphasising the urgent need to redefine the Brazilian special education policy, which will imply a change in the mentality in order that the assistance to these pupils be understood as a collective responsibility.

It also set out the 5 principles on which the purposes of special education are based (i.e., *participation, integration, normalisation, interiorization and simplification*) and traces the main lines of action for its effectiveness: a) to take the lead in a national call for action to promote consciousness regarding the importance of special education; b) attempt to ensure a higher volume of financial resources to special education; c) fight for an effective integration of special education within the general educational system; d) expand the provision of special education; e) ensure the prevention of *deficiencies*; f) fight for the possibility of access, by the *deficient* person, to different places in the community; g) ensure the supply of the essential conditions for the guarantee of the effectiveness in the teaching process; h) promote statistical researches to map out the demands in special education; i) support the ordinary education, offering special education to the students who need it temporarily or permanently; j) promote the valuation of human resources; k) develop vocational programmes to, and integration in the working life of, the *deficient* individuals.

In November of the same year, the document *The Rescue of Special Education* was issued by the president of Republic and the Minister of Education, establishing a Committee for planning a policy based on a united action so as to improve special education and integrate gifted and people with *deficiency* and behavioural *problems* into society.

In June 1986, the Report by the Committee established with the Presidential Decree above came out. It reviewed the situation, brought up priority areas and proposed an action plan of short, medium and long term. Thirty priorities were highlighted for short and medium term accomplishment, and a total of 89 sum up the long term and the short/medium term ones. The first thing suggested is the end of CENESP (National Centre for Special Education) and its transformation into SESPE (Secretary of Special Education), to act as a complement to the newly-proposed CORDE (National Co-ordination for the Integration of the Deficient Person), in charge of co-ordinating and implementing the plan in practice.

Other relevant priorities in the educational aspect involve: a) the development of programmes for promoting the population's awareness of disabled people and their rights to access to opportunities and to being integrated in the day-to-day life of the nation, b) the formulation of norms to organise special education in the sense of expanding its services to early education, pre-school education, primary and secondary

education and professional training, c) compulsory admission of those *with deficiency, conduct problems or gifted* who are capable of being integrated in the ordinary system, and d) valuation of the teaching profession and special educationalists by improving their wages and working conditions and by motivating educational institutions to produce such qualified professionals.

This document makes no mention of curricular aspects as an immediate priority, at least with reference to the cases which already exist in the schools. This becomes relevant when one takes into account that priority "c" above implies an even larger contingent of disabled children in the ordinary schools. It seems reasonable to question how the schools are expected to deal with this new contingent -in addition to the ones already in school- without reviewing curricular issues for integration to take place, like teaching methods, teaching resources available (human and material) and so on.

Among the priorities set out in the report, regarding other areas, are: a) concentration and mobilisation of financial resources, b) incentive to preventative programmes in the health sector consisting of some other immediate priorities established in the document, and c) reformulation of legislation regarding the integration of people with special needs in the job market in both public and private sectors with a view to ensuring their right to work.

The Decree-Law No. 93 481 of 26th October 1986 established the Co-ordination for the Integration of the *Deficient* People (CORDE), responsible for monitoring and administrating the execution, by the Federal administration, of plans, programmes and procedures aiming at promoting the integration of *people with deficiency*. The Decree-Law No. 93 613 of November 21st 1986, transformed the National Centre for Special Education (CENESP) into the Secretary of Special Education of the Ministry of Education (SESPE), now regarded as a central organism of the superior administration of the Ministry of Education. It was given the same role and structure of when called CENESP, although now with a higher status and wider autonomy.

In terms of the Federal legal provisions that are relevant to the development of integration, the country remained with the above mentioned ones until 1988, when the Constitution came about. The legislative provisions originated at the Federal level from then onwards will be discussed and analysed in chapter 7.

At the State level, the main piece of legislation on special education reflecting the period between 1984 and 1988 was the State Law No. 3921 of the 1st of June 1987, regarding the compulsory aspect of diagnostic procedures of phenylketonuria and hypothyroidism in State and State-granted hospitals and maternity hospitals.

At the Municipal level there were no official documents produced regarding integration or the organisation of special education in the Municipal System until 1988. The ones produced from then onwards will also be discussed in chapter 7. A brief explanation of the present organisation of the Brazilian Educational System can be found in Appendix 6.

Further Comments

In the introduction of the present chapter it was said that in relation to its first aim three main points were to be demonstrated: 1) the prescriptiveness of Brazilian laws; 2) its relationships with external and internal policy-related factors and 3) the reflections of factors 1 and 2 on educational policy-making.

Regarding point number one, it has been demonstrated that the Brazilian policy-making process has mainly followed a *top-down* model characterized by the prescriptiveness of its laws. This has also been reflected in Brazilian educational policies. It appears that this process of policy-making is linked to aspects like: 1) lack of national autonomy (i.e., a dependency on the international setting, for political or economic reasons) which prevents policies from being formulated in accordance with the internal demands of the country, and 2) the presence of conflicting groups struggling for power, originating an excessive formulation of policies in order to reconcile their divergent interests and at the expense of the demands of the local contexts where such policies are to be applied.

Examples like the Danish and the Spanish cases can be cited here to illustrate the inappropriateness of the above way of making policy. One of their major features highlighted in the "Further Comments" of chapter 4 was that they do not seem to have incurred in the "over-formulation" or "under-implementation" of their policies: they have paid strong attention and respect to their local demands and autonomy and support has been given to those localities, diminishing, thus, the risk of *gaps* which could impair the implementation of their policies.

As regards point number two, it appears that the more dependency (moral, political or economic) is found within the external relations of a country with others, the more prescriptive its policies will tend to be regarding the country's internal affairs. In a similar way, the more prescriptive policies are, the larger the *gap* between national interests and local demands tends to be, which in turn raises the likelihood of the frequency of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

As an illustration, it seems appropriate to remind the reader of the Dutch case and how prescriptive and centralised its policies seemed to be. It would not seem too harsh to

speculate that the Dutch policies for integration have been developed more with a view to attending to the external demands of an international community which increasingly presses for integration than to proceed with its own line of thought and tradition. If this is the case, it shows a great similarity with the way in which a few of the Brazilian educational policies were developed.

In respect with point number 3, the historical highlights confirm that educational policy-making tends to reflect the prescriptiveness originated from the conflicts between external and internal demands made upon the Brazilian government as a follower of a *top-down* model of policy-making. A clear example of this can be taken from the two historical periods in which a dictatorship and centralised policies were imposed: 1937 to 1945 and 1964 to 1982³⁰.

This issue of centralisation of control over formulation and implementation of policies reminds us of the British case. One of the comments made about the UK at the end of chapter 4 was its intensification of centralisation of policies and formulation of policies increasingly turned to a market ideology.

In sum, formulation of policies in Brazil up to 1988 has been mainly of a prescriptive nature, with little consideration being given to the more local (State and Municipal) demands. "Over-formulation" can also be identified throughout history in the sense of promoting policies which function more at a discursive than a practical, effective level. As a result of such a process, implementation has been characterised by contradictions and poor, or unrealistic practices ("under-implementation") as far as the educational sector is concerned. Chapter 7 shows what happened after 1988.

³⁰A common characteristic of both periods refers to a period of apparent economic growth while educational policies of a highly prescriptive nature and centralised level were being produced. In both cases these measures not only served the purposes of facilitating central control and consequently maintaining the social order, thus allowing the internal demands to be redefined according to the Federal perspective. They also served the interests of the Federation in terms of building up future prospects regarding its relationships with other countries, which has mainly been based on economic criteria such as dependency, debts, interest rates, types of labour force needed by both national and international industrial sectors, etc.

CHAPTER 6 - METHOD

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological aspects of the present study and provides an account of the procedures adopted while carrying it out. The chapter has been divided into four sections. The first one describes the research style and sets out the questions which guided the procedures adopted. The second section discusses the sources of data normally used in this style of research and presents the ones actually chosen in this study. The third section details the actual steps taken to carry out the study. And the final section discusses some further, unpredicted issues.

Research Design

Research Style

This is a research which seeks for possible inter-relationships among the aspects being investigated. It can be defined as a descriptive type of research. Best (1977) provides a clear definition of what a descriptive research consists of:

Descriptive research describes what is. It involves the description, recording, analysis, and interpretation of conditions that now exist. It involves some type of comparison or contrast and may attempt to discover relationships that exist between existing non manipulated variables. (p. 15)

The present research describes certain situations (i.e., the occurrence of *gaps*, "over-formulation", "under-implementation" and the practice of integration reported by head teachers) within their specific contexts (i.e., historical and institutional). It also provides comparisons and interpretations whenever possible and attempts to suggest explanations as a basis on which to provide information on current topics of interest (for instance, that *gaps* can be verified among documents produced at different levels of educational administration, i.e., Municipal, State and Federal; or that *gaps* can also happen between what is legally prescribed or suggested and what is reported in or understood as practice). This information might be useful to monitor and review both legal and practical levels.

Charles (1988) also provide a similar definition of descriptive research when he says that:

The purpose of both historical and descriptive research is to describe -and afterward to interpret- present and past situations, conditions, events and trends. This... provides a basis for speculating on why things were as they were, or are as they are. (p.81)

The above quotation is of particular relevance to this research, especially when it mentions the point about the possibility of speculating on the matter of concern (i.e., *gaps*, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation"). The author also reminds us of another important aspect of this type of research:

...Both may suggest cause and effect, but neither can prove it. Yet, they can provide information useful for making educated guesses about why things happened as they did. (p.83)

It is on the basis of the above ideas that this style of research was chosen: because of the possibilities of suggesting cause and effects, providing useful information, and providing some causal speculations.

Research Questions

The following questions were constructed to guide the investigation:

1. What is the Federal (National) discourse on the integration of disabled children?
2. How is this reflected in Vitória, in terms of the issuing of directives at both State and Municipal levels?
3. Are there *gaps* at the discourse level? In what sense?
4. What pattern of integration practice can be shown from the head teachers' descriptions of integration practices in their schools?
5. Are there *gaps* between the discourse and practice levels? In what sense?
6. What kind(s) of connection(s) and comparison(s) can be made with integration practices reported in other countries?

Data Sources

There are two types of data in this research: documentary and empirical. The sources of the documentary data are of two types: primary and secondary. The empirical data consist of the application of a questionnaire and a follow-up semi-structured interview.

Documentary Data

As Charles (1988, p.84) puts with regard to descriptive and historical research, primary data sources include people involved in the facts being investigated, documents produced about the facts, records and relics. Secondary data sources

include people not directly involved in the facts, though knowledgeable of them, historical accounts and newspapers and reference books summarising, analysing and interpreting others' experiences of the facts investigated.

In this study, the **primary** documentary sources are the basis of the Brazilian part of the data collection of the research. They consist of the documents issued by the official education authorities and constitute sources like Laws, Decrees, Acts, Circulars³¹ and other relevant documents issued by the respective Secretaries or Ministry of Education at each of the administrative levels either independently of or in inter-dependency with one another.

The **secondary** sources were utilised for both the Brazilian part of the data collection and the international and comparative part of the research. Regarding the Brazilian part, these sources include other writers' analyses or comments on laws and educational matters related to integration; theses, dissertations, reports and interviews from newspapers, and so forth. In relation to the international part, they include other countries' accounts about their educational principles, legislative actions, integration practices and *gaps* related to integration, taken from the study being carried out by the OECD and reported by the different authors examining their own countries' practices³².

Advantages and Disadvantages of Documentary Sources

Black (1976, p. 419), referring to documentary sources as secondary sources of data, lists four advantages in using them. One refers to its being a time- and money-saving way of doing research, because they allow the researcher to *capitalise* on information which is already made. They allow the researcher to make use and sense of data which already exist.

Another positive aspect of using documentary sources refers to the real possibility it offers for expanding scientific generalisations on the basis of information which has already been accumulated. He also points that documentary sources can be useful when it comes to obtaining additional support for empirical data already collected.

31 See Glossary for a detailed definition of each of these terms as normally applied in the Brazilian context.

32In the utilisation of the international reports and studies, attention is especially being paid to the integration policies reported in the UK, Spain, Denmark and Holland. By taking such countries' situations for analysis, it was hoped that a basis against which to compare the Brazilian case would be provided, and a relevant representation of the present variety of programmes of integration, making it possible to build up a "scale" within which to place the Brazilian case.

Black's (1976) final comment on the advantages of documentary sources results from one of the factors which he later points out as a disadvantage: the better-quality scientific measures which are usually developed as a result of researchers' disillusionment with the frequent low quality information found in documentary data of a secondary source (p. 420).

Among the disadvantages the above author cites about using documentary data is the difficulty in avoiding collecting such data before the actual problem to be investigated is defined. Such problems are usually accompanied by issues like the existing data not conforming to the categories set by the researcher (p. 420) or some relevant data being missing, or being inappropriately kept, impairing them from being used as relevant data.

A final potential disadvantage of documentary sources is the difficulty in locating the documents, or in knowing where to find them, or yet their lack of availability once they are found. This is particularly true of the cases in which researches are carried out at long distances, as happens in some comparative and cross-cultural studies.

The above concerns were taken into account in the present study, and one of the procedures for managing them consisted of obtaining the official documents straight from their issuing agencies, that is, from the Secretaries or Ministry of Education themselves.

Empirical Data: Types, Advantages and Disadvantages

Two instruments were used in this study: **questionnaire** and **interview**. Both commonly used in descriptive research, and both carry similar issues for consideration when applied.

There are two types of questionnaire. The closed-form, also known as restricted form (Best, 1977) or forced choice (Charles, 1988); and the open-ended (Charles, 1988), open-form or unrestricted form (Best, 1977). The **closed-form** type of questionnaire gives a pre-set choice of answer to the respondent. Questions of this type of questionnaire usually come in a 'yes-or-no' format, or in a ranking shape. Although these types of format provide objective answers, it may also make the respondent feel limited in their answers (Cohen & Manion, 1980), provoking sometimes either a non-answering reaction or an answer that is inappropriate to the kind of question asked.

The **open-ended** type of questionnaire requires that the respondent provide the researcher with written statements about the questions being asked. Although this type of questionnaire makes it possible for more information to be collected, it may

also look tiresome to the respondent, especially if it is too long a questionnaire: it might demotivate the respondent to reply, lowering the potential number of answers.

One alternative to the above problems normally suggested by researchers and adopted in this study is to mix both types of format questions in the elaboration of a questionnaire so that the respondent will neither feel tired of the same format nor will s/he feel uncomfortable or impatient for having to write extensively.

Interviews have basically three types of format: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Cohen & Manion, 1980). The **structured** format is previously prepared by the researcher in the form of a script. The interview is conducted by closely following the questions previously set, without much flexibility for extensions. Although such a format can be time saving and offer objectivity and facility in analysing the data gathered from it, it can also be limiting and provoke the missing out of information.

The **semi-structured** interview also has a script previously set, but the attitude of the researcher is more flexible. If for example during the interview the researcher comes across any additional information that s/he might consider relevant, there is the possibility to explore it further. This format is the one adopted for the interviews carried out in this study. It has the advantage of opening up the possibility for more information to be gathered. On the other hand, it required a lot of attention on the part of the researcher in order not to get too much involved in the conversation, which could result in the gathering of irrelevant data.

The **unstructured** interview offers no script to follow. All the researcher has to bear in mind is the objectives and purposes of the research, and this is the starting, middle and ending point of the interview. The respondent is free to say whatever s/he feels relevant to the basic matter presented, and data analysis originated from this type of interview will basically follow codification and content analysis procedures. The risk of this kind of interview is the gathering of too much irrelevant material, which makes it difficult to organise the data analysis, let alone the extreme consumption of time in which it might incur.

Methodological Issues About Questionnaires and Interviews

One of the first things agreed upon by most writers regarding questionnaires and interviews refers to the importance of the clarity of the questions. In order for the questions to be clear, the researcher must be very sure of his/her own research objectives and purposes. Both questionnaire and interview must parallel the research

questions (Charles, 1988) to ensure that the information being gathered corresponds to the questions posed for researching.

In this respect, the interview has an advantage over the questionnaire, since the more direct contact with the researcher facilitates the clarification of any doubts the respondents might have (Best, 1988).

The questionnaire, on the other hand, shows less flexibility and a greater need for careful planning and pre-testing of its format, wording and size (Best, 1988; Cohen & Manion, 1980; Charles, 1977; Asher, 1976; Evans, 1968). This is especially advisable in the administration of mailed questionnaires, which will not have the presence of the researcher for any possible clarification.

Another issue which applies to both instruments refers to the need of assuring confidentiality for the respondents. This is especially relevant in the cases where researchers are concerned with personal opinions about controversial matters or with any delicate matter. A high level of sensitivity is therefore required of the researcher in both the construction and administration of these instruments in relation to this issue.

The themes dealt with in both instruments should also be organised and appealing to the subjects. Matters being investigated should be relevant to the respondents. Questionnaires and interviews should be objective and clearly ask the strictly necessary. Best (1977) suggests that the organisation of the content sequence should follow from the more general aspects to be investigated to the more specific ones, in order to improve the respondent's understanding and the motivation to answer.

Questionnaires are also unquestionably practical: they can be posted, allowing certain flexibility of time to answer and do not necessarily require the presence of the researcher (Cohen & Manion, 1980).

On the other hand, the number of responses tends to be lower, often calling for the need of a reminder letter to be sent to the respondents. In addition, the risk of constructing unclear questions is higher, questions may be misunderstood or interpreted in different ways and respondents may find themselves limited (and demotivated) to respond not only because of the absence of the researcher in clarifying any possible doubt, but also because of the fact that they are being required to give written information to be sent to an unknown destination.

Interviews are said to offer more advantages than questionnaires. They allow for the collection of more information once a good rapport is established. They can be

recorded, which facilitate the data analysis process, and they have a much higher rate of responses for the obvious reasons of direct contact. They are however more time consuming: extra care is required in their preparation and extra-sensitivity is required in their administration, which sometimes means spending a longer time than expected; let alone the time consumed for their transcription, categorisation, codification and analysis.

Internal and External Criticism

There are two further issues to be considered (Asher, 1976; Black & Champion, 1976; Best, 1977; Cohen & Manion, 1980; Charles, 1988), regarding the use of both documentary and empirical data. One refers to the *external criticism*, and when referring to people it is related to the possibility of intentional fakery by subjects involved in providing information. When referring to documents there is the possibility of it not being a true document.

In the present study all the documents were directly obtained from the formal institutions of the administrative levels involved: the information centres of the Municipal and State Secretaries of Education and of the Federal Ministry of Education. The reason for attempting to obtain the documents from their original sources was that their authenticity would help to avoid the risk of incorrect information.

Two measures were adopted to avoid the possibility of provision of false information by the subjects. One was the structuring of questions format which allowed the checking of the validity of previous answers in later sections of the instruments adopted. The other was the utilisation of the two adopted instruments, the questionnaire and a follow-up interview, which in itself helped avoiding this kind of problem.

The second issue to be considered when using primary and secondary sources of data refers to the *internal criticism*. This refers to the degree of certainty one can have in relation to the accuracy of others' accounts. For example, two different subjects may see and interpret a same fact in different ways. Or they may simply get confused about the facts and, unintentionally, give the wrong information.

The first example applies particularly to the use of secondary sources. There seems to be no absolute way to avoid this kind of risk, but one precaution that was taken in this research was to try to adopt a consistent theory as a reference for analysis (i.e. Policy Analysis) and on the basis of which to guide the use being made of these sources.

The second example could be applied to the subjects responding to the questionnaire. The follow-up interview provided a useful means of checking any doubts out and clarifying them.

Procedures

Pilot-Study

In order to ensure validity and reliability of the questionnaire being constructed, a pilot-study was carried out with the head teachers of all the private schools (20) with the same characteristics as the public schools to whose head teachers the final version of the questionnaire would be administered. Twenty mixed-formatted questionnaires were sent to each of the head teachers of the private schools which were catering for pupils of the same age range as the public schools selected in the sampling procedures.

The process of the construction of the pilot-version of the questionnaire was marked by discussions about the questions to be asked and the best way to format them. Size of the questionnaire, wording, and presentation were also issues of concern while developing the pilot-version. Another main concern regarded the linguistic aspect that the questions being translated into Portuguese were actually asking the same question as its version in English.

Three pre-pilot studies, one for each section of the questionnaire, were prepared in order to address these issues effectively. Two Brazilian students living in London were asked to read and compare both English and Portuguese versions and make comments or suggestions on ways to improve the translation. Since both students agreed with the terms being used in the translated version of the questionnaire sections read by them, the pilot-version was considered ready for mailing and application and sent off to Brazil. A fellow researcher who works in the Federal University of Espírito Santo, in Vitória, the capital where the study took place, was contacted and agreed to co-ordinate the application. He also agreed to co-ordinate the administration of the final version of the questionnaire.

An introductory letter written by myself was enclosed with the pilot version of the questionnaire to the head teachers of the private schools. In order to ensure an even higher number of responses, and because this research fellow is a well known researcher in the educational field in that State and city, the research fellow also wrote and enclosed his own letter on my behalf and support.

The respondents were given two weeks to answer and return the questionnaires. In the meantime, the research fellow made one phone call to the subjects, in order to check that they had received the questionnaires. If not, he would send them another copy. In so doing, he was indirectly reminding the subjects to answer the questionnaires.

After the two weeks given, the number of replies were not considered satisfactory (there were less than 65% of replies). Another two weeks were given, after which the number of responses had risen to 75% (15 respondents). The analysis of the results of the pilot study was made with a focus on possible modifications to be made to the final contents of the items and questions of the questionnaire. After this brief analysis a feedback letter was written to the respondents thanking them for having replied, telling them that the analysis was ready and that the results would be available to them on request.

The Questionnaire Applied in the Study

The final version of the questionnaire followed the same pattern as the pilot version, with a few modifications regarding the section on legislation. Such modifications were made in terms of the way the questionnaire was worded and in terms of its layout, as concluded from the experience during the pre-pilot phase.

The **front page** gathered general information. This is divided into three different sources: data about the school, personal data and professional data.

The questionnaire was organised into three sections. The **first section** is named "Exceptional Children and their Integration". The term *exceptional* was adopted because it is still very common and in much use in Brazil. Questions of this section concentrated on gathering head teachers' opinions about issues on integration, including: their definition of who are the children in need of special education; their views of provision (in terms of placement) for the children they defined previously; their definition of special education; and their opinions about essential factors to promote integration.

The **second section** is named "Your School and the Integration of the Exceptional". Its questions focused on aspects of school's practices and policies in integration. It involved issues like: school policy; dissemination of policies and practices; relationship between school policy and Federal, State and Municipal governmental policies in the same aspect; identification procedures; special educational practices; and types of provision for special needs.

The **third section**, named "Administration, Legislation and the Integration of the Exceptional" focused on legal principles, directives and guidelines of integration, extracted from the documentation and expected to be implemented in the schools. Questions included: knowledge of the schools in relation to these principles and guidelines; degree of agreement with them; consideration of relevance of legislation about special education; positive and negative aspects they could cite as resulting from legislation; and suggestions for overcoming the negative aspects at the three administrative levels.

At the end, space was given for the respondents to write further impressions, comments or suggestions, including their own feelings and views about answering the questionnaire, if they so wished.

Sampling

Selection and Criteria of the City

When the final version of the questionnaire was decided upon, an investigation was made to establish the number of all the schools in the State of Espírito Santo. An official report from the State Secretary of Education (SEDU) was obtained³³ which contained information about the number of private and official schools throughout the State.

This document also provided information about the number of pupils in each school and the age range catered for by each school (e.g., from pre-school to secondary level - 2 to 16 year olds, or just primary age range level - 6 to 13 year olds, and so forth). In addition, it provided the whole name and address of each of the schools.

A city was selected, the criteria being the city or county that would have the largest concentration of schools. As expected, such city turned out to be the capital (Vitória).

Selection and Criteria of the Schools

Thirty eight primary schools of the three administrative levels were chosen from which to select the actual sample to whom the questionnaire and the interviews were applied. It was decided that the primary schools in the Official Networks (catering for pupils whose approximate age ranges from 6 to 13 year-olds) should be chosen because it would be there that the largest concentration of cases of disabled children

³³ Source: Governo do Estado do Espírito Santo/ Secretaria de Estado da Educação e Cultura/ Departamento de Auditoria e Documentação Educacional (1989)

would be found. In other words, integration practices would be more likely to occur in those schools.

It was thought that primary schools would be more likely than secondary schools to be informed about special education or integration for the reasons stated in the previous chapter, regarding the selectivity of the educational system and its implication of a very low number of disabled pupils (if any) reaching the secondary phase of education. Regarding pre-school education, its provision is almost non-existent in the schools of the Official Network, so that pre-school head teachers would know little about special education as compared with primary schools' head teachers.

Thus, it was assumed that the primary schools would be more likely to provide staff who knew or had heard of the themes of special education and/or integration. In addition, a total of 38 schools comprise the number of schools which at the time of the collection catered for students in the age range being investigated (7-14). In relation to the Systems to which they belong³⁴, these schools are divided as follows:

- 20 State schools;
- 17 Municipal schools;
- 01 Federal school.

Selection and Criteria of the Sample

The head teachers were chosen as respondents to the questionnaire, and as interviewees, because their position is an intermediate one in the structure of the educational system. They are, simultaneously, in contact with the governmental spheres of administrative levels and with the people in the school, from teachers to pupils. They are informed about both political and/or formal decisions taken and of school staff demands, needs, and priorities. Moreover, they are perhaps the professionals most responsible for passing on the formal policies to be implemented into the schools, and at the same time for representing or expressing school staff's views and actions on any issue.

³⁴Regarding the particular contexts of each type of school, at the time of the application of the questionnaire (in 1991), the State schools were going through a period of election for head teacher. The same was happening in the Municipal schools, one year later, when the interviews were carried out. Such aspects were taken into account, and in some cases appeared to be of relevance, when interpreting some of the data. This was especially true of those questions which implied an answer related to schools' particular administrative contexts. An example of this aspect is found in a passage exemplifying category E of section 9 of chapter 9 (in Appendix 8). Another aspect worth mentioning is that the political parties' guidelines, to which the schools were subjected were different from each other. The Federal school followed the guidelines of the party which held national control of the country. The State and Municipal schools were both under the administration of left-wing parties, but both were different from each other. Of the two, the Municipal was the one whose political platform expressed most concern with social issues like education and health as priority.

Collecting the Data

Documents

To get the documents used in the present study, phone calls or letters were made or written to all the relevant governmental educational agencies in Brazil during 1991, at the three levels. This was because in some cases it was possible for the writer to get some documents through personal contacts with people known to her and who worked in these institutions. The major advantage of doing so would be avoiding any more bureaucratic procedure, which would incur a longer consumption of unavailable time.

At the Municipal level, the documents were obtained by myself through my personal contact with University lecturers involved in projects with the Municipality and who possessed some material, and with the Municipal Secretary for Education at the time in which I interviewed her. In this search, it became clear that the Municipal government did not have many documents regarding special education, let alone integration, until 1990.

At the State level, the documents available were obtained through a personal contact made by a relative of mine with the Coordinator of the Statistics Department of the State Secretary of Education. At the Federal level, a letter was written by myself to the Secretary of Special Education (SESPE) and for the Coordination of the Integration of the People with Deficiency (CORDE) of the Ministry of Education.

In the letter, as in the phone calls, it was explained who I was and the reasons for which I needed the documents, which were provided without problems. As the research proceeded and as I had the opportunity to meet the Federal Secretary for Special Education and the Coordinator for the Integration of People with Deficiency in person in the following year (1992), additional and up-dated documents at the Federal level were posted to London or handed in to me by them.

Questionnaire

The final version of the questionnaire (Appendix 1) was mailed to Brazil. The same researcher carried out the administration of the questionnaires on my behalf. The introductory letters were again part of the procedures, and the fellow researcher was once more in charge of the more direct contacts that could be needed such as phone calls, provision of explanations if required by the respondents, etc. Again, he reminded the schools to answer the questionnaires, a week after their delivery, as part

of the strategies for maximising response rates and as a conclusion resulting from the pilot (Cohen and Manion, 1980). The questionnaires and the letters were then sent to each school with a self-addressed and stamped envelope.

The whole process of sending the questionnaires to Brazil, replying, collecting them back and sending them back to London took 5 months (from August to December 1991) and a considerable number of phone calls to the respondents. The reasons being that during the collection the State schools went on strike and were in process of elections for head teachers, for the first time ever in the public educational system. This, and the rather unplanned administrative structure of the State System, might have been a further reason why the number of responses from the State school head teachers was much lower than the Municipal one.

Interview

The purpose of the interview was to supplement that part of the data (Cohen & Manion, 1980) considered insufficiently answered, and also to verify the other parts of the questionnaire.

The interviews took place during the months of April and May 1992, in Vitória, in Brazil. Because of the short period in which I could stay in Brazil and the election for head teachers which this time was taking place in the Municipal schools, it was decided that only the subjects who had answered the questionnaires would be interviewed. This meant 25 subjects: 16 Municipal schools' head teachers, 8 State schools' head teachers and the one Federal school's head teacher, corresponding to approximately 65% of the total initial sample of 38 head teachers asked to answer to the questionnaire.

In Brazil, the contacts with each of the head teachers who had replied to the questionnaires were made by telephone, by myself. The subjects were reminded of the questionnaires they had answered some months earlier, and the explanation given for asking them to be interviewed was that there was a need for supplementing their previous information. All subjects agreed to be interviewed, and meetings were then made, in average, a week in advance. The interviews took 50-60 minutes in average to be completed, and they were recorded in a micro-cassette tape recorder (with permission given by the interviewees).

The type of interview chosen was the semi-structured, for two reasons. First, because the interview served a follow-up purpose, after the administration and brief evaluation of the questionnaire. In this sense, there were already target areas to be investigated

and the questions were, basically, the same ones which had been asked in the questionnaire.

The second reason relates to the time available in Brazil to interview all the subjects selected: within 5 weeks. An unstructured interview would not have allowed for making the best use of the little time available, since it would have required that I have free time available to be spent entirely according to the respondents' convenience. A structured interview would probably not have served as a good follow-up instrument, since one of the main purposes of follow-up tools is to complement information already gathered. Had it been totally structured, the extra clarification on the part of the respondents would probably not have been obtained.

The **first section** of the interview ascertained the general scope of special education, i.e. the way in which the subjects view special education (e.g. as a system apart from or included in the general educational system). The **second section** of the interview covered aspects on provision: questions were asked about what they thought provision was (e.g., placement of children, extra-equipment, curriculum modification, organisational changes).

The **third section**, was specifically related to integration. Theoretical questions were asked in relation to how they defined integration and the relationship of such definition with the actual practice reported by the subjects. Questions about relationships between schools, Municipal, State and Federal policies on integration were also attempted during the interviews, but not always very successfully, because the subjects lacked information about many basic aspects related to special education, "exceptional" children, integration and other themes.

The **last section** of the interview meant to cover the specific aspects of legislation which were missing in the answers gathered from the questionnaire. For example, their knowledge of laws or principles related to integration and/or special education and their opinions about them. Again, this was not very successfully answered because the subjects expressed little confidence in their knowledge about laws and principles in order to give opinions.

Analysing the Data

This study consists of a descriptive one involving document analysis and the use of questionnaire and interview. The document analysis relates to the use of primary and secondary sources of documents described earlier. It followed the method of *content analysis*, as described by Cohen and Manion (1989):

... approaches to content analysis are careful to identify appropriate "categories" and "units of analysis", both of which will reflect the nature of the document being analysed and the purpose of the research... "Categories"... will cover the main areas of content... "Units of analysis" may include ... single word; ...a theme; ...a character; ...a sentence; and ...a paragraph (p.62)

Since one of the aims of this study is to provide an account of the official and formal discourse about integration, the above methodological procedure seems to provide a useful means of ensuring a less subjective account. It is also in accordance with other issues related to this research, among which are: contextualization of issues being investigated; analysis of relevant and influencing aspects, and so forth.

From the primary and secondary sources of documents consulted, categories that form a general pattern for description and characterisation of the documents and its situational (historical, political, etc.) contexts were identified. It was hoped that a more solid foundation on which to base possible interpretations could be provided. As a result of the patterns identified, the documents were divided into legal and non-legal.

Legal documents refer to those documents which have force of law and are mandatory of general or specific aspects. Examples of legal documents which mandate on general matters are the Federal and State Constitutions, and the Municipal Organic Law (see chapter 7 for more details about them). Examples of legal documents which mandate on more specific matters are the Federal Decree-Laws and State Resolutions.

Non-legal documents refer to those documents which although having an official status -that is, being produced at the governmental levels- do not have force of law. They are, however, "persuasive" in the sense that they are expected to be given serious consideration for practical application. Further discussion about them is given as they appear, in chapter 7. The main examples of such documents consist of the Reports and Circulars produced at all governmental levels.

The same kind of analysis was applied to the study of the international reports on integration with a view to comparing them with the Brazilian one. It was believed that this analysis would provide a helpful basis when the moment came to compare the contexts studied and to attempt to make any interpretations. However, these reports did not follow the "legal" classification given above: their purpose was to serve as subsidiary material in a future process of tracing out international guidelines which might have practical implications, but not necessarily compulsory.

Likewise, they cannot be said to be "non-legal" either, not at least in the sense of the term defined above, for such definition is particular to the specific regional Brazilian context from which these documents were gathered. The above definition of documents as "Non-legal" serves only the purposes stated in this study. As such, generalisations of documents as being "Non-legal" should not be made to other States of Brazil without further investigation, or to documents produced by other countries.

The part of the research which refers to the use of questionnaires and interviews followed *data reduction* based on *coding* procedures (Cohen and Manion, 1989; Bynner & Stribley, 1978). This involved the attribution of a code number to the answers of the closed-ended questions of the questionnaire, and a procedure of identification of themes to the open-ended questions which involved the categorisation of the types of answers given in the open-ended questions.

This type of research method was suitable for the purposes of this study, since some of the aims of asking head teachers involve: description of the present situation in relation to the implementation of integration in the schools; attempting to identify patterns of integration practices and concepts among the schools investigated; and attempting to correlate findings and verify possible relationships between them.

The findings from each of the three types of analyses are presented in chapters 7, 8 and 9. The steps taken in each of them are presented below.

Documentary Analysis

This consisted of collecting and reading all Municipal, State and Federal documents obtained from the governmental educational institutions written to in Brazil. A mapping out of the legal directives at each of the administrative and governmental levels was done after reading each document and grouping them according to their chronological order and the two types defined above.

The reason for focusing analysis on the official documents lies in the fact that these constitute a concrete basis on which to carry out comparisons between what is stated as mandatory and what is verbally reported in practice.

The main aim of this analysis was to investigate what kind(s) of legal pattern(s) would emerge from each of the administrative levels regarding their conceptualisation of and guidelines for practising special education and integration. In doing so, a basis against which to check and discuss the research questions number 1, 2, 3 and 6 would be constructed.

Reading was also done of the international reports. These are reported in chapter 4, in a more general way, as a background for more wide ranging comparisons, without attempting to identify patterns, because the information collected was of a secondary kind. In reading both Brazilian and international documents and reports, special attention was paid to:

- (1) the historical context in which legal mechanisms at any of the three levels were observed;
- (2) cultural and political aspects of the country and the representativeness of those legal mechanisms in relation to these;
- (3) underlying conceptualisation of integration (e.g.. social, functional, locational);
- (4) possible mentions to the way(s) in which legal mechanisms can be put into practice (implementation aspects).

Questionnaire Analysis

The analysis of the questionnaire proceeded through the codification of the subjects' responses according to the themes raised in the questionnaire. Because the study is of a descriptive nature, the main concern was to obtain a picture of what the subjects were saying regarding each of the questions posed to them in the questionnaire, and discuss the research questions, especially numbers 3, 4, and 5.

The number of responses given by the subjects from both types of schools for each closed-question was counted separately, and then displayed together, comparatively, in a table. Because of the small size of the sample, no further calculations were made regarding the answers. Interpretations of the results remain at a speculative level and there were no attempts to generalise them. These procedures are consistent with the points taken from Charles (1988), regarding the research design. In addition, interpretations were made with a view to discussing the research questions implied in each questionnaire question. These interpretations served as basis for presenting a general picture taken from the subjects' answers, concerning each aspect they were asked about, which reflected the research questions.

As for the responses given to the open-ended questions, a post-codification procedure (Cohen & Manion, 1980) was carried out: the answers were read and the name of a same category was placed next to the answers which were considered to be of similar content. A method of "judges" was applied in order to check the reliability of the codification. Two questionnaires of each sample were randomly selected and given to

two different friends to act as "judges". They were asked to read the open-ended answers of the questionnaires and categorize them by using the same categories I had used when post-codifying the answers, and which were given to the judges on a separate sheet, with their definitions written next to them. The categories chosen fit neatly: both judges codified the answers according to the same categories I had chosen, showing no significant disagreement³⁵.

Thus, for the sub-sections of section 3 there were four final categories within which the answers were classified: "Attitudes and Values", "Support and Partnership", "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Actions". These themes will be described below in their general terms. Their more specific aspects will be given again in chapter 8, when presenting the findings from section 3, sub-sections E to G, where the themes will be described specifically according to the question they will be referring to.

"Attitudes and Values" regarded answers which showed a concern with egalitarian ideas and attitudes. It involved issues like the involvement of the whole society, acknowledgement of rights, opinions about special classes as a discriminatory mechanism, respect to human-beings, making people and professionals aware of special education issues, acceptance, need to eliminate prejudices and discrimination, love and fraternity, and so forth.

Answers included in the theme "Support and Partnership" referred to possible links and collaboration among and with parents, schools, institutions and/or governmental levels and to the need to disseminate special education and integration, and to promote discussions about them between the different sectors of society.

The theme "Resources/Investment" referred to aspects like architectural changes in order to facilitate access to buildings' premises, creation of special classes or of whole schools, improvement of teacher and other professional training, the need to provide didactic material and special education equipment, need to improve teachers' salaries, curriculum modification in teacher training courses, provision of more specialists in support of the schools, provision of appropriate number of places for children to register in school, and so forth.

³⁵The only discussion that happened throughout this process was regarding the name to be given to category "Policy Administration" (see section 2, sub-section D in chapter 8). One of the judges had proposed something in the lines of "Political Commitment", and the other agreed with the original categorisation. The original name remained, on the basis that there was agreement between two, out of the three of us, and also on the basis that the judge who proposed a different name emphasised he only made it at a suggestive level, and that he, himself, was not too sure of his alternative being a better name to be given to the category.

The answers included in the theme "Legal/Administrative Actions" concerned issues like the need to ensure implementation of laws, the need to decentralise power, the need to formulate more, to change some, to improve upon or to add topics to the existent legislation, the existence of bureaucracy, distribution of money and its allocation to schools, to education in general and to governments.

Interview Analysis

Since the interview was of a semi-structured type, a schedule (as in Appendix 2) was constructed in which the main topics to be approached during the contact with the subjects were included. Such topics correspond to the four main interview sections as explained above.

The interviews themselves lasted one hour on average and were carried out in Portuguese. They were tape-recorded with a micro-cassette recorder. They were mainly carried out in the schools. Four of them were made in the subjects' homes because they had not yet been transferred to any other school and therefore had no workplace for the meeting.

Finished the interviews, their transcriptions proceeded. Initially, the transcription was done in Portuguese. However, it was soon realised that this would imply translating them later on into English, which would take too long a time. Thus, it was decided that the transcriptions should be done straight from Portuguese into English. Each tape took about 9 hours in average to be transcribed.

After transcription, codification was initiated. In order to codify the interviews, the transcriptions were read and codes were placed next to the pieces in which subjects' talks about the topics selected in the interview schedule could be identified. Every piece of information which would not neatly fit in the schedule was coded as "extra-theme" and set aside for later analysis and inclusion.

To check the reliability of the codification, the agreement of "judges" was applied again. Two interviews of each sample were randomly selected and given to two different people to read and also codify those pieces of the interviews given to them, according to the categories, or topics, of the original schedule. These two people acted as independent evaluators of my codification, and were asked to codify them according to the categories presented and defined in a separate paper.

The initial number of agreements between mine and the two judges' codification was less than 50% on average, for both samples. This percentage was taken out of the total sum of agreements about the times when at least two of us would codify a same piece

under the same category, taken from the topics of the schedule. Where there was disagreement among all of us, the pieces were not considered for analysis. Whenever two of us agreed on a piece as belonging to a certain topic, that codification prevailed, regardless of being in accordance or not with my original codification of it.

In considering the reasons for the level of disagreements, it was thought that perhaps the definitions of the topics given to the judges were not as clear as initially thought. Thus, a second codification was carried out, in which there was a reformulation of the definitions of those topics initially provided to the judges and which generated doubts, in an attempt to make them clearer.

In the second codification, although only some of the topics were redefined (only those about which there was a low level of agreement), all of them were given to the judges once more, in order to check their consistency. One of the judges remained the same, and the other one needed to be changed, due to his own personal reasons. This time, the level of agreements ~~rose~~ to 68.75% (for the State schools) and 75% (for the Municipal schools) of the pieces of interview which were codified. In the interviews with the head teachers of the State schools, 48 pieces were highlighted as examples of the redefined categories, out of which there was agreement of at least two of us over 33 pieces as belonging to those categories. For the Municipal schools, 40 pieces were highlighted, out of which there was agreement of at least two of us over 30 of the pieces highlighted.

Another consequence of this process was the discussions with the judges about those pieces where agreements had not been reached, which corresponded to some of those pieces upon which agreement had not been reached in the first categorisation either. It was eventually agreed that some of those pieces could be spread into some of the codes which were already included in the schedule, and that the other part would represent new codes which emerged from the interview process. In the latter case, they were placed within the added theme 9 of the Interview Analysis .

In the second codification one of the interviews chosen for checking was also changed, and the other one remained the same used in the first process of codification, in order to make sure that the judge who remained the same would not be simply repeating the same criteria to codify the interview pieces, but pay attention to the revised definitions of the categories.

After the codification, the categorisation of the interviews was carried out according to the categories of the original schedule and the ones which emerged from the analysis of and discussion with the judges. The findings were presented, with an

explanatory Table containing either the number of responses for each question, or the number of choices for the categories given.

After the presentation of the Tables, comments from the data being displayed were made subsequently. As noted earlier, the comments attempted to interpret the findings only in the light of the research questions and of the differences and similarities between the two types of sample and their particular contexts.

Further Comments

One unpredictable problem encountered during the interview process was the aforementioned Municipal schools' elections for head teacher. As the majority of subjects were originated from these schools, most of the subjects were "in transit" at the time, that is, being transferred for a short while into another school of the Municipality while the election process was being organised and taking place.

The underlying logic for this, as explained by some of the subjects, is the avoidance of any fraud during the election process. It was assumed that should they keep in contact with the people at the school where they are usually based, they would be advantaged as compared to the other possible candidates from other schools, who would not be able to equally participate in their campaigns.

The head teachers were only allowed to visit the schools where they are usually based (and where they were candidates) in times of debate with other possible candidates. This made it more difficult to make the best use of the short time available. This is also why it was decided that only the ones who had responded to the questionnaires would be interviewed.

On the other hand, I was able to get a unique opportunity, given the short time I had available: to interview the Municipal and State Secretaries of Education in person. Although this was not originally planned, it was decided that this opportunity should not be missed. The interviews were not organised as part of the data collection: they do not constitute part of the data analysis. Their transcriptions were included in Appendices 4 and 5 as a further illustration of the way in which those running the Municipal and State Educational Systems see education and special education.

A final aspect to add refers to the cancellation of the school of the Federal System as part of the sample. This was so because the Federal sample was composed of only one school, located in the University and run by the University staff, presenting a different picture from the Municipal and State schools. The school could be considered to be an "experimental" one: a lot of pedagogic experiments carried out by the University

researchers would take place there. Both questionnaire and interview were applied to this school, but for the reasons stated above it was left out of analysis.

The next three chapters show the results from the data analysis. Chapter 7 refers to the findings from the documents related to special education. Chapter 8 refers to findings obtained from the analysis of the questionnaire. And chapter 9 refers to the results obtained from the interviews.

CHAPTER 7 - FINDINGS FROM THE DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents the results gathered from the documentary analysis as related to the research questions. There will be a presentation of what the Federal, State and Municipal legislation, guidelines and directives have to say about the integration of disabled children into the ordinary school system.

The presentation will follow an account of the "legal documents"³⁶ about special education and integration at the three political-administrative levels (Federal, State and Municipal) in Brazil. In order to do so, the Federal, State and Municipal Constitutions and legal documents produced by the Educational Authorities of the three administrative levels will be analysed.

All legal documents in Brazil need to go through a process of approval by the Legislative Power of the administrative level at which the document is being produced. The Legislative Power is responsible for monitoring, analysing, innovating, up-dating and producing legislation. At the Federal level, the Legislative Power is composed of the Chamber of Deputies and of Senators, with the President being the major instance of approval, the one who finally signs or vetoes whatever is approved or rejected. At the State Level, the Legislative Power is composed of the Assembly of Deputies, and the Governor is the top level person. At the Municipal Level, the Legislative Power is composed of the Chamber of Town Councillors, with the Mayor being the "president", or "governor" at the Municipal level.

For the legal documents produced at the three levels, there is also a kind of hierarchy followed³⁷. Thus, Municipal and State levels are legally autonomous to formulate and

³⁶ The "Legal Documents" include pieces of the Federal and State Constitutions and of the Municipal Organic Law regarding integration and special education and Laws and Resolutions. The "Non-legal" include Circulars and Reports regarding the same issues.

³⁷ At the Federal level, the main document is the Federal, or National, Constitution. It sets the principles to be followed by the whole nation and must be the basis of any other legal documents produced at any of the levels. After the Constitution, there are the Decree-Laws, which are of specific production of the Federal level. Decree-Laws define in more details what the Constitution mandates. They also appoint the Departments or Agencies responsible for carrying out what they state and delegating the due powers. Then there are the Federal Laws, which detail even more what the Decree-Laws say and trace out the means and possible strategies by which what is being mandated is to be carried out. At the State level a similar structure occurs. There is the State Constitution, which is followed by Orders, which are then followed by State Laws. They are all expected to follow the lines set by the Federal legislation, although State Laws are expected to be reinterpreted in the lights of the smaller administrative levels, like some Departments or Secretaries, who can, as a result, issue Resolutions. Such Resolutions last for as long as a more authoritative level decides to cancel or change it. For instance, the Department of Special Education of the State Secretary of Education issues a Resolution. This Resolution can be changed by either the Department itself or a superior level, like the Secretary of State for Education himself, or the State Governor, or anyone from the Federal level. Again, similar structure is verified at the Municipal level. The equivalent for the Constitution at the Municipal level is the Municipal Organic Law. This is also followed by Orders and Resolutions, but these only apply to those very specific -and local- targets, and can be changed by the other superior administrative levels

implement their own policies providing such policies follow the main lines stated in the Federal Constitution. These aspects will be especially important when considering and analysing the differences encountered at the Municipal and State levels of policy formulation and implementation, their links and the way in which they relate to the actual practice verified in the State and Municipal education Systems, through the questionnaires and interviews.

Regarding the legal and non-legal documents, the Constitutions, Organic Law and Resolutions were explained above. Circulars and Reports do not have force of law and do not need the Assembly's approval. However, they are official documents issued by authoritative people themselves, such as the Secretaries or vice-Secretaries, or a team of any Secretary. These documents are expected to be read and considered for application in practice. They refer to issues being currently discussed and offer practical suggestions regarding certain matters of a more general (in the case of the Circulars) or specific (in the case of Reports) nature.

First, I will provide a list of the documents which have been selected for analysis. Second, I will present the picture extracted from the Federal documents, and then go on to the State ones, and finally the Municipal ones. In doing so, I will be following the direction of the hierarchical structure of the three levels, as they are currently organised: from Federal, to State, to Municipal level.

Finally, a brief summary of the findings in general will be presented, introducing the reader into the next chapter.

The Documents Chosen from Each Level

Municipal documents include the Organic Municipal Law, two circulars personally written by the Municipal Secretary for Education at the time when the interviews were carried out, and personally handed in to me after an interview with the Secretary herself. Such circulars were distributed to the schools as a basis for discussion about what was being implemented at the time, the *Bloco Único*. (see Appendix 7 for detailed explanation)

One of the main consequences of its implementation was the *de-serialisation*. Up to then, the children would go through the years in *series* (where the term *de-serialisation* comes from) of grades, from the first to the eighth, in primary education, and then from the ninth to the eleventh or thirteenth, in secondary education. If at the end of each academic year the minimum standards and concepts

(State and Federal). In addition, they are expected to be in accordance to the main lines of the State and Federal legislations.

set nationally had not been achieved, the child would be retained in that grade and should repeat that same year, until further "during-the-year" testing and "end-of-year" assessment procedures proved their "ability" to move on. The educational structure works in this way in all Brazilian education Systems: Federal, State and Municipal.

Another consequence, aimed at by this policy, was to lower the number of drop-outs in the first years of schooling. Research in Brazil (Freitag, 1978; Patto, 1984 and 1990) has for a long time shown the large amount of children who drop out of school by the end of the first and second grades. Drop-outs at this age (6 to 8) are, therefore, largely acknowledged as one of the main problems to be generated and faced by the Brazilian educational Systems.

Therefore, those Municipal circulars would not directly address the issue of integration as specifically regarding disabled children whose needs originated from other reasons than socio-economic ones. However, socio-economic-originated needs are among the most common types identified in the ordinary schools of both Networks. Also, the contents of such circulars are about an inclusive school, meaning they also accept those with difficulties in adjusting and adapting to the traditional schooling system,. Thus it was decided that these circulars would be of relevance for consideration. In addition, such Circulars were carefully considered and analysed by the schools of the Municipal System: they represented the main guidelines for putting the *Bloco Único* into practice.

State documents include the State Constitution and circulars and reports issued by the State Secretary concerning some practical strategies for educating some categories of disabled children within an integrative perspective, that is, in the mainstream of education, in the ordinary classes.

Federal documents include the Chapter on Education of the Federal Constitution of October, 1988. Other documents, and the other chapters of the Constitution which might have other implications to disabled people will have been considered elsewhere (see chapter 5). For the purpose of the present chapter and of the thesis, focus will be solely on the documents directly related to educational practices.

Thus, other Federal documents analysed in this chapter include:

1. The current version of the National Law of Directives and Basis of Education, presently in the process of being approved by the Senate, having just been approved (in May 1993) by the Chamber of Deputies;
2. A Document reporting on the meeting of three of the basic Secretaries of Education of the Ministry of Education, realised on the 25th-27th of September and on the 2nd-

4th of October 1989, with a view to extracting theoretical grounds for a National Plan of Education;

3. Federal Law No.7.853 of the 24th of October 1989, regarding the rights of the people *with* deficiency;

4. Resolution No.01 of the 6th of February 1991 of the National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE) of the Ministry of Education, setting the criteria for the concession of funds to the States, to be used for the financing and improvement of the special educational provision;

5. Orientations from the FNDE for subsidizing the policies regarding resourcing for disabled children in accordance to its Resolution No. 01/91;

6. The proposal of a collaborative work for the operationalization of Resolution No.01/91 of the FNDE, by the National Secretary for Basic Education (SENEB) and the Co-ordination for Special Education (COEE) of the Ministry of Education;

7. A Paper on the Conference presented in the National Seminar for the Integration of the Person *with* Deficiency in the Educational Context, in May 1993, given by the Federal Secretary for Special Education of the Ministry of Education, Mrs. Rosita Edler de Carvalho, about the *National Perspective and Prospects for Integration in the National Context*.

The Federal Documents

The main legislation produced in Brazil regarding the education of disabled children was produced in 1961 and 1988, in each of these years' respective Constitutions. Other pieces of legislation, reviews, reports and decrees were produced after and based on them, mostly as part and result of their implementation process.

Two main points shall be made in this sub-section on the Federal documents. First, that for the past 30 years Federal documents have increasingly mentioned and expressed consideration of integration of disabled children in the ordinary schools. Second, that despite this increase, legal provisions regarding the financing of special education, as well as the general and rather ambiguous terminologies adopted when referring to disabled people seem to leave room for integration to be jeopardized in practice.

The relevance of the above points lies in their relationship with "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". Regarding the documents produced at the Federal level, the large quantity of documents produced amounts to an integrative discourse and to the formulation of a considerable sum of official policies and guidelines ("over-formulation") on the matter. These policies and guidelines will not always be put into practice ("under-implementation"), as shown elsewhere.

To demonstrate the above points, I shall begin by first presenting and comparing parts of the two Constitutions (1961 and 1988) which have guided the organisation of and provision for special education. In doing so, special education terminology and inferred concepts of integration will be focused upon. I shall then, following the chronological order of their issuing, present other relevant legal documents, laws, reports and decrees on education which originate from those major Laws, also pointing out their terminological aspects and their implications to the organisation and provision of special education.

What the Federal Documents Say

In the 1988 Constitution, the Article 205 says that

The education, right of all and duty of the State [Federation³⁸] and the family, will be promoted and boosted with the collaboration of the society, aiming at the full development of the person, their preparation to the exercise of citizenship and their qualification for work.

The Article 208, § III, says that

the duty of the State [Federation] regarding education will be enforced with the assurance of special educational assistance to those who portray deficiency³⁹, preferably in the Official Network.

In the 1961 Constitution, in its Article 175, § 4, it can be found that *Special Law will legislate about the maternity Assistance, the childhood and the adolescence and about the education of the exceptional.*

In its Article 176 it can be found that

Education, inspired by the principle of the national unity and the ideals of liberty and human solidarity, is a right of all and a duty of the State [Federation], and will be provided at home⁴⁰ and at school.

Thus, although the education of *exceptional* children was already being considered in the 1961 Constitution, the issue of their integration into the ordinary schools of the Municipal and State Systems was only explicitly expressed in the Constitutional text of the 1988 Constitution. On the other hand, if before education was solely the responsibility of the State, it now became the responsibility of the State, shared with the family and with the help of the society.

³⁸ Words in square brackets are included by myself into the original text in order to provide a clearer explanation of some of the specific terms applied in the Brazilian legislation.

³⁹ Quoted words were underlined by myself, in order to call the reader's attention to the words in the legal texts which indicate a medical-therapeutic approach.

⁴⁰ It might be interesting for the reader to know that in Portuguese, the term "education" has two main meanings. One refers to the pedagogic aspect, which corresponds to the way in which the term is applied in English. The other refers to up-bringing, which explains why the legal text says that it will also be provided at home.

Nonetheless, the Law No. 4.024 of Directives and Basis of Education of December, 20th, 1961, originated from the 1961 Constitution, included in its text, through Article 88, that

The Education of exceptional people shall, whenever possible, be included in the general educational system, in order to integrate them into the community.

On the other hand, in Article 89, it says that

All private initiative which is considered efficient by the State Education Councils [CEE], and which regard the education of exceptional people, will receive a special consideration by the Public Powers through grants, financial concessions and agreements.

The second Law of Directives and Bases of Education, reformulated from the above (Law 5.692 of the 11th of August, 1971), maintained similar lines, when it says in its Article 9 that

The pupils who possess physical or mental deficiency, the ones who have a considerable delay regarding their regular entry age [at school] and the gifted ones shall receive special treatment according to the rules established by the due Education Councils.

Thus, despite mentioning the integration of such pupils in the ordinary educational system, it also leaves open the possibility for them to be educated in separate settings through governmental incentives, while making use of some categorisation structure based on a more medico-therapeutic approach, identifiable through the use of terms like *treatment, exceptional, deficiency* and *assistance*.

Such ambiguity might indicate the confusion of the government itself, at the time, about the implications of assuming an integrative perspective for special education, probably because there was no clear definition of special education, in any of the documents issued at the time. Or it might perhaps indicate the lack of a specialized knowledge of the subject, to be applied within an integrative perspective: at that time the Brazilian Universities were only beginning to structure courses on special education. Graduation courses for teachers did not include special education (and still do not nowadays, with perhaps one exception, in the State of São Paulo) and post-graduation courses were only offered within specialisation levels (one or two-year courses).

These courses were mostly medically-oriented, with emphasis on diagnostic and classification procedures. When educationally oriented, such courses would focus on pedagogic techniques for teaching disabled children, but no thorough discussions or further emphasis would be given on integrating them into the community and into the

day-to-day life of the school. One of the possible explanations for this is related to the long-term inheritance of the medical profession with matters related to *deficient* people.

The inevitable consequence of this "inheritance" from the medical profession, and of the professional training provided by Brazilian Universities was that the few professionals who could speak of disabled people would do so in this medical-therapeutic way. In addition, the practice mostly noticed regarding disabled people was provided by the voluntary agencies, which also focused on a remedial approach and would sometimes work as a *reservoir* to which those "problem-children" encountered in the ordinary schools would be sent.

The main reason given by the schools for referring disabled children to the work of voluntary agencies was that there were not enough specialised teachers for the schools to do so. In fact, much of the language, perspective and attitudes described above was identified in the schools in 1991, during the data collection, perhaps reflecting -and to a certain extent being justified by- this confusion of terminologies and approaches at the policy-making, governmental level, throughout the years.

The creation of the National Centre for Special Education (CENESP) in July, 3, 1973 through the Decree No.72.425 reflects the points made above. The main responsibility of that Centre was described as:

to plan, co-ordinate and favour the development of the primary, secondary, higher and supplementary education for the visually, hearing, mentally, physically deficient, and for the ones with multiple deficiency, for those with conduct problems and the gifted.... (in: Integração, October 1987, Year 1, No. 0)

At no point in the text is there a direct mention to prioritising integration in the ordinary classroom. Moreover, it adopts the use of seven categories of deficiency: *mental, visual, auditory, physical, multiple, cerebral palsy* and *gifted*.

For the next 12 years no significant piece of legislation was produced with respect to special education, regarding any more specific aspect of integration. Special education remained undefined and integration generally disregarded as a priority. Practical initiatives on integration within an environmental scope of special education were kept to a few isolated experiences throughout the country (Cunha, 1988).

The next significant move in terms of educational provision for disabled people will be the re-structuring of CENESP, initiated in 1985. A new proposal is elaborated in which CENESP states the *urgent need to redefine special education policies in Brazil* (MEC/SESG/CENESP, p.1) based on some problems surveyed, among which are the

lack of statistical data about the special education clientele, lack of satisfactory offer of places to all children in school age, lack of human resources and appropriate educational methodology, lack of financial resources and excessive bureaucracy in releasing resources.

In November 4th, 1985, the Decree No. 91.872 institutes a Committee to set out *policies of joint action aiming at improving special education and at integrating, in society, the people with deficiency, with conduct problems and the gifted people.* (MEC, Documento 17/85: *O Resgate da Educação Especial*, p 15). Such a document sets out a statement on the need for a collective awareness of the issues regarding the *people with deficiency*, marking a period of more open discussions concerning the integration of disabled people. It also re-states the principles on the basis of which special education should be re-organised (i.e: participation, normalization, interiorization, universalization, simplification), as already stated in the proposal handed in by CENESP at the time of its re-structuring process. However, a clearer scope of special education was still not put forward as a general proposal to be adopted.

In October 29th, 1986, through the Decree No. 93.481, the CORDE (Co-ordination for the Integration of the Person with Deficiency) is established, aiming at

co-ordinating the actions executed by establishments and institutions of existing sectorial programmes in an attempt to rationalise efforts and bring together initiatives which are interrelated. (in: *Integração*, October 1987, Year 1, No. 0)

This document suggests an initiative of the Federal government in taking up the leadership of a coordinating action towards integration within a clearer and more outspoken framework.

In November 21st, 1986, CENESP was extinguished and in its place the Secretary of Special Education (SESPE) was established, through the Decree No. 93.613. The creation of SESPE was intended to optimise bureaucratic processes in an attempt to make the decision-making processes more efficient and enhance the articulation of actions among different Ministries connected to issues regarding the *Person with Deficiency*. It also intended to promote more flexibility regarding the financial aspects, with a better distribution of resources, and to promote larger representativeness of the Brazilian government within the international setting with a view to exchanging experiences and technology with other countries.

This line of development gave the Constitution of 1988 the status of a remarkable legal document in that it mentions the integration of people conveying *deficiency* in


the ordinary classroom of the regular educational system, although still confusingly using terms such as *deficiency*. Nonetheless, for the first time a major and basic national document openly expressed integrative views regarding the education and up-bringing of disabled children.

The 1988 Constitution has already generated initiatives and legislation that follow the lines it sets out with regards to the integration of disabled children. In terms of initiative, the Document *Subsidies for the National Education Plan*, resulting from the joint meeting of the Secretaries of Special Education (SESPE), Basic Education (SEB) and Secondary Education (SESG) of the Ministry of Education in September and October 1989, reports on the main guidelines defined at this meeting.

It became generally accepted from the above meeting that: 1) there should be more practical articulation between all the Education Secretaries of the Ministry of Education, 2) programmes initiated should be given continuation, 3) projects concerning the education of people with *deficiency* should be within an integrative framework in the sense of a context which is the least restrictive as possible regarding the participation of people with *deficiency*, 4) integration would not necessarily mean the end of special education, but the inclusion of special education within the comprehensive education.

This fourth agreement is of particular relevance to the point made about the lack of a defined scope for special education. Although such a document has not force of law, it is produced at the Federal level and it sets out a general scope of which special education is expected to be part.

Also in this document, there is a variation in the adoption of terms of reference regarding disabled people. Sometimes they would be referred to as *person with deficiency*, and sometimes as *person with special needs*. Although this document also refers to the identification -and sometimes to the diagnosis- of those people as one of the priorities to orientate better practice, it does not, however, mention the use of categories. It thus seems possible to speculate about a possible change, in Brazil, in the vocabulary, towards what Labrégère (1990) calls a *new language*, although not yet translated into laws.

The Law No. 7.583 of the 24th of October, 1989 was another achievement in terms of legislation. It provides for the rights of people  *deficiency*. On the cover of the booklet in which the law is written and which is distributed to the population, there is an interesting slogan: *Use in case of discrimination*. The Law provides for all areas of the lives of disabled people, and in its Article 2 it says that

To the Public Power and its institutions is conferred the assurance, to the person , , deficiency, of the full exercise of their basic rights, including the rights to education, health, labour and leisure, social assistance and help in the childhood and maternity (MEC, Law 7.853)

The fact that it is produced in a handy and easy-to-read booklet, and generally accessible to the population, is already a positive move towards integration. This law also provides for criminal penalty as a result of discrimination against people , , any *deficiency*; for instance, the refusal to accept a child in a school, because of a child being *deficient*. However, the extent to which the degree of *deficiency* might influence or even be used to justify any discriminating action is not clearly addressed in the law. The text only states that in the educational area, what has been established by the law shall be assured through, among other measures, *the compulsory admission of people , , deficiency, in regular courses of the ordinary and private systems, who are able to be integrated in the regular education.* (MEC, Law 7.853). There is no mention given as to how this ability to engage in regular education will be assessed, or by whom.

On the other hand, this law also re-structures the Co-ordination for the Integration of the Person , , Deficiency (CORDE) and the Secretary of Special Education (SESPE), both responsible for putting the laws into practice: promoting, disseminating, creating, establishing, implementing and articulating services and projects regarding people , , *deficiency* throughout the country. It might be that the guidelines set by these re-structured institutions after the approval of this law have been addressing the issue regarding eligibility for being considered a *person , , deficiency*.

These considerations are apparent in the next document relevant for consideration: Resolution No.1/91 of the Deliberative Council of the National Fund for the Development of Education (CD/FNDE). In both the original Resolution and the guidelines and directives launched afterwards containing suggestions about the implementation of the Resolution, topics for discussion include *Characteristics of People , , Special Educational Needs, Diagnosis, Prevention of Deficiency*, and so forth.

In another document by the Ministry of Education by its National Fund for the Development of Education (FNDE), the Secretary of Basic Education (SENEB) and the Co-ordination for Special Education (COEE), regarding the operationalization of the above Resolution and the suggestions for its implementation, it is included as part of one of the basic actions that the *redefinition of the clientele and performance of specialised services* and the *systematisation of the procedures of selection, evaluation*

and monitoring with a view to defining the educational provision be taken. (MEC/FNDE/SENEB/COEE, Proposal for a Joint Action for the Operationalization of the Resolution CD/FNDE No.01/91, undated).

Thus, in the documents analysed from 1991 onwards there is more frequent use of terms such as *People with Special Educational Needs*, perhaps indicating a more definite move towards a *new language* (Labregère, 1990, see also chapter 3) in that the vocabulary takes into account people's abilities, rather than disabilities, and identification procedures for purposes of planning a better educational provision. This is illustrated in a passage of a document which is previous to the one described above and which was used as a basis for the above: a proposal by the Secretary of Basic Education (SENEB) of the Ministry of Education regarding the implementation of the Constitutional Article 208, referring to special education for the people with *deficiency*.

Despite the use of the term *Person with Deficiency*, this document proposing the implementation of the Constitutional Article states that

The determination of the need or of referral to special educational assistance will be made, in each case, by the respective educational authority of the educational Systems, based on a multidimensional evaluation of the pupil, carried out by inter-disciplinary teams

and that

The Multi-disciplinary evaluation will be of an investigative nature, carried out within an educational perspective in order to underpin the indication of programmes which meet the individual needs, assuring the quality of the pupil's performance.

Moreover, in the version of the new Law of Directives and Basis of Education, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, which was approved by the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress in May, 1993, the terms used vary between *person with deficiency*, *pupils with deficiency* and *pupils with special needs*, even though no mention was found of the term "special educational needs".

The provisions set out in this Law seem to leave no confusion as to the social integration of the clientele. However, they do leave some doubt regarding integration into the mainstream of education. For instance, Chapter XIV of the Law is exclusively dedicated to Special Education. In its Article 85 it says that

By Special Education it is understood, for the effects of this law, the educational modality preferably offered in the ordinary schools of the Networks, for pupils with deficiencies.

Paragraph 1 of the same Article carries on stating that: *There will be, when necessary, services of specialised support in the regular school, in order to meet the peculiarities of the special education clientele* . So far, indications are that there is an integrative perspective in the educational sense. However, the doubts begin to come forth when one reads Paragraph 2 of the same Article, which notes:

The educational assistance will be given in special classes, schools or services, whenever it becomes impossible, as a result of the specific conditions of the pupils, for them to be integrated into the ordinary classes of the regular teaching

and then Paragraph 4: *The pupils who can be integrated into the regular teaching will have their places ensured in the basic teaching of the State system.*

The uncertainties refer to the lack of criteria for the consideration of those who can be integrated. Moreover, Article 86 does not make it clear whether the curricular specificity allowed for this clientele means exemption from the ordinary curriculum -and perhaps from the ordinary school- or not. It reads:

The Educational Systems [Federal, State, Municipal and private] will ensure to the pupils with special needs: I- specific curricula, methods, techniques, educational resources and organisation, in order to meet their needs ...

Finally, in its Article 87 it says that

The Education Systems, through their statutory agencies, will establish the criteria for characterisation of the private, non-profitable institutions, specialised and with exclusive action in special education, which are entitled to receive technical and financial support from the Public Power.

Financial support was already addressed in Chapter V of the law, named *The National Educational System*, when in its Article 20, § 2-I it excludes the institutions specialised in assisting those *with specific deficiencies* from the limit of 15% of its total costs as the maximum financial support to be received by the Public Power. Thus, unlike other institutions characterised as non-profitable, which are given up to 15% of the total costs in financial support by the Public Power, institutions which are specialised in assisting people *with specific deficiency* may receive more.

One can argue that in principle, this might not necessarily indicate segregation: such institutions could easily be working within an integrative perspective. However, despite the incentives to integration found throughout the text of the Law of Directives and Basis for Education, nowhere is it ensured that the support for institutions assisting disabled people would refer to institutions operating within the

mainstream of education. Thus, they could be following a separate, or parallel educational system.

For this reason, the last document to be considered is relevant because it was produced about 3 years after the time in which the Law of Directives and Basis began to be discussed for approval (May, 1993). It might throw some light on the actual direction the Law of Directives and Basis is taking regarding the integration of disabled people in the educational context.

The document begins with a historical account of the term integration, with a view to providing a common basis for understanding the sense in which the Ministry of Education is applying the term. At one point, the document reads:

Thus, the contribution which the Ministry of Education brings out to this National Seminar is the understanding that the integration of the people
deficiency:

. results from a historical evolution based on the advancement of human rights;

. is a tendency which is being accelerated in this end of century;

. is a theoretical construct which implies temporal, instructional and social dimensions;

. allows the distinction of different kinds and degrees of levels of integration, that is, of complex and growing interactive actions which are processed in the educational context as well as in the world of labour and in the community;

. in the educational context, it implies different modes of educational provision which gradually offer more complex levels of interaction to the people . . . , deficiency;

. has the characteristics of a process inspired in the idea of normalisation, a principle which directs the services offered to those . . . , deficiency;

. is based on reciprocity of actions which must be gradual, continuous and permanently stimulated.

This document could be said to reflect a concrete response to one of the main demands which resulted from the joint meeting of the Secretaries of Special Education (SESPE), Basic Education (SEB) and Secondary Education (SESG) of the Ministry of Education in September and October 1989 mentioned elsewhere: the need for clearer definitions set out at the Ministry level.

From the pieces of documents described in this part of section 1, it seems probable that, at the Federal legislative level, there has been a progressive movement towards integration of disabled children into the mainstream of education. This can be seen in the provisions and suggestions discussed in the documents, and in the modification of terms adopted throughout the years: from *exceptional* to *people with special needs*, although this is still done in a seemingly confusing way, with *people . . . , deficiency* being still frequently adopted.

Nonetheless, the most recent documents also show a certain caution as to how this integration is to be put into practice and how much such practice is subjected to other factors of prior importance, like changes in attitudes and social awareness. This is expressed in the Document presented in the National Seminar described above, when the Ministry's Secretary for Special Education writes:

Of little use will be the laws if, in their core, there is no awareness of the community regarding the benefits brought about by integration and a firm political willingness to cautiously operationalize it. (in: MEC/SESPE, Panorama Internacional da Integração - Enfoque Nacional, 1993, p.4)

Such warnings do not have to imply any setback in the integration movement, although the danger is always there. As seen in chapter 5, Brazil has a long tradition of spending years, sometimes decades, waiting for the "right" political moment to put things into practice. Given the issue of concern, and the number of political parties and divergent interests involved in every issue, this "right" political moment could be at risk of never arriving.

Nonetheless, this does not seem to be the case now. In the document above the Secretary also sets out prior actions to be initiated immediately, regarding special education within an integrative perspective. Such actions include: supporting research on integration; exchanging information and ideas with other countries; joint action of the Ministry of Education's internal Secretaries for Education. They also include the vision of special education and integration within the general educational system and linked to: the project of an effective educational system; to an effective teacher training; to the consideration of the role of non-governmental agencies; to the needs of the disabled pupils and to the availability and quality of special education provision.

Thus, there have been genuine steps towards integration at the Federal level, as verified in the legal texts. On the other hand, there have also been a number of stated intentions which were never put into practice. The question as to whether this movement towards integration reflects more of a problem of over-formulating intentions in a national context which enables only under-implementation seems to remain at the core of the problem. Light will hopefully be thrown on this matter after the presentation of the questionnaire and interview results.

The State Documents

The State documents to be analysed in this sub-section have also been produced between 1961 and the time of the data collection, in 1991. They consist of documents produced as a result of the 1961 and 1988 Federal Constitutions. They include a

Resolution (No. 99/80) produced by the State Council of Education (CEE), a Decree (No. 1512) issued in 1981 by the State government, a Circular launched in 1986, the State Constitution of 1989 and a Report also issued in 1989 proposing a new approach to identify and assess disabled children.

The analysis of all the documents selected for this sub-section will be focused on their educational aspect. The point made throughout this sub-section is that the State level has been less concerned with the integration of disabled children than the Federal level. Not just because of the small amount of documents found concerning the matter, but also because of their contents, which adopt a more medical-therapeutic approach and a segregative perspective. Changes in this respect seem to have effectively been initiated only after 1988.

Thus, it will be argued that at the State level there has been "under-implementation" as it concerns the State's role to follow what the Federal guidelines have been requiring since 1961. With regards to the State's special educational practice being more of a segregative type, it appears that there has been no "over-formulation", for there has not been any excessive production of guidelines or directives. Nonetheless, it seems that there has been "under-implementation", in the sense that even the minimum provision suggested by the documents have not been guaranteed.

What the State Documents Say

The main piece of legislation on which the whole State bases its practice is the Resolution No. 99/80, by the State Council for Education (CEE). This resolution is based on the 1961 Constitution and its subsequent major educational law, namely Law No. 5692 of 1971.

The Resolution, sets out norms for special education in the State, and the special education clientele is characterised according to nine categories: *gifted, slow learners, educable mentally deficient, trainable mentally deficient, visually deficient, hearing deficient, language deficient, physically deficient* (including the chronically ill and the cerebral palsied) and *emotionally and socially maladjusted*.

The Resolution also states that the offer of special education should take into account precepts like: non-segregation, defined in terms of offering special education in the regular school; integration between family and society, to be seen as environments to be considered by special education, which should seek to integrate the children in those environments; self-acceptance, that is, promoting pupils' self-knowledge, awareness of their own limitations and their consequent personal and emotional adjustment to these limitations; labour training; prevention and diagnosis of

deficiencias; multi-disciplinary action involving personnel qualified in the pedagogic, medical, psychological and social areas.

The Resolution also states that special education be offered in classes of the regular teaching system, in special classes created within the regular schools and in specially created special schools. In addition, the special education establishments will have their own curriculum, being that in the regular classes of the ordinary schools the special teaching will be provided by the regular teacher, with orientation from the specialist teacher; in the special classes of the regular schools the curriculum will be designed by specialist teachers, according to special programmes developed; and in the special schools the planning, also made by specialised teachers, will be in accordance to the categories of special needs covered by the school.

Despite some questioning of the assurance of a same core curriculum for disabled pupils, the statements of the Resolution cited can be considered as having an integrative perspective, especially when it mentions the non-segregative precept to be observed and the multi-disciplinary action in preventing and identifying needs. However, the Resolution does not mention how such a diagnosis could be used in the sense of, for instance, helping planning educational targets.

As it stands in the Resolution, such identification procedures could be simplistically applied only to categorize disabled children, without further educational implications being drawn, as it seems to have been the case for most of the head teachers of the State schools who reported to have special education provision. (as further seen in the results from the questionnaires and interviews). Moreover, the Resolution does not set out guidance about how the financing of integration aspects would be dealt with, and by whom.

A few months after Resolution No. 99/80 was issued, a Decree was made regulating the creation of special schools and special classes (Decree No. 1.512 of January 30, 1981). The Decree required that new special schools be subjected to the State Secretary of Education's criteria, and only by a proposal by this Secretary. However, Article 17 states that special classes for mental *deficient* and *deficient* of speech and hearing areas could be created in the regular schools, provided that: a) there were pertinent space, installations and equipment in the primary schools; b) qualified human resources were available and c) at least five pupils were in need of it.

No more explanation was given, for instance, as to how to obtain the financial support for it, who would qualify the personnel required or how the schools would obtain support for any physical change to the school premises.

In 1986, the Sector of Special Education (SEE), through the Department of Technical and Pedagogic Support of the State Secretary of Education (DAT-SEDU) sent out a Circular containing the guidelines for the services provided by the State Secretary of Education to the education of visually impaired students. Although the document states that the Special Education Sector (SEE) of the Secretary is responsible for all sensory impaired clientele, this document mentions the education of the visually impaired only. It says:

For the purposes of educational provision, the pupils considered as having sensory deficiency will be:

- *the blind: presenting total loss or minimum residual vision, needing the Braille method as a means of reading or writing or other methods, didactic resources and special equipment for their education;*
- *hard of vision: the pupil who has a visual residual of a degree which allows them to read texts printed with ink, providing the use of didactic resources and special equipment for their education, e.g.: enlarged texts, lens, etc.*

In this document, there is an implied perspective of integration (see word in bold below) in the sense of the pupil being registered in the regular school, when it says that:

*The pupil with visual deficiency who cannot attend the resource classrooms due to their relatives' housing problems, shall be **integrated** into any school of the Official or Private Network and the Special Education Sector will send a specialised teacher to assist them during weekly visits... and he will provide guidance to the teachers who are responsible for the pupil regarding their management and the preparation of specific material.*

Nonetheless, such an integration seems to be rather grounded on a "practical-constraints" basis, and not on principles being adopted at the State governmental level. It is also worth noticing that so far, and despite the changes that were already occurring and the Federal level regarding the use of certain terms to refer to disabled children, no mention was made of them at the State level which could indicate the adoption of a less labelling language.

In addition, the document also implies that the lack of financial and human resources in the State System was already a problem. Even though not directly stated in this document, the fact that the priority would be given to the pupils from pre-school to the 4th grade, being the help given to the older pupils subject to the availability of qualified personnel, does not leave much doubt about those constraints.

The next document to be considered is the State Constitution of 1989. Unlike the Federal Constitution, which varies the terminology when referring to special education clientele, and reinforcing the point made above about the terminology

applied, the State one adopts *person with deficiency* from the beginning to the end.

In its Article 170 it says that

the teaching will be applied in the terms of the principles established in the Federal Constitutional Article 206 and... III- respecting the conditions which are peculiar to the pupil who works, to the portrayer of deficiency and to the gifted by offering regular teaching at night.

It also states, in its Article 171, that *it is the duty of the Public Powers:*

*I - to assure special education, up to the age of 18, in special classes, to the person with deficiency who is effectively unable to attend the regular classrooms;
II- the assurance of schools which are equipped, of the integration of the pupil with deficiency in the Official Network...*

There are no further details in the State Constitution regarding how to put these ideas into practice. However, in the same year the State Constitution was passed (1989), the Special Education Sector (SEE) of the State Secretary of Education (SEDU) launched a Report proposing a new approach to evaluate pupils with learning difficulties⁴¹.

In the Report, *exceptionality*, or *deficiency*, is described as a momentum in the life of the child with possibilities of being overcome, if adequately worked on. The Report also emphasizes the need to know the pedagogic condition of the child in order to identify its difficulties and plan the pedagogic help necessary. The lack of availability of qualified personnel became clear in this document, when it stated that the diagnosis proposed has advantages over the traditional way of identifying disabled children, which implied a multi-disciplinary team not available in the State education System.

The diagnosis proposed intended to identify the educational difficulties of the pupils regarding their writing, reading and mathematical skills. To those pupils with difficulties of a psychological or medical origin, it proposed that they be directly sent to specialised professionals. However, other professionals' reports would still be used in collaboration to the general picture gathered about those pupils individually, during their evaluation.

⁴¹At this point, a reminder about Reports and Circulars seems relevant. As discussed earlier in this chapter, it is difficult to clearly identify the differences between a Report and a Circular, in terms of their prescriptive aspects. In principle, none of them are prescriptive. However, they can fairly be said to acquire such a prescriptive characteristic because they are expected to be taken into account by the schools to guide their practice. It seems that a Report expresses concerns over matters in a more general way, while a Circular usually concerns more specific matters. In this sense, a Report usually gives indications of what future policies to be developed will consist of, or at least its main directions. A Circular is about an aspect of a policy which is already in progress, but in need of discussion and possible revision.

It is curious to notice that no mention was made to this procedure proposed by the Special Education Sector of the State Secretary of Education, neither during the questionnaires in 1991 (see chapter 8) nor during the interviews in 1992 (see chapter 9) carried out with the State schools. This could be an indicative of the "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies at the State level. The detailed presentation of the results from the questionnaire and interview shall bring some more light on to this matter.

Another curious fact is that among the criteria set for the selection of children entitled for going through such diagnosis is their repetition of the first grade, at least once. The implications of such criteria might be a characterization of special education as one which deals with the "failures". This might represent a view of special education as a system to be run separately from the mainstream of education, within a remedial perspective, which might well evolve into segregation. And yet, Brazilian literature has for a long time been showing how the educational system itself has become the main responsible for such "failure" cases (for instance, Freitag, 1978; Patto, 1984 and 1990).

Thus, the practical moves towards integration have been less effective at the State level than the at the Federal level. Perhaps the greatest indication for this assumption comes from the Decree No. 1512 mentioned above, which sets out regulations for the creation of special classes in ordinary schools and special schools. Regarding children's placement, such a document indicates an open space for a segregative special education.

The Municipal Documents

The documents available for analysis in this sub-section date back to 1990. They basically consist of the 1990 Organic Law of the Municipality of Vitória, resulting from the Federal Constitution of 1988. They also include two Reports written by the Municipal Secretary of Education (SEME): one in 1991 and the other in 1992.

The main point to be made about the Municipal level is that despite this lack of a "tradition" in setting out guidelines for special education, the ones which were issued contain a considerably more integrative baseline than the Federal and the State ones.

The implications of this is that the lack of Municipal guidelines and directives or reported practice in special education more generally and in integration more specifically confirms "over-formulation" at the Federal and State levels regarding their relationship with the Municipal one, which is expected to follow what the first two ones propose.

On the other hand, at the Municipal level itself such phenomena will not be confirmed, since not only were there not enough guidelines and prescriptions on the matter; there were some integration practices being identified alongside with integrative educational principles in the documents about education in general.

What the Municipal Documents Say

The earliest document available dates back to 1990, namely, the Organic Law of the Municipality of Vitória.

In this law, education is treated in Chapter IV. In Article 212 of the mentioned Chapter, it says that: *The teaching shall be applied based on the following principles: I- equity of conditions for the access and permanence in the school...* And further on, in its Article 215, it reads:

The duty of the Municipality towards education shall be effected through the assurance of: I - educational provision, with specialised personnel, to the people with deficiency, with the assurance of appropriate places and installations, preferably in the regular educational system...

In addition, one last Article, No. 228, concerning special education more specifically, notes that:

To the pupils with physical, mental or sensory deficiency the right shall be assured to register in the Municipal State school which is closest to their residence

From the data collected in the interviews it became clear that no special education organisation had been set up at the Municipal level before 1990. This fact is confirmed in a preliminary document emitted by the Department of Special Education of the Municipality of Vitória, which was being established at the time it published this document (January, 1991). On page 4 it states that in the Municipal education System of Vitória *there is no work specifically systematised and scientifically based in favour of the people who present special educational needs*, showing a different linguistic posture from that of the State level, perhaps more similar to that of the Federal level.

This document was elaborated with a view to justifying the creation of such Department. One interesting thing to notice is that if in the Organic Law the basic term used was *person with deficiency*, in this document it will vary from *people with some kind of exceptionality* to *exceptional people* and *people presenting special educational needs*.

The perspective on which the Committee structuring the Department of Special Education of the Municipality of Vitória was basing its work is a constructivist one. In the words written in the document,

the constructionist education... aims at the acquisition of knowledge through an internal process of self-regulation, through which the pupil seeks to compensate for any disturbance in order to re-adapt him/herself... The educationalist, in this approach... is the one who... promotes conditions which indirectly lead the pupil to its development, constructing his/her own knowledge... Adequate demand from the environment provides a favourable stimulation to these people, which will compensate, as long as possible, for the limitations originated from their physical or mental structure. To provide the environment with conditions which stimulate the development implies that the teacher knows the abilities of their pupils and work on activities based on these known profiles. (PMV/SEME/DEE, 1991, p.10)

Moreover, the document advocates their starting point as being the human beings' potential of realisation, which can and should be developed. Their approach is based on social integration, in which context the labels and stigma are removed and there is a general responsibility on everybody's part for the growth of the individuals.

The document also provides an educational definition of the *exceptionality*, based on Mazzota, 1982. *Exceptional* pupils will be those who, in the schooling context, present special educational needs which, require specialised educational services, for reasons of aggravated deviance of physical, intellectual, emotional or socio-cultural origin. Provision will be centred on the regular classroom teacher, within an approach which avoids segregation.

Finally, in 1992 the Municipal Secretary of Education issued a report about its activities from 1988 to 1992. In this report the Secretary explains the priorities which had been given to education since it took power, in 1988⁴².

Among the priorities described are: the universalization of education; material conditions for work; the valuing of the teaching profession and democratisation. Also in this report, a series of actions concerning each of the above priorities is described. For the universalization of education the work has been done in the sense of opening more places to ease access of pupils to education and in the sense of ensuring the permanence of pupils in the school (avoiding drop outs). For the material conditions of work, actions have been centred on the creation of a new pattern of public buildings, as well as on the modernisation and repairing of equipment.

⁴² Before 1988, the Municipal administrations had been carried out by other political parties, either Labour or Conservative; the current one belongs to the Workers' Party, and it was the first time that this party took power in a Municipality of this Brazilian State

For the valuing of the teaching profession, priority has been given to in-service training, providing paid leave of absence for teachers to attend to specialisation and masters courses. It has also raised teachers' pay rates, and re-organised the career plan. Lastly, the process of democratisation has been tackled through the revision of the commitment on the part of the Municipal government's agencies such as the Secretary of Education itself with the communities of the Municipality. In the report, an approximation between teachers and Municipal power is said to have been gained throughout the years, through the breaking down of the excessive bureaucratisation and the power relations which had long been established.

Although the Municipal level was the one which provided less documentation for analysis, it seems doubtless that this level was the one whose documents reported much development in terms of commitment to integration and in terms of the more practical aspects of integration, even though its contents did not always mention the word integration itself.

Summary of the Documents Analysed

To sum up, one could say that:

- 1) At the Federal level, there has been "over-formulation" and "under-implementation": a large amount of guidelines have been issued since 1961 but not necessarily expressed at the State and Municipal levels, neither in their legal texts nor in the practices they reported. However, there has also been a progressive change of terminology and in the contents of the laws which suggest a move towards integration;
- 2) At the State level, there has also been "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies regarding special education: State documents do not seem to express the Federal indications and when they do they still leave room for the adoption of a different line -e.g.: special class system. Moreover, the discourse analysed and practices reported suggest a more segregative view of special education which has only recently began to be questioned. Furthermore, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" seemed to happen even within the segregative structure suggested for special education, because this provision was either lacking or incomplete;
- 3) At the Municipal level, the lack of any "tradition" in the organisation and practice of special education seems to confirm "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" regarding its relationship with the Federal and State levels.

However, the same thing could not be said of the Municipal level *per se*, not at least from 1990 onwards, when the documents analysed were produced.

It is expected that the points highlighted in the documents will be reflected in the data gathered from the questionnaire and the interviews. I shall now turn to the questionnaire results and then to the interviews, in order to be able to discuss them altogether.

CHAPTER 8 - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

As explained in chapter 6, the questionnaire was composed of a front cover, containing general information about the subjects and their professional experience, and three main sections, which were sub-divided into their main topics (see Appendix 1), or sub-sections.

In section 1, questions concentrated on gathering head teachers' opinions about issues on integration, including: concepts of special education; provision; definition of children entitled to special education; and opinions about essential factors to promote integration.

In section 2, sub-divided into three sub-sections (A, B and C), the questions focused on aspects of schools' practices and policies in integration. Issues like school policy, dissemination, relationships between different administrative levels, identification procedures, special educational practices, to mention just a few, were asked in this section.

The format of the questions of sub-section A was built up in such a way that in the end of this section two main pictures would emerge, regarding the issues mentioned above: one, provided by the schools which explicitly mention the education of disabled children in their internal constitution, and another from the schools which do not have this explicit mention (for a clearer idea, see Figure 1).

Such a format was developed because in the results of the pilot study, it had not been possible to identify those schools which did from those which did not explicitly mention the education of disabled children in their internal constitution. At the time of devising the questionnaire this was considered relevant information to collect. It would make it possible to make comparisons between the practices of integration and special education of the two types of school (those with and those without the mention), and see if there was any significant difference between them due to the presence or absence of such mention. This line of thought would, thus, be in agreement with the purposes of this study regarding the investigation of *gaps* also within the school level.

However, two factors occurred after the questionnaires were sent. One is the realisation that the research would become of a too broad dimension if focus were

also to be placed on the details of the institutional (school) level regarding a documentary analysis. It was thus decided that this level of analysis would only focus on the legal and non-legal, governmental documents.

The second factor was a methodological aspect: some of the respondents did not understand the conditional aspects (i.e., only answering to a certain question if and after having answered to a previous one) of the format presented.

As a result, the total number of responses at the end of this section was too small to make any conclusive analysis (for instance, in some questions the final number went down to 1 or 2 respondents only).

For these reasons, it was decided that sub-section A of section 2 would not be accounted for in the presentation of the findings.

Nonetheless, the rationale of the questions asked and a scheme (Figure 1) of how the answers were expected to be produced will still be presented, so that the reader can have an idea of what has been changed.

Section 3 focused on the contents extracted from or based on legal and non-legal documentation and expected to be implemented in the schools. Among other questions asked are knowledge of the schools regarding principles and guidelines, degree of agreement with them, relevance of legislation about special education, personal views and suggestions for overcoming possible negative aspects identified by the respondents.

The presentation of the findings will follow three main steps. Initially, a description of the questions (of the front page, and of sections 1, 2 and 3) and their respective rationales will be provided.

After each question is presented and explained, the actual results gathered from the questions asked will be reported and discussed. In doing so, data from both Municipal and State schools will be presented in parallel, with a Table showing the numerical results of both schools together.

When a further hypothesis or relevant point appears to be appropriate for further investigation, a picture of each case -Municipal and/or State schools- will be presented fully and, when the detailed picture shown refers to the results from both types of school to a same question, they will be compared with each other.

The third step is a summary section at the end of each section, where the main findings taken from them will be described altogether, and linked to the research questions.

The Front Page: General Information

On the front page of the questionnaire, the name of the school was asked, followed by the type of school (i.e. Municipal, State or Federal) and the grades covered by the school. The reason for doing so was to make sure I was getting the right sample, i.e., all schools which, at the time, covered at least the first part of primary education, which comprises grades 1 to 4. The number of pupils in each school was also asked, in an attempt so see if the quality of provision for disabled pupils would be related to the number of pupils enrolled in the schools.

Then, three questions of a personal nature were asked: name, sex and birth year. Name was asked in order to have a better control of the subjects, in the case of future interviewing being needed. Sex was asked in order to investigate any possible curiosities regarding different views about the theoretical and practical aspects of integration. Birth year was asked in order to see the average age of a head teacher of the primary schools of Vitória, and see if any changes in opinions would be related to it. For instance, it was hypothesised that younger head teachers would be more receptive to integration than older ones.

The following set of questions of this page regarded professional data. The subjects were asked about their first degree and the titles they have in education. These two questions were asked in order to check if head teachers' qualifications were in accordance to the legal requirements: within education and of a higher level.

The next two questions asked about how long they had been head teachers in that school s/he was replying for, and in other schools. In doing so, I wanted to investigate whether their experience could be linked to any possible differences in the patterns of their answers. For example, with regard to their attitude towards implementation of integration. For the same reason I asked them about previous posts in education.

The following two questions were concerned with the grades with which they were working at that moment. I asked them if it was the first time they were working with those grades -i.e., primary education grades- and if not I wanted to know with which other grades they worked before. The reason for this question lies in the feeling that previous experience with the same grades would have made head teachers more patient with end-of-year results. In other words, head teachers who had worked with

more advanced grades might not realise so easily that primary education can take a longer time to generate positive results concerning changes promoted -in this case, the change is implementing integration. This is for many reasons.

To mention just a few reasons, the level of education of teachers teaching in primary schools is usually lower than those in secondary, and higher than those in pre-school, which in turn might suggest a difference in the way in which they discussed things.

In addition, there are aspects which are much more common in the primary educational context than in the secondary, and pre-school, and teachers' interests vary because of this. In the same way, the way primary, secondary and pre-school education is structured is also different. This imposes different priorities in the day-to-day life of the school. Thus, in asking about their previous experience with primary educationalists, I wanted to know, if necessary, whether or not head teachers were aware of issues like these.

Finally, I asked if head teachers had worked in special education, for how long and what their job was. The reasons for these questions are similar to the ones above, to check on the level of preparedness of head teachers in relation to special education provision. I also wanted to know if the fact that they had previous experience in special education would make their answers in any way different from that of others who did not have such previous experience.

The results from the front page and their possible relationships with other data collected through the questionnaire are presented and further referenced in the following sub-section.

The Results from the Front Page

The highest number of respondents, for the Municipal schools, came from schools which covered 1st to 8th grades and pre-school to 8th grades. The State schools' respondents came mostly from schools which covered pre-school to 8th grade, secondly from schools covering pre-school to 4th grade and 1st to 8th grades, thus showing a similar picture to that presented by the Municipal schools' sample.

The average number of pupils of the Municipal schools varied between a thousand and 1500 pupils, with a larger concentration of students in the schools from pre-school to the 8th grade. The State schools' number of pupils had a wider variation (from 500 to 2000) as did the grades covered by the schools (from pre school to 8th grade). These data are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 2 it can be seen that the majority of the respondents were women for both types of school. Out of the 7 State schools, one had initially answered as a team, and therefore had not answered this question.

Table 1: Average Number of Students in and Grades Covered by Municipal and State Schools.

Grades	Number of Students							
	Municipal (N=16)				State (N=8)			
	up to 500	501 to 1000	1001 to 1500	1501 to 2000	up to 500	501 to 1000	1001 to 1500	1501 to 2000
Pre-4th	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Pre-8th	-	-	4	1	-	1	-	2
1st-4th only	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
1st-8th	-	4	5	1	-	-	1	1

However, during the interview carried out in the following year, the head teacher was asked why they had not answered that question and she explained that it was because they discussed the questionnaire as a team. But she agreed that she was the main respondent, and that, in any case, most of the people on the team were women. Thus, this head teacher was included in the total of 7 presented above. Regarding their age, the average varied between 42 years old for the Municipal schools and 37 years old for the State schools.

Table 2: Respondents' Gender

Gender	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Male	4	1
Female	12	7

In relation to the respondents' professional data shown in Table 3, most of them had a university degree, with two exceptions in the State schools, in which the head teachers had only completed the secondary level, although within the educational vocational area, therefore qualified to teach lower educational levels. Apart from their teaching qualifications, and with the exception of one head teacher, who had completed a post-graduation course, and two others who were taking them at the time of this phase of the data collection, none of the others added any extra professional title.

Table 3: Respondents' Professional Data

Qualifications	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
University + Post-Graduation	16	6
Just University	14	5
Just Secondary Level	-	2

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each type of qualification

The data in the Table above shows that most of the respondents are appropriately qualified for the post they occupy, with two exceptions in the schools of the State level, who only have a secondary educational level. Despite the fact that legislation normally expects head teachers to possess a higher degree in Education, one cannot say these head teachers are unqualified for the post. The reason for this is that legislation also leaves room for 'exceptional' cases to take place, as explained in chapter 5. In other words: if for any acceptable reason, as defined by legislation (e.g. shortage of staff or rural areas where there is lack of professionals properly qualified), there is no other professional suitably qualified and available to occupy the post of head teacher, those with the qualification level which is immediately below the level required might temporarily exercise the function, until the situation is again within the requirements. This seemed to be the case of the subjects above, which was confirmed in the following year, during the interviews.

Regarding the question about time as head teacher in that school, Table 4 shows that most of them had been so for 0 to 2 years. One State schools' head teacher did not answer this question, so the total of respondents for this particular question is 6.

Table 4: Time as Head Teacher in the School Where they were Working at the Time of the Questionnaire

Time	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
0-2 years	11	4
2-4 years	3	2
4-8 years	2	-
N/A	-	2

N/A = Not Answered

As head teachers in general, time could be divided between 0-4 years and 5 to 9 years. There were only 10 respondents from the Municipal schools, and 4 from the State schools regarding this specific question. This data is shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Time as Head Teacher in General

Time	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
0-4 years	4	3
5-9 years	6	1
N/A*	6	4

* N/A= Not Answered

No consistent links between their time of experience as head teachers of their schools, or in general, were found regarding their attitudes to integration. The head teachers who sounded most pro integration varied in their time as head teachers: from 0-4 and 5-9. It appears that experience as a head teacher and attitude towards integration were not related in these samples.

As for the previous posts in education, most of them used to be co-ordinators, supervisors and educational advisers⁴ in both primary and secondary schools. Two of them taught in universities for a short period while also working in primary education. One respondent, from the State schools, was the State Secretary for Education in 1979. Moreover, the majority of respondents had always worked with the grades their schools covered, except for 2 Municipal respondents, who had worked with secondary education grades only.

Thus, it was not possible to state whether or not their previous experience makes them more or less patient with end-of-year results in primary schools, as hypothesised previously because the majority of respondents have only worked with primary education. Moreover, the two who had teaching experience in secondary education (from the Municipal System) only, did not provide any answer in both the questionnaire and interview which could be interpreted in the lines of the assumption made above.

Finally, in respect to their previous experience in special education, 3 head teachers from the Municipal schools, and 2 from the State schools reported to have had experience, as can be seen in Table 6.

⁴ In the Brazilian educational system, pedagogues occupy two main posts in the running of the school: pedagogic supervisors and educational advisers. The supervisors are concerned with the progression of the students in terms of the curricular targets; the adviser is more concerned with the general psychological welfare, working in close collaboration with the educational psychologist or the health agent (when there is one). More details in the Glossary.

Table 6: Head Teachers Who Had Previous Experience in Special Education

Previous Experience?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	3	2
No	13	6

The Table above shows that only three Municipal head teachers had previous experience in special education. These experiences varied between 1 and 2 years and were quite varied in nature. One worked in an alternative community which offered therapeutic treatment as well as educational. The other worked as an educational adviser in the Pestalozzi Society⁶⁰, another private institution which has always been closely linked with the State agencies and has a more charitable approach to disabled children. The third one did not specify, but when asked again about the question, in the interview, reported that the experience had been in working on a survey ordered by the Municipal government to find out the number of children who were delayed and having difficulties in their academic progress and the possible reasons why those children were failing in school.

The State head teachers' experiences varied as well. One of them worked in special education for 6 months, teaching a special class for mentally retarded in an ordinary State school. The other one had been working in it for 5 years. The entire school where this head teacher works is considered a special school because of its clientele: street kids from 7 to 16 years old. Although the curriculum is the same, the routine differs in terms of timetable and in terms of having a part of the staff permanently available, because the children might sleep in the school, if so they wish. The work is directed towards these children's integration into the ordinary schools by the time they reach the 5th grade, when they have to move to another school. Their basic clothing and food provision, though, remains the responsibility of the 'special' school.

The question of whether or not their previous experience in special education can be connected to the answers they give about integration and special education will be investigated when analysing section 1, sub-sections A, B and C.

Section 1, sub-section A: Number of Children with Special Educational Needs who should be Receiving Special Education

This question provided ten categories of disabled children and asked the subjects how many of those children -that is, if all, some or none- should receive special education

⁶⁰ See chapter 5, Period 1889-1934 for more information on this Society. See also Glossary.

in the head teachers' opinion. The terminology adopted for the categories was the same as normally used in Brazil.

Taking into account the fact that such categories are frequently used in a mixed way -sometimes referring to one specific need, sometimes confusingly being applied to more than one 'need' at once- as well as the frequent adoption of one or another term according to the preference of the time, the question was constructed in a way that also left room for the subjects to add any other category, as well as to respond "I'm not sure".

The aim of this question was to see the head teachers' opinions about some categories of disabled children. In other words, I wanted to see if they think these children need special education, in order to later on see if this special education is associated with integration or not.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

Table 7 shows the results of this question of section 1 altogether.

From the data shown in that Table, it appears that most head teachers of the Municipal schools think that only some of the children of each category provided need special education.

Exceptions are made for the "Mentally retarded" and the "Multiply impaired", of whom "All" were mostly thought of as in need of special education, and the "gifted", about whom opinions were divided between "All", "Some" and "None" needing special education.

The State schools had a more divided view about all categories in general, with a slight tendency to think that "Some" would need special education for two categories: "Visually impaired" and "Physically impaired". In comparison to the Municipal schools, State schools used the option "None" less times for most categories given. This could suggest that they have a slightly stronger tendency to think of disabled children as in need of special education than the Municipal schools. However, conclusions cannot be taken solely on this basis, especially when one considers that two of them did not answer at all, while there was no such occurrence among the head teachers of the Municipal schools.

As regards the question of whether their previous experience in special education would make their answers somewhat different from the other respondents (as explained when presenting the data from the first page), the data shown does not

appear to be sufficient to support this assumption, for their answers (both Municipal's and State's schools) basically followed the same tendencies of the other respondents' answers.

Table 7: Municipal and State Schools' Head Teachers Opinions About Children's Entitlement to Special Education.

Categ. of SEN	Municipal (N=16) *					State (N=8)*				
	All	Some	None	N/S	N/A	All	Some	None	N/S	N/A
VI	3+	11+	2+	-	-	2+	6+	-	-	-
HI	6++	9+	1	-	-	1	4	-	1+	2+
PH	2	11+++	2+	1	-	-	5+	-	1	2+
LP	-	13+++	3	-	-	2+	2	-	2	2+
EP	1	11+	3+	1+	-	-	1+	4	1	2+
CP	-	8+	6++	2	-	1	1	2	2+	2+
LD	1	11+++	4	-	-	2+	3	1	-	2+
MR	11++	2+	1	2	-	4+	2	-	-	2+
MHI	9++	4+	1	2	-	4+	2	-	-	2+
G	6+	4+	6+	-	-	3+	1	1	1	2+
O	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: N/S=Not Sure; N/A=Not Answered; VI=Visually Impaired; HI=Hearing Impaired; PH=Physically Handicapped; LP=Language Problems; EP=Emotional Problems; CP=Conduct Problems; LD=Learning Difficulties; MR=Mentally Retarded; MHI=Multiply Handicapped; G=Gifted; O=Others;

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each category

+ Corresponds to the totals in which there is ONE school whose head teacher, included in the total, had previous experience in special education;

++ Corresponds to the totals in which there are TWO schools whose head teachers, included in the total, had previous experience in special education;

+++ Corresponds to the totals in which there are THREE schools whose head teachers, included in the total, had previous experience in special education.

Section 1, sub-section B: Placement

This question was constructed in the same way as question 1, with the difference that the subjects were now asked to choose the best placements, in their opinion, for the categories provided. The list of placements was composed of "Ordinary classroom", "Special classroom in the ordinary school" and "Special school". Room was also given for the addition of any other placement option they might have wanted to add, as well as for answering "I'm not sure".

This question was included in the questionnaire because I wanted to see the extent to which head teachers favour full integration and if this type of opinion is influenced by

the type of special need a child has or not, in the head teachers' views. I also wanted to see, after analysing the data, what possible differences there could be in the integration practices reported by the schools whose head teachers most conditioned full integration to the type of special needs, as opposed to the ones whose head teachers believe these aspects are not so much inter-related.

The Municipal and State Schools' Views

The Table below shows what has been described above in numerical terms.

Table 8: Municipal and State Schools' Head Teachers Opinions About Children's Placement.

Categ. of SEN	Municipal (N=16)*					State (N=8)*					
	OC	SC	SS	N/S	D/O	OC	SC	SS	N/S	N/A	D/O
VI	8+	4+	2++	1	1	2+	4	3+	-	-	1
HI	6+	5+	3++	-	2	2	2+	4+	1	1+	2
PH	11+++	3	2	-	-	5+	2	1+	-	1+	1
LP	13++	3+	-	-	-	4+	3	1	-	1+	1
EP	13+++	2	1	-	-	2+	3	-	2	1+	-
CP	13+++	2	1	1	-	5+	1	1	-	1+	-
LD	11++	5+	-	-	-	3+	4	1	-	1+	1
MR	1	3	11+++	1	-	-	3+	5+	-	1+	2
MHI	-	4+	10++	2	-	1+	2+	6+	-	1+	1
G	10++	4	2+	-	-	2+	1	4+	-	2+	1
O	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: OC=Ordinary Class; SC=Special Class; SS= Special School; N/S=Not Sure; N/A= Not Answered; D/O= Double/Odd Answer; VI=Visually Impaired; HI=Hearing Impaired; PH=Physically Handicapped; LP=Language Problems; EP=Emotional Problems; CP=Conduct Problems; LD=Learning Difficulties; MR=Mentally Retarded; MHI=Multiply Handicapped; G=Gifted; O=Others;

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each category

+Corresponds to the totals in which there is ONE school whose head teacher, included in the total, had previous experience in special education;

++ Corresponds to the totals in which there are TWO schools whose head teachers, included in the total, had previous experience in special education;

+++ Corresponds to the totals in which there are THREE schools whose head teachers, included in the total, had previous experience in special education.

The general impression that can be taken from the data displayed above is that ordinary classrooms seem to be more popular in the views of the Municipal schools' head teachers, while it seems to have the same weight as special classes and special schools in the views of the State schools' head teachers. These impressions can be

more clearly visualised in the Table below, which shows the total number of times ordinary classes were chosen as opposed to special classes and special schools.

Table 9: Total Number of Times Each Placement was Chosen by Each Type of School, Independently of Categories of SEN

Placement	Municipal	State
Ordinary Classroom	89	26
Special Classroom	36	25
Special School	34	26
N/S, N/A and D/O	8	23

N/S= Not Sure; N/A= Not Answered; D/O= Double/Odd Answers

Note: these totals include times when placements were chosen in conjunction with another. The maximum total possible for Municipal would be 480 (i.e. if all respondents had chosen all 3 placements at once for each category) and for State: 240

Regarding the question of whether their previous experience in special education would somewhat influence their views about integration and special education, it seems, again, that the data available does not allow for any conclusion to be taken, for their answers followed the mainstream of answers given by most respondents (see their discrimination with the symbols +, ++ and +++ on the Tables). The only interesting aspect to notice from what the Tables show is that the State school head teacher who did not provide an answer for most categories was from the two schools whose head teacher did have previous experience. However, more detailed data would be needed regarding this aspect in order to allow one to speculate on the matter.

Section 1, sub-section C: Scope of Special Education.

In this question, two affirmatives were provided for the subjects to tick either one or the other. The first one (option A) described special education within an environmental, or interactive perspective, implying that the environment must be adjusted so as to provide for the child's individual needs. The second one (option B) described special education within a medical-therapeutic, or within-child perspective, implying that the child is to be changed in accordance to the average educational expectations. Room was also left for the subjects to write their own particular view of special education, if so they wished.

The aim of these questions was the investigation of the basic scope in which they see special education: if as a "within-child" or an "interaction-with-the-environment" perspective, as discussed in chapter 3.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

Eight Municipal schools chose option A, that is, the environmental, or interactive, approach. Seven schools chose option B, the therapeutic or within-child approach, and one school did not provide a clear answer when choosing to write its own perspective (see Appendix 3).

The same kind of picture emerged from the State schools. Three schools chose option A, other three chose option B and two chose to write their own views, in which their position regarding a within-child or interactive approach did not become clear (see Appendix 3).

Table 10: Head Teachers' Scope of Special Education

Scope	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
A - Environmental	8 +++	3 +
B - Within-Child	7	3
C- Heads' own definition	1	2+

+ Corresponds to the totals in which there is ONE school whose head teacher, included in the total, had previous experience in special education;

+++ Corresponds to the totals in which there are THREE schools whose head teachers, included in the total, had previous experience in special education.

From the data shown above, the general impression one gets is that schools have a divided view of special education regarding the two scopes proposed. Further discussions on this matter can be seen in the next chapter.

As regards the question of whether or not their previous experience in special education somehow influence their views on integration and special education, it can be seen that the three Municipal schools' head teachers who have this experience have opted for an environmental scope, while the State schools' were again divided in their opinions. One chose an environmental scope, while the other gave an option of her own, which makes it difficult to make any speculation.

However, as regards the Municipal ones, although the data do not allow one to immediately state that their experience influenced their choice of scope, one could not say the opposite either. The fact that the three of them chose the environmental scope for special education seems to be a relevant one. Their previous experience might not be the only factor associated to their choice of scope, but it could well be one of them.

Section 1, sub-section D, question 1: Aspects of Integration Regarding Resources

Subjects were asked about the implications of resourcing integration and were given five options to choose from, which could be chosen in conjunction with others, if they so wished. Room was also given for them to write any extra comment or option.

The aim of this question was to find out what factors head teachers think of as relevant when considering the topic "Resources for integration". I wanted to know if their view of resourcing integration would be more related to concrete aspects (such as financing, purchase of equipment and architectural reforms), or if it would be more related to aspects of a more theoretical realm (such as building up knowledge and expertise and the dissemination of information to those concerned), or to both on a more equal basis.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

Table 11 shows the results of both Municipal and State schools altogether.

Table 11: Priority Aspects of Integration Regarding Resourcing

Options	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A- Extra financing	3	2
B- Special equipment	10	1
C- Physical access	14	3
D- Specialists	12	2
E- Teacher training	15	7
F - Others	-	2

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each option

From the data shown above, teacher training is clearly of relevance for both schools when it comes to integrating disabled children. For the Municipal schools, it appears that physical access and specialists are almost as important, while for the State schools, although these two aspects also come in the same order of choice received as priorities (second and third), numbers are not high enough to state this safely.

A surprising factor in the responses of both schools regards the low number of choices for the extra-financial resources (option A). I would have expected a higher score for this option, since one of the aspects that come out most in general conversations about the Brazilian educational system is the lack of financing. This aspect is usually mentioned as a means of exemplifying the general belief that there is no political commitment to the improvement of certain situations in Brazil, of which education is an example.

As it concerns the Municipal schools, a possible explanation for this low score about financial resources was originated in the following year, during the interviews, when it was found out that the Municipal administration was investing quite strongly in equipment, teacher training, school reforms and new schools in general, which indirectly means that extra-financing was occurring.

The same did not, however, apply to the State schools, whose head teachers quite frequently complained about lack of financial support in the sense that they were not receiving much of any of the aspects mentioned by the Municipal schools.

Nonetheless, there is a budget which is distributed yearly to the schools, by their immediate respective administrative authority, and this was the financial-resourcing I was referring to in the question. This budget is to be mainly used in school-maintenance, and sometimes didactic materials or specialists brought to the schools on short-notice, by decision of their own staff, for whatever reason. It is possible that this part of the question was not understood by the respondents in the same way in which it was originally intended by myself.

Section 1, sub-section D, question 2: Relationship Between Schools' Policies and Practices Regarding Integration

This question asked the head teachers to think of integration within the context of the ordinary school and to consider what integrating disabled children would imply, from a range of 3 options: "Having a written school-policy on integration", "Having clear teaching methods for integrating" and "Having no mismatch between teaching methods adopted and school-policy". A fourth option, named "Others", was offered in case the subjects wanted to change or to add to the question.

This question was asked in order to find out what aspects head teachers thought of as being more relevant for enabling the school, as an organisation, to promote integration.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

Both Municipal and State schools chose options B and C ("Clear Teaching Methods" and "No Mismatch") predominantly, i.e., 12 and 13 choices received, and 5 and 4 choices received, respectively, for each. Option A ("Having a Written School-policy") was chosen only 4 times and once by the Municipal and State schools; respectively. These results are shown in Table 12 below.

From these responses, it appears that to have a policy on integration is not so relevant as having clear teaching methods for it, as well as a coherent link between teaching methods and the policy adopted by the school.

Table 12: Relationship Between Schools' Policies and Practices Regarding Integration

Options	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A - Having Policy	4	1
B- Clear Teaching Methods	12	5
C- Having coherence between A & B	13	4
D - Others	-	-

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each option

Section 1, sub-section D, Question 3: Aspects of Integration Regarding Links and Collaboration

Subjects were asked to tick as many items as they thought would express the implications of integration in terms of collaborative work from a range of 7 options. Room was also given in the end, through the option "Others", for them to add to or comment on anything else.

This question aimed at finding out what sectors head teachers thought of as relevant to being involved in the promotion of integration, that is, family, school, community, secretaries of education of the three administrative levels. It also aimed at finding out which sector should be predominantly linked with which one else.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

The broadest option, G (which says: "Collaboration Between School, Family, Local Community and Secretaries"; the other options focused on only two of these aspects separately), was the one most chosen by the Municipal and State schools' head teachers (16 and 7 choices received for this option, respectively). No head teacher complemented their answers in the option "Others".

For the Municipal schools' head teachers, option D ("Co-operation Between Family and Local Community") received 2 answers and all the other options received only one. For the State schools' head teachers, option E ("Co-operation Between Family and Secretaries of Education") received 2 answers and option A ("Co-operation Between School and Family") received one. All the other options received no answer. These results can be seen in the Table 13 below.

It seems clear from the results above that it is a general wish of the schools, regardless of the System to which they belong (Municipal or State), that links and collaboration among all main basic sectors concerned, i.e., family, school, local community and educational authorities of all levels, be organised in order to promote integration.

Table 13: Aspects of Integration Regarding Links and Collaboration

Options	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A-School & Family	1	1
B-School & Community	1	-
C-School, Municipal, State & Federal Secretaries of Education	1	-
D-Family & Community	2	-
E-Family and Municipal, State and Federal Secretaries of Education	1	2
F- Community and Munic., State and Fed. Secretaries of Education	1	-
G- School, Family, Community & Mun., State and Fed. Secret. of Ed.	16	7
H-Others	-	-

* Represents the maximum number of rechoices for each option.

Section 1, sub-section D, question 4: Aspects of Integration Regarding Coherence of Practices in all Sectors Involved.

Subjects were again given a number of options (6, plus the "Others" option for extra comments) and asked to tick those which they thought of as related to integration when considering the different levels in which integrative initiatives could be taken (i.e., from the school to the Federal level).

The aim here was to find out at which level of administration head teachers thought it would be most important to have coherence of views and actions. If, for instance, between the school and the Municipal Secretary of Education, or if between the school and any other governmental instance, or if among some, or all of the governmental instances only, and so forth.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

All of the options provided were chosen by the respondents. Option A ("Coherent Actions Between Ordinary Schools and Municipal Secretary of Education") was the most chosen option by the Municipal schools (receiving 10 answers), followed by option D ("Coherent Actions Between Ordinary School and Municipal and State Secretaries of Education"), which received 9 answers. Option B ("Coherent actions between ordinary school and State Secretary of Education") received 7 answers and

option C ("Coherent actions between ordinary school and Ministry's Directives") received 5. Option E ("Coherent Actions Between Municipal Secretary of Education and Ministry of Education") received 3 answers, and option F ("Coherent Actions Between State Secretary of Education and the Ministry of Education") received 2 answers.

The option "Others" was used by two schools, both of which said *Coherent actions among all educational sectors* and two other schools ticked all options from A to F, which somehow corresponds to the same as if they had written a similar sentence to those who wrote in the optional space "Others", for the ticking of all of them imply that all sectors should act in coherence. The results of the Municipal schools can be seen together with the State schools' in the Table presented after the State schools' results.

The State schools presented a much lower rate of responses (only three choices for the most chosen option). The option most chosen by them was B ("Coherent Actions Between Ordinary Schools and State Secretary of Education"), which received 3 answers. This was followed by options C ("Coherent actions between ordinary schools and the Ministry of Education's Directives") and D ("Coherent Actions Between the Municipal and State Secretaries of Education") which received 2 answers each. The other options provided received no answer and two schools answered *Involve everybody responsible* and *Coherent actions between ordinary schools and all sectors involved in education* respectively, in the extra option named "Others".

The following Table shows the results of this question given by both Municipal and State schools.

Table 14: Aspects of Integration Regarding Coherence of Practices of all Sectors Involved

Options	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A-School & Municipal	10	-
B-School & State	7	3
C-School & Ministry	5	2
D-Municipal & State Secretaries	9	2
E-Municipal Secretary & Ministry	3	-
F-State Secretary & Ministry	2	-
G-Others	2	2

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each option

From the above data, it seems that Municipal schools tend to think that the administrative levels at which it would be most important to have coherence of views and actions are between the school and the Municipal Secretary of Education, followed by the Municipal and State Secretaries of Education and then by the school and the State Secretary of Education.

The predominant choice of these options by the Municipal schools is not surprising, since those are the options which bear direct implications to the schools of the Municipal level: the schools have to follow the guidelines set by the Municipal Secretary of Education, which in turn has to be in accordance with the guidelines of the State Constitution and set by the State Secretary of Education.

Following this same line of thought, it was expected that option E ("Coherence of Actions Between Municipal Secretary of Education and Ministry of Education") would also have received a high number of responses. However, this was not the case.

Regarding the State schools, the results are not very conclusive. The options made were more evenly spread, with only a slight tendency to emphasize coherence of practices between the schools and the State Secretary of Education (option B). This would also be expectable, since State schools are meant to follow State directives. However, their low rate of responses does not allow for strong conclusions.

Section 1, sub-section D, question 5: Aspects of Integration Regarding Effectiveness of Practices.

This question offered 2 options which were not mutually exclusive of each other for the subjects to tick. Option A referred to effective integration practice being related to the "Dissemination of Knowledge and Teaching Methods of Special Education in the Ordinary Schools" and option B related effective integration practice to "Communication of Principles and Legal Directives of Special Education to the Ordinary Schools". An extra option, C, was given for them to add to or complement any answer.

The aim of this question was to see whether head teachers tended to put more emphasis on the practical (in the sense of exchanging experiences and learning special teaching methods) or theoretical (in the sense of knowing what policies say about special education and integration, before planning for their practice) aspects of integration, or in both (if they ticked both), or in some other aspect, written by themselves.

The Municipal and State Schools' views

As regards the Municipal schools, fifteen of their head teachers chose option A and five chose option B. Out of these, one headteacher answered A and B, and another one chose A and completed in C ("Others"): *Include special education as a discipline in teacher-training programmes.* As for the State schools, five chose option A and three chose option B. Like with the Municipal schools, one head teacher chose A and B, and another chose only C ("Others") and said: *To invest in, to promote awareness of [integration] and to work with all involved on all levels of the educational process.*

The results, in numerical terms, from both types of school can be seen in Table 15.

Table 15: Aspects of Integration Regarding Effectiveness of Practices

Options	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A - Dissemination of Knowledge and Methods	15	5
B - Communication of Principles and of Legislation	5	3
C - Others	1	1

* Represents the maximum number of choices for each option.

From the results shown above, it appears that both Municipal and State schools give preference to the practical aspects of integration, especially the Municipal ones. In other words, it appears that schools are more concerned with aspects like exchanging experiences and learning special teaching methods when it comes to considering ways of promoting a practically effective integration.

Summary from Section 1

From sub-section A: As far as the Municipal schools are concerned and as regards special needs categories, for most types of children only some of them need special education in head teachers' views. Exceptions made to the mentally retarded and multiply impaired, who were all thought of as in need of special education. As for the State schools' head teachers, views were more equally divided about each category. In comparison to the Municipal ones there is some indication that they see disabled children as in more need of special education.

From sub-section B: For the Municipal head teachers, ordinary classrooms were more popular, while for the State ones they received almost the same weight as special classes and special schools.

From sub-section C: There was some uncertainty as regards the scope of special education. Municipal schools slightly tend to refer to it more within an environmental approach, while the State ones did so in a more within-child approach.

From sub-section D:

1) Integration seems to depend on teacher training in the opinions of both schools' head teachers. There were also some indications that the second relevant aspects are physical access and availability of specialists;

2) For both schools' head teachers, having clear teaching methods and a coherence between them and whatever policy is available in the schools seems to be more important than having an actual policy specifically related to integration;

3) For both schools' head teachers, it is important to establish links between all sectors involved with special education in order for integration to take place;

4) Municipal schools' head teachers showed a tendency to think that integration is linked to coherence of actions between school and Municipal administrative level and Municipal and State administrative levels. The data provided by the State schools' head teachers regarding this issue proved inconclusive;

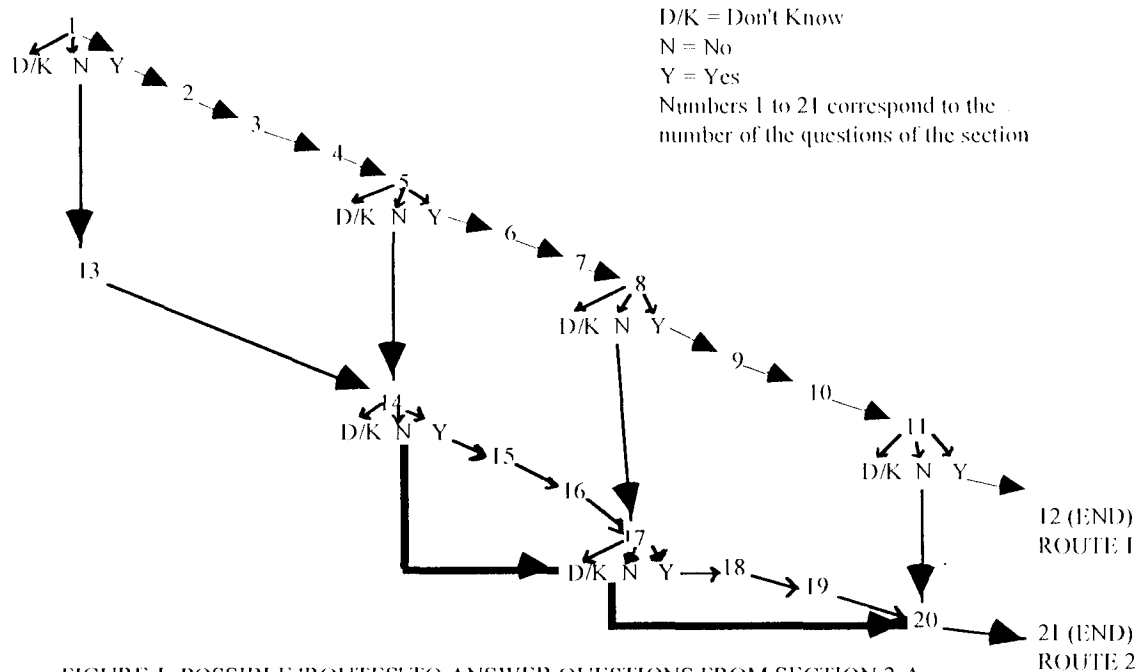
5) Head teachers of both schools seem to think that knowing about practical aspects (like methods, for instance) are more important than knowing the legal or theoretical principles about integration and special education, if integration is to take place effectively.

An overview on section 2, sub-section A

As explained in the introduction of this chapter, this sub-section had two simultaneous aims. One was to draw out those schools which expressly mention the education of disabled children in their internal Constitutions, as opposed to those who do not do so.

The other was to investigate questions of identical nature in the views of the two types of school which would have been separated out at the end of the sub-section under the criterion of expressly mentioning or not disabled children's education in their Constitutions.

However, for reasons already explained in the introduction, it was not possible to carry out this intent. The following figure shows the possible "routes" subjects would have followed when answering this sub-section of the Questionnaire.



The actual questions of this sub-section can be seen in Appendix 1, which shows the full version of the questionnaire sent out to the respondents. I shall now turn to the presentation of the findings from the remaining sub-sections of section 2.

Section 2, sub-section B: Provision Available

This sub-section consisted of one question in which alternatives were given about possible provisions being available for the practice of special education. The respondents were asked to tick as many as they could identify in their school. Room was also given for them to add any other particular provision available in the school and not included in the alternatives.

The main aim of this question was to identify what head teachers considered to be the practice of special education. Seven options were given: "Ordinary Class with Ordinary Teacher Only" (option 1), "Ordinary Class with Ordinary and Support Teachers" (option 2), "Special Class" (option 3), "Resource Room" -usually a room containing special equipment for extra sessions (option 4), "Pedagogic Workshop" -a

room for "reinforcement" classes , usually done during extra school-time- (option 5), "Peripatetic Teacher" (option 6), "No Provision" (option 7). The eighth option was written "Others" for the respondents to use if so needed.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Among the Municipal schools' head teachers, the alternative most chosen was "Ordinary Classroom with Ordinary Teacher Only" (13 choices), followed by option 7 ("No Provision Available"). Other minor responses were spread among options 2, 4, 5, and 6. Option 3 ("Special Class") and option 8 ("Others") were not chosen.

For the State schools' head teachers, the picture was slightly different. The two most ticked choices were options 1 and 3, that is, "Ordinary Classroom with Ordinary Teacher Only" and "Special Class" (5 choices each). These were followed by option 6 ("Peripatetic Teacher") and the rest was spread among options 2, 5 and 7. Option 4 ("Resource Room") and option 8 ("Others") did not receive any tick. Table 16 shows these results altogether.

Table 16: Special Educational Provision Available

Provision	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
1 - Ordinary class + ordinary teacher only	13	5
2 - Ordinary class + ordinary and support teachers	3	2
3 - Special Class	-	5
4 - Resource Room	2	-
5 - Pedagogic Workshop	1	1
6 - Peripatetic Teacher	2	4
7 - No provision	9	1
8 - Others	-	-

* Represents the maximum total of choices for each type of provision

These results seem to reflect those from section I, sub-section B, where Municipal schools chose mostly the ordinary classrooms as placements where special education should take place and the State schools chose the ordinary and the special classrooms almost equally.

In this respect, a further comment regarding the Municipal schools seems pertinent. From the above results it seems that Municipal schools' head teachers tend to consider the practice of special education as happening mostly within the ordinary classrooms.

¹ See Glossary for definition

Although this would be in agreement with their legislative directives after 1990 (as seen in chapter 7), it should be remembered that their second mostly chosen option in the above question was "No provision". This could mean that they place disabled children in the ordinary classroom for the simple fact that the Municipal System does not have a tradition on any additional form of provision for special education.

Section 2, sub-section C: Schools whose Head Teachers Think that the Provision is Enough

This question was expected to be answered only by those respondents who said "No Provision Available" in the previous question (2-B): seven Municipal and seven State schools.

The question asked the respondents to say whether or not they thought of the provision they said to be available in their schools as good enough. The reason for asking this question was to investigate the extent to which the provision reported as available was being effective or not, in head teachers' opinions. The results for head teachers of both types of school are shown below.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

All the head teachers, from both Municipal and State schools, which were expected to answer this question did so, as shown in the following Table.

Table 17: Is the Special Education Provision Available in your School Good Enough?

Provision	Municipal (N=7)*	State (N=7)*
Good enough	-	-
Not good enough	7	7
N/A	9	1

N/A = Not answered

* Only 7 schools of each type were expected to answer: those who said to have some provision in 2-B

It is clear that, even among those schools who do have some provision, such provision is not seen as sufficient for ensuring the offering of special educational practice.

The specific aspects which the respondents thought could be improved for this special education to be ensured were described when responding to the next question.

Section 2, sub-section D: Suggestions for Improvement of Special Educational Practice

As the title shows, this question asked head teachers' suggestions for or opinions about ways of improving the special education practice they reported to have in their schools and which they did not think of as good enough. The reason for asking this question was to identify specifically where they thought the biggest needs were, regarding provision.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

As this was an open-ended format of question, it was possible to extract some main themes from their responses, as explained in chapter 6. There were basically four themes. One that concerns a view of provision, which refers to a more material issue and as such involves concerns with didactic materials, more spacious classrooms, better physical conditions for the buildings, and a more pleasurable and better equipped working environment. This theme was categorised as "Material Resources".

A second one, named "Services", concerns the inclusion of one or more specialists in the routine of the school (such as doctors, psychologists, special teachers and supervisors solely for special education) as well as closer contacts and collaboration with parents.

The third theme was named "Professional Qualification" and referred to those answers which expressed concern with the professional training of the teachers in the school. It included suggestions such as In-sets and teacher training.

The fourth and last theme was called "Policy/Administrative", and refers to those answers linked to issues which start at the level of those who determine or rule the educational system, be it at the local, regional or national level. Suggestions included in this theme were referred to as campaigns, from the need for having a better organised educational system, to the promotion of awareness of disabled children in the whole of society and so forth.

In addition, the category "Others" was included for the case of the head teacher of one Municipal school, who simply replied: *I don't know the reality of a school for the exceptional*, meaning that s/he did not feel able to respond.

These themes and the number of times they were quoted in both Municipal and State schools' respondents' answers are shown in the Table below.

Table 18: What Suggestions would you Give to Improve Provision?

Suggestions	Municipal (N=7)*	State (N=7)*
Material Resources	4	7
Services	7	3
Professional Qualification	2	6
Policy/Administration	1	2
Others	1	-

* Only those schools who said to have provision and who responded to 2-C were expected to answer here.

As can be seen from the Table above, the Municipal schools' head teachers tended to concentrate their answers more around the theme "Services", while the head teachers of the State schools did so with the themes "Material Resources" and "Professional Qualification". Given the organisational background of the administrations of the Municipal and State schools at the time the questionnaire was applied and in the following year, when the interviews were carried out, this pattern of answering seems to make sense.

In sum, it is not surprising that Municipal schools' demands were more focused on practical aspects such as more specialists and physical space, since they seemed to have no complaints about the inputs being provided for the teacher profession by the administration, nor about the political commitment of the Secretary of Education towards education.

In the same way, it is not surprising that State schools focused their answers on the more practical aspects of "Material Resources" and "Professional Qualification". Although these schools have a more open policy regarding disabled children, expressed in the setting up of special classes in some of the ordinary schools, their provision as a whole was not satisfactory for them and the complaints about lack of political commitment to education was not rare to observe, as the interviews will show. This will also add up to the confirmation of the "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" process, as shall be seen after the presentation of the results of the interviews.

Summary from Section 2

From sub-section B: The main type of provision for special education available in both schools is the simple ordinary classroom with the ordinary teacher. The State schools also tend to have special classes and peripatetic teachers.

From sub-section C: As for this provision being good enough or not, the subjects of both types of schools tended to say that it is not, but it is worth noticing that in the Municipal case most head teachers did not answer this question.

From sub-section D: As regards their suggestions for improving this provision, Municipal schools' head teachers focused their answers on the inclusion of more specialists and tightening links with the family of the child, while the State schools' head teachers focused their suggestions on material resources and professional qualifications.

Section 3: Administration, Legislation and the Integration of the Exceptional

Section 3 as a whole was constructed to investigate head teachers' knowledge about principles, laws and directives, as well as their opinions about some of them and integration in general. The main idea behind this interest was that integration would more effectively happen if head teachers knew about the governmental trends. Also, if head teachers had, themselves, an idea of their own regarding the matter, regardless of knowing or not about the official directives. That is, it was thought that, even when head teachers do not know the legal directives, laws and principles in details, they could still promote integration in their schools, providing they were in favour of it.

Another intention implied in this section was to check some of the respondents' answers given in the previous section, as regards integration more specifically. As the results of this section are presented, cross-reference with their related questions in the other section will, thus, be brought back for comparison.

It remains to be said that the fundamentals of this section relate to the issues of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". In other words, in designing this section the main underlying idea was to investigate the possible *gaps* referred to in this thesis. As it has been explained elsewhere (see chapters 1 and 2 in particular), *gaps* are the main indicators of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation", although not the only ones.

Thus, sub-section A was designed to investigate *gaps* in the sense of head teachers knowing or not what the Federal, State and Municipal principles and legislation propose and consist of regarding integration. If it was found that they knew about these principles and legislation, *gaps* would not be verified in this sense, because as head teachers they are supposed to be informed of such principles and legislation. If this was the case, "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" could still be verified in the sense that the formulation and dissemination of policies and principles

exist and are known but disagreed on, and as a result not put into practice, or reluctantly put.

Thus, the aims of this third section were to look at the aspects of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" in the light of head teachers' knowledge -or lack of- of policies and principles (at whatever administrative level), and in the light of head teachers' opinions about what they know.

Section 3, sub-section A: Knowledge of Origin of Principles, Laws and Directives

This sub-section consisted of a question composed of a set of nine quotes taken from official texts from the three administrative levels and presented to the respondents. Some of them have force of Law, some of them are Constitutional principles -and as such prescriptive basis for Laws- and some of them extracted from Reports (which are not prescriptive). The respondents were asked to read them and tick whichever legislative level they thought those quotes were extracted from: if Federal, State or Municipal.

The aim was to find out the extent to which head teachers knew about the origin of those quotes, bearing in mind the fact that as head teachers they are expected to know the quotes and the levels at which they were produced. Alternatively, they are supposed to have at least heard about them. Thus, the greater the details of head teachers' knowledge about those quotes and their origin, the smaller the *gap* between the theoretical aspect of what head teachers are expected to know and the practical aspect of what they actually report to know, and therefore the fewer the possible implications for "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

It is worth mentioning that the documents chosen from which to extract the quotes were carefully selected in the sense that they represent the very basic documents to which every school (thus, every head teacher) should have access if the idea of integration was to be disseminated and if its implementation was to take place.

A detailed translation of each quote can be seen in Appendix I. Nonetheless, for the purpose of explaining the data here, a brief reminder will be given about the quotes of each legislative level.

From the Federal level, the quotes given were taken from a Federal Report about special education. In the questionnaire (see Appendix I) they corresponded to quotes A, D and H. Quote A described the principle of participation. Quote D was about the definition of integration. And quote H described the principle of normalisation.

From the State level (which in Appendix I- can be identified as quotes B, E, F and I) the quotes were taken from State Resolution 99/80. The first quote (B) described the aim of special education. The second quote (E) set out prescriptions for the organisation and planning of the core curriculum regarding disabled children. The third quote (F) referred to guidelines for teacher training in special education. And the fourth quote (I) referred to the possible placements for disabled children, from the ordinary schools to special schools.

The Municipal quotes were extracted from the parts of the Municipal 1990 Organic Law of education (in Appendix 1, they can be seen as quotes C and G). The first one (C) was about the duties to be carried out regarding education and the education of disabled children by the Municipality. However, the pieces in which the word "Municipality" was mentioned were cut from the text in order to avoid giving clues to the respondents. And the second quote (G) referred to the right of every child to be registered in the schools nearby their residences.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Taking into account the number of quotes taken from each legislative level (i.e. 3 from the Federal, 4 from the State and 2 from the Municipal), it is worth mentioning that the total number of answers given to each level is variable. The total number of respondents for each quote of the three levels is also changeable, because some of them did not categorise the quotes at all, and some others categorised the same quotes into two or three levels at once.

For the above reasons, and in order to provide a clearer discussion of the intention of this sub-section (i.e.: to find out the extent to which head teachers knew about the selected quotes), it was decided that only the totals corresponding to the number of times the quotes of each level were rightly or wrongly categorised, or were admitted to be "Not Known" or "Not Sure of" by the respondents would be considered for analysis. The results can be seen in the Table below.

From the results shown in the Table below it can be seen that apart from the Federal principles, head teachers tended to get the quotes from the Municipal and State levels more wrong than right. In other words, it appears that when it comes to identifying where those principles come from, they do not seem to be too sure which of the smaller levels (State and Municipal) those principles might originate from. It is also interesting to notice that at least half of the subjects from both types of schools got the Municipal quotes wrong. In addition, the number of times in which the schools declared to be unsure was also relatively high. Furthermore, of the two types of

subjects, those from the State schools are the ones who, relatively speaking, got a higher proportion of wrong answers.

Table 19: Head Teachers' Knowledge of Principles, Laws and Directives

Level and Principle	Municipal							Level and Principle	State						
	Frequency of Possible Answers								Frequency of Possible Answers						
	right	wrong	N/S	D/K	N/A	D-T/A	N		right	wrong	N/S	D/K	N/A	D-T/A	N
Federal								Federal:							
A	7	-	6	2	-	1	15	A	4	-	3	-	-	1	7
D	8	1	4	2	-	1	15	D	2	2	2	1	-	1	7
H	4	3	6	2	1	-	15	H	1	2	2	1	-	2	6
Total *	19	4	16	6				Total *	7	4	7	2			
State:								State:							
B	-	6	6	2	-	2	14	B	1	3	2	1	-	1	7
E	7	1	5	1	2	-	14	E	2	2	2	1	-	1	7
F	4	3	6	2	1	-	15	F	1	2	2	2	-	1	7
I	3	6	4	2	-	1	15	I	2	2	2	1	-	1	7
Total *	14	16	21	7				Total *	6	9	8	5			
Munic:								Munic:							
C	-	6	3	2	1	4	11	C	-	4	2	1	-	1	7
G	1	8	4	3	-	-	16	G	-	3	2	1	-	2	6
Total *	1	14	7	5				Total *	-	7	4	2			

N/S=Not Sure; D/K=Don't Know; N/A=Not Answered; D-T/A=Double-Triple Answers; N=Final number of respondents.

* Please note that the given totals correspond only to the amount of times the subjects classified the principles of the legislative levels in general - rightly or wrongly, and to the amount of times when they admitted to be "Not sure" or "Not to know" about the principles. There is no total for the final number of respondents because this number varied between the statements, i.e., sometimes the subjects did not answer, and sometimes they classified a same statement according to more than one possibility (e.g.: a same statement would be classified as belonging to two different legislative levels at once), as can be seen in the columns N/A and D-T/A, which have no total either.

These results suggest that generally speaking the subjects know about those policies, or at least have heard of them, although they do not seem to know for sure the level at which they were produced. To the extent that "over-formulation" in this respect would mainly have some indication if the subjects did not know at all about the principles and guidelines, and to the extent that not too many subjects stated their lack of knowledge about them, one cannot say that there is "over-formulation" of these principles. The degree of their knowledge about these principles would need to be investigated in order to find out any indication of "over-formulation".

Nonetheless, to the extent in which in order for "under-implementation" not to happen a deep knowledge of what is required would be needed, and to the extent in which there are no such indications from the results above, one can speculate on the higher probability of there being "under-implementation" regarding those principles

and guidelines. In other words, it would seem that "under-implementation" is more likely to occur as regards putting integration into practice, since (given the relatively high proportion of "Not Sure") the schools do not seem to be well informed about these directives. However, this interpretation can only remain at a speculative level for the time being.

Section 3, sub-section B: Head Teachers' Agreement or Disagreement with the Principles and Legislation

One of the aims of this section as a whole is to find out head teachers' level of agreement with the policies and principles regarding the education of disabled children, with particular attention being paid to their integration. Sub-section B asked the respondents to consider the principles and pieces of Laws set out in sub-section A and state whether or not they agree with them, and briefly explain why, in case of disagreement.

In asking so, the idea was to find out if their agreement -or disagreement- influenced the process of implementation of those principles and legislation. For instance, if there was a major level of agreements and yet integration practice was found to be absent, seldom or ineffective, the *gaps* between the written policies and principles and the practice level would be confirmed.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The Table below shows the results obtained from both Municipal and State schools.

Table 20: Dis/Agreement with Principles and Policies Presented in sub-section A

Quotes	Municipal (N= 16)*			State (N= 8)*		
	Agree	Disagree	N/A	Agree	Disagree	N/A
A	15	-	1	7	-	1
B	14	1+	1	7	-	1
C	14	1	1	7	-	1
D	14	1+	1	7	-	1
E	12	3	1	7	-	1
F	14	1	1	7	-	1
G	14	1	1	6	1	1
H	14	1+	1	7	-	1
I	14	1	1	7	-	1

* Represents the maximum number of choices possible to any one answer in each quote

N/A = Not Answered

+ Represents the Municipal school who disagreed but gave no reason for its disagreement with quotes B, D and H.

As seen from the Table above, both schools provided a consistent picture as regards sub-section B. Most of them clearly agree with the principles and policies presented to them, apart from the ones who did not answer (one case for each type of school).

In respect to the times in which they disagreed, the schools did not coincide. In general, when there was disagreement it was so by one school only, excepting quote E ("Curriculum") for the Municipal schools, with which there were 3 schools disagreeing. The reasons given for disagreeing with this quote were: *Curricula should not be differentiated*; and *The full curriculum in use at present needs be reformulated*. The other school gave no reason, just as it did not do with all the other quotes with which s/he disagreed.

The other quotes that were disagreed with and explanations were provide for were from two Municipal schools. The first quote from the first school refers to quote C ("Duties in Special Education") and the reason was *If we wait for the appropriate provision, there will never be provision*. The second quote refers to quote I ("Placement"), and the reason was *I am against special classes*. The first quote from the second school refers to quote F ("Teacher Training") and the explanation given was *In order to facilitate integration, it would be contradictory to have a specific higher education course for teachers. I believe there should exist some specialisation as a complement to the basic teacher training courses*.

The second quote disagreed by the second school was quote G ("Admission Rights"), and the disagreement was shared by one State school. The explanations provided by them went as follows: *A criterion such as the nearest school doesn't benefit the child if the school has no conditions to provide for the child* (Municipal school); and *We don't know of any law that mentions this limit. However, if it exists or existed it would not mean much, if one takes into account the official statistics about provision for this clientele. There are regions in Brazil that don't even know about this kind of provision, and where this provision does exist, as in the case of our State, it is really scarce. The family has to resign itself to admission as it happens and where provision is offered*. (State school).

An interesting aspect to notice from the data above is that, the quotes which received disagreement by more than one school (quotes E and G), were respectively produced at the State and Municipal administrative levels. The number of disagreements itself does not allow any generalisation, but they are still a suggestive aspect to remember when thinking of *gaps* between the legislative (possibly leading to "over-formulation") and the practice (possibly leading to "under-implementation") levels.

Moreover, it seems safely undeniable that the schools' head teachers who provided explanations, although a minority in the samples, presented relevant points, some of which were already discussed in chapter 3. Basically, these observations point out not just their personal opinions, but also to questions regarding the actual reality -in the sense of what is really feasible- of the contexts in consideration. Indirectly, they represent a warning about the need for considering what is available and feasible when formulating policies and principles.

On the other hand, the high level of agreements from both schools seem to indicate that the *gaps* to be -and if- observed will not be related to reluctance from schools, but probably from the lack of a deeper knowledge of these policies and principles, which in turn has implications to "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". As will be seen during the interview results (see chapter 9), head teachers will partially consider it their own responsibility for such *gaps* as regards their lack of initiative in seeking for information. Nonetheless, they will attribute the greatest responsibility to the lack of governmental commitment or initiative (in the case of State and Federal governments), or to the short time during which government has been taking effective actions (as in the case of Municipal government).

Section 3, sub-section C: Head Teachers' Views of Principles and Policies as Realistic or Unrealistic

Following the same line of thought explained so far, this sub-section intended to investigate reactions caused by the quotes used in sub-section A a little further. It was believed that their agreement would not necessarily mean that they would think of those statements as realistic, when considered according to their own schools' particular contexts, or to the local level.

With particular regards to the issues of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation", this sub-section expresses a search for explanations about this process which are complementary to the ones based on head teachers' level of knowledge about policies and principles, and on their level of agreement with them. Underlying this aim is the assumption that head teachers' consideration of the quotes provided as unrealistic would help to further understand the participation of the schools in the process of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". In other words, if schools' head teachers agree with principles and policies, even without knowing them too well, but do not see them as realistic, implementation could well be jeopardised, as discussed in chapter 2.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The Table below shows the results obtained from both Municipal and State schools.

Table 21: Head Teachers' Views of Principles and Policies Presented in sub-section A as Realistic or Unrealistic

Quotes	Municipal (N= 16)*			State (N= 8)*		
	Unrealistic	Realistic	N/A	Unrealistic	Realistic	N/A
A	6 +	9	1++	2+	4	2++
B	6	9	1++	1	4	3++
C	9	6	1++	3	3	2++
D	11	4	1++	3	3	2++
E	7	7	2++	1	4	3++
F	9	6	1++	2	4	2++
G	6	8	2++	2	4	2++
H	5	9	2++	3	3	2++
I	6	8	2++	1	4	3++

* Represents the maximum number of choices possible to any one answer in each quote

N/A = Not Answered

+ Represents two Municipal (M6 and M10) and one State (S7) schools who ticked unrealist for all the quotes and provided just one explanation for all of them, as can be seen in the discussion below.

++ Represents one Municipal (M7) and two State (S1 and S8) schools who did not answer from A to I.

The results above show that the subjects tended to be somewhat divided in their opinions about the principles and policies being realistic or unrealistic. With the exception of the principle D, set by the Federal level and which defines integration, Municipal schools' head teachers tended to see those principles almost equally as realistic and unrealistic. For the State schools' head teachers, not more than 50% of them thought of these principles as realistic, and the other half either said nothing about it or thought of them as unrealistic.

As regards the schools who said the quotes are unrealistic, it is worth mentioning the reasons they gave for their answers. For statement A, from the Federal level and regarding the principle of participation, the themes drawn out of the Municipal schools' responses focused on *Lack of political commitment* and *Need to involve society as a whole*. This last one was also shared by the State school who said statement A was unrealistic, and this school also added the difficulty of involving all the sectors of society.

For statement B, from the State level and regarding the aim of special education, the general theme extracted from their explanations regarded lack of preparedness of the educational system in relation to its organisation and the training of its professionals.

The themes originated from the explanations given by the Municipal schools for considering statement C, from the Municipal level and regarding the political-administrative duties in special education, as unrealistic varied from *Lack of specialised personnel* to *Lack of political willingness* and to *Lack of preparedness of the educational system*. The State schools provided the same sort of explanation when they said, referring to special education, that *This education is not prioritised in our country* and *Because of lack of specialists*.

For statement D, Federal and regarding integration, the common themes observed concerned the lack of participation of the institutions and agencies supposedly involved in integration, the lack of a common educational policy which is integrative and, again, the lack of structure of the educational system.

For statement E, regarding curriculum and produced at the State level, there was a variety of reasons presented. One said that general educational *conditions are not appropriate even for discussing it*, another said *there lacks a policy* on the matter, another one said *I don't see it in practice*, yet another one said that *the extended curriculum comes from the ordinary system, with no adaptation, order, method or sequence provided to the special teaching* and a last one said that they *don't have pupils with deficiency* in their school.

Statement F, also from the State level and regarding teacher training, raised three kinds of response from both schools. One relates to political commitment to education, the other relates to the insufficient qualification of teachers, let alone specialisation, and the other is a school who said they do not have disabled pupils.

Statement G, regarding the rights to admission and produced at the Municipal level, received responses associated to themes like the need for professional qualification and general conditions of provision in order for a real acceptance to occur without the child being transferred to somewhere else a few days or weeks later.

For statement H, Federal and regarding the principle of normalisation, the theme associated with it was the need of providing training for the professionals. And finally, for statement I, from the State level and regarding placement, the themes were basically related to the availability of material and human resources.

Furthermore, the following quotations should be added to each of the above statements, because the respective schools answered the same for all of them: *Society is not truly involved with education. In Brazil there's no real concern with education at a general level, and even less with special education in ordinary schools.*

Education is not a priority in our country. Our [educational] system is a chaos, both regarding the physical and the pedagogic aspects. (from a Municipal school); They [statements presented] are in the Federal Constitution but are not being put into practice. There lacks regulation of the Law. This non-accomplishment of our Maximum Law [Constitution] from the part of our Brazilian governors is a national shame. (from another Municipal school); and All are unrealistic because our schools are not prepared even for regular teaching, let alone the special one. (from a State school).

These results, on their own, do not allow for speculations about any relationship between head teachers' level of agreement with the principles (as seen in sub-section A) and head teachers' judgement of them as realistic or not. Neither do they allow for any further conclusion to be taken about principles being seen as unrealistic implying jeopardy of their implementation. This is so because no conclusion could be taken as to whether the majority of subjects see such principles as realistic or unrealistic.

Nonetheless, it is undeniable that the comments provided by those few who surely see such principles as unrealistic are quite powerful and relevant to policy-making.

Section 3, sub-section D: Head Teachers' Views of Relevance and Effectiveness of Legislation

The aim of this sub-section was to investigate the extent to which head teachers think of legislation for special education as relevant and effective. It again followed the same lines of thought of the previous sub-sections, that is, that the possible verification of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" would be associated with the respondents' convictions about the legal provisions as regards principles and policies.

It consisted of a set of six questions (see Appendix 1) asking about aspects such as the existence of legislation to improve special education and its relevance, special education guidance provided by legislation and its effectiveness, and dissemination of legislation and its relevance.

The six questions were made in a way that from 1 to 3 they could be characterised as more straightforward questions, asking the respondents to directly answer to a specific aspect of legislation. Questions 4 to 6 asked questions about the same matters, but this time beginning from the opposite side of the one presented from 1 to 3. This was done in this way in order to allow for comparisons among them and check possible contradictions in responses.

In order to provide a more organised view of this section as a whole, the Tables showing the results of all the six questions will be presented in pairs, to allow for comparison. Further comments will be provided afterwards. The order of pairs to be presented is: questions 1 and 4, 2 and 5, and 3 and 6.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The Tables below show the results obtained from both Municipal and State schools, for questions 1 and 4 of this sub-section.

Table 22: Question 1: Is legislation Relevant to Improve Special Education?

Relevant?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	8	5
No	2	1
Not Sure	3	1
Not Answered	3	1

Table 23: Question 4: Does Legislation Make any Difference in Providing Guidance for Special Education Practice?

Difference?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	11	4
No	2	2
Not Sure	1	2
Not Answered	2	-

In matching the results shown in the Tables above, the first pair of questions, 1 and 4 (Tables 22 and 23) show consistency in the respondents' answers. The expected was that if the same pattern of answers should be expressed in both questions, at least as regards the options "yes" and "no".

As can be seen, the majority of respondents of the Municipal schools said "yes" in both questions, although the rate of "yes" in question number 1 was a little smaller than in question 4. It might just be that those who were "not sure" or who did not answer made a conceptual differentiation between being relevant and making any difference, which is justifiable. Although the questions are similar in nature and referred to the same matter, in some cases it might well be that legislation does make a difference, because of being relevant or despite of being irrelevant in the head teachers' opinions.

The State schools' results went in the opposite direction. The number of "yes" was still higher in both questions, but fell from question 1 to 4. In addition, one subject did

not answered question 1, and the number of "no" and "not sure" in number 4 was higher.

The next pair of questions, numbers 2 and 5 (Tables 24 and 25) tried to investigate if respondents thought of legislation as limited or effective in providing guidance for special education. The results were again interesting and showed similar patterns in both questions, as can be seen in the Tables below.

Table 24: Question 2: Is Legislation Limited in Providing Guidance for Special Education Practice?

Limited?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	11	3
No	-	-
Not Sure	3	4
Not Answered	2	1

Table 25: Question 5: Is Legislation Effective in Providing Guidance for Special Education Practice?

Effective?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	2	-
No	7	3
Not Sure	5	4
Not Answered	2	1

It was expected that those schools who said "yes" in question 2 would say "no" in question 5. In the same way, if most of the respondents had said "no" in question 2, they would be expected to say "yes" in number 5.

As can be seen, Municipal schools tended to say that legislation existing at the time the data were collected was limited in providing guidance in special education (Table 24) and correspondingly, that legislation was not effective in providing this guidance (Table 25).

When it comes to effectiveness it is worth noticing, however, that the number of schools who said so was not as high as for question 2. There were more schools (5, in question number 5, as opposed to 3, in question number 2) who were not sure about this issue. As a matter of fact, "limited" is a term broader than "effective". A "limited" guidance might include ineffectiveness of existing policies, but it might also include the lack of policies regarding certain aspects. Thus, a possible suggestion from these results could be that existing policies could still be effective, although limited in their scope.

The State schools presented a more stable picture, although also more divided. The same number of schools said "yes" in question 2 and "no" in question 5. However, a higher number of respondents opted to say "I'm not sure" in both questions. Nonetheless, no school said that the legislation is not limited, or that it is effective in providing guidance for special education.

The next pair, questions 3 and 6, asked about relevance of legislation as depending on their dissemination among the administrative levels (i.e.: Municipal, State and Federal). The two following Table shows the results gathered from these questions.

Table 26: Question 3: Is Legislation Relevant Even if not Disseminated Among the Three Administrative Levels?

Relevant regardless of dissemination?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	4	-
No	9	5
Not Sure	1	3
Not Answered	2	-

Table 27: Question 6: Is Legislation Only Relevant if Disseminated Among the Three Administrative Levels?

Relevant only when disseminated?	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Yes	12	8
No	1	-
Not Sure	1	-
Not Answered	2	-

The results above show that most of the Municipal schools do not think legislation is relevant despite not being disseminated (Table 26). In addition, most of them think that it is only relevant when disseminated (Table 27). Although the link between legislation and its dissemination was made by most respondents in both questions, in question 3 the majority was not as high as in 6, because 4 respondents still said that legislation is relevant, regardless of its being disseminated among the administrative levels.

Because 4 represents a third -and as such, a relatively high fraction- of the twelve who said "yes" in question 6, a further investigation was decided to be carried out, in the sense of checking if the same subjects who said "yes" in question 3 were the same ones who said "yes" again in number 6, and as such, contradicted themselves. After doing so, it was found out that three out of those four subjects did contradict

themselves in question 6, and one said "I'm not sure". Although this brings the fraction down to a fourth, the contradiction is still there for some subjects. Thus, the only thing that can be safely said about this question as regards the Municipal schools is that there is a tendency to think of relevance of legislation as linked to its dissemination among the administrative levels.

The State schools, again, presented a more stable pattern. In question 3 none of them said that legislation would be relevant regardless of its dissemination. Most of them said "no", and a few said to be "not sure". In checking this question against question 6, it can be seen that all respondents said that legislation is relevant only when disseminated among the administrative levels, which makes sense when compared to the results from question 3.

Thus, as a general comment about sub-section D as a whole, it could be said that there is a tendency for head teachers of both schools to think that legislation is relevant, although not very effective, and that such effectiveness would depend on the extent to which legislation is disseminated.

Regarding the possibility of these views being somehow related to the occurrence of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" at the schools level, the results of this sub-section on its own do not seem to be sufficient to allow for any speculation on the matter.

Section 3, sub-section E, question 1: Head Teachers' Views of Positive Consequences from Legislation to the Integration of Children with Special Needs

In this question, head teachers were asked to highlight positive outcomes to integration, resulting from the legislation they knew of. The main aim of asking this question was to identify the possible areas in which practical suggestions for improving or promoting integration could be given, at the end of the questionnaire.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

A great variety of answers were provided by those who answered this question. In matching them altogether, they could be categorised in 4 main themes: "Attitudes and Values", "Support and Partnership", "Resources/Investment", and "Legal/Administrative Action". As explained in chapter 6, these are the categories extracted from these open-ended questions, and as such the ones to be mentioned until question 3-G. However, as also explained in chapter 6, they will cover specific aspects according to the question being asked, reason for which they will be specified again in each of the following questions until question 3-G.

Thus, the theme "Attitudes and Values", in the present question, refers to responses in which the subjects mentioned issues like general concern with integration, egalitarian attitudes, administrative initiatives regarding special education, involvement of society, acknowledgement of rights of *exceptional*⁴ people, strengthening of special education and weakening of discrimination, growing awareness on the part of more educationalists, acceptance of disabled children without prejudice, the right to access to education, and more concern from the current administration regarding *deficient* people.

Another theme, named "Support and Partnership", comprises issues like closer contacts with parents, and collaboration between school and parents.

The third theme, named "Resources/Investment" is composed of issues like facilities of access to the physically impaired, special establishments, special classes in ordinary State schools, need of financial support to establishments, more provision for disabled children and better qualified human resources.

The fourth theme, named "Legal/Administrative Action" involved issues like practical special education guidance, legal assurance of special educational provision, inclusion of provision for needs of a social nature in the Federal Constitution, obedience and respect to laws regarding supporting *deficient* people, and more autonomy to the Municipal administration.

Table 28 below shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools. They indicate that, for the Municipal schools who responded, all the four main themes are nearly as equally seen as having benefitted from legislation. For the State schools who responded, more emphasis was put on themes related to attitudes and values and support and partnership.

Both types of answer seem to be in accordance to the political movements and initiatives observed in special education for the past years, as seen in the documentary analysis.

It seems that, in the case of the Municipal schools, since the administration of that time took power in 1989, a general improvement in education has happened, which was reflected in the areas covered by the four main themes highlighted above.

⁴ Words in italics emphasise respondents' own terminology

Table 28: Positive Consequences of Legislation to Integration

Themes	Municipal (N=10)* Number of Choices	State (N=2)* Number of Choices
Attitudes + Values	7	2
Support + Partnership	5	2
Resource/Investment	5	-
Legal/Administrative Action	6	-
D/K	3	-
N/A	3	6

D/K= Don't Know; N/A= Not Answered

* Represents the maximum number of choices possible to each of the first 4 options

As regards the State schools, the results from legislation seem to have been more located at the level at which it depends on people's willingness. This is in accordance to the results presented in section 3, sub-section D, by the State schools, in which it was suggested that policies, in addition to being limited, were not being effective.

This also seems to be in accordance with the results from section 2-D, in which most of the themes raised were referring to material and human resources, as well as policies. Further discussion on this is found in chapter 9.

Section 3, sub-section E, question 2: Head Teachers' Views of Negative Consequences from Legislation to the Integration of Disabled Children

This question was similar to number 1, but this time head teachers were asked to highlight the negative outcomes to integration, resulting from the legislation they knew of.

The main aim of asking this question, however, remains the same: to identify the possible areas in which practical suggestions for improving or promoting integration could be given, in the end of the questionnaire.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Again, answers could be grouped according to the same themes, but this time into three, out of the four main themes ("Support and Partnership" was not identified in any answer): "Attitudes and Values", "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Action". The themes and what is specifically covered by them in respect to the question being asked are described below.

The first theme, "Attitudes and Values", included issues like special classes marginalizing the pupils, lack of commitment from society, and lack of respect to the human being.

The second theme, "Resources/Investment" was composed of issues like limited amount of resources, inadequacy of pedagogic special education material and equipment to work with, lack of special classes in the schools, rise in the number of children to be assisted without enough places in the schools to absorb them, lack of a compulsory and periodic teacher training, lack of recognition and training of teaching profession and lack of qualified staff.

Finally, the third theme, "Legal/Administrative Action" involved issues like political dismissal, no consistency in implementing legislation in general, no actual legislation regulating special education at the Municipal level, lack of leadership by the public power, lack of integration between the different administrative levels, lack of continuity of political initiatives taken previously by other politicians, and excessive bureaucracy leading to practical delays.

Table 29 shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 29: Negative Consequences of Legislation to Integration

Themes	Municipal (N=9)* Number of Choices	State (N=4)* Number of Choices
Attitudes + Values	4	1
Resource/Investment	9	3
Legal/Administrative Action	6	3
D/K	3	-
N/A	4	4

D/K = Don't Know; N/A = Not Answered

* Represents the maximum number of choices possible for each of the first 3 options

The results from the Table above show some interesting points. First, they confirm the ones from the previous Table, regarding question 1, as far as the State schools are concerned, because the responses tended to be concentrated on the two themes which had not been highlighted by the respondents as having suffered any positive consequence in the previous question: "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Action". Second, as it concerns the Municipal schools, the results from question 2 do not necessarily confirm the ones from question 1, but they do not contradict them either, since all themes were nearly equally highlighted by the respondents in question 1. It is indeed likely that in question 2 the respondents were

able to express more clearly the exact areas of the themes extracted in which negative consequences occurred from legislation, in their point of view.

Moreover, the concentration, by the Municipal schools, of responses under the themes "Resources/Investment" and "Legal Action/ Administration" might well reflect the results of previous Municipal administrations, as well as criticism of the current State and Federal administrations, to which the Municipal is subject, as regards provision for education in general.

In saying so, what is being suggested is that, based on the results from the interviews, to be seen in the next chapter, perhaps these criticisms are mainly -not only- directed at the higher administrative levels and previous Municipal administrative level. This suggestion is indirectly supported, for instance, by the findings of section 1, sub-section D, question 4 of this chapter, in which the Municipal schools stated, among their highest number of answers, that there should be coherent actions between the State and the Municipal secretaries of education. Further lights on this is also included in chapter 9.

Section 3, sub-section F, question 1: Suggestions for Solutions, at the Municipal Level, about the Negative Consequences of Legislation

The aim of this question was to find out what possible solutions head teachers would see as possible, at the Municipal level, for the negative situations they mentioned in the previous sub-section. The intention was to confirm the main problem areas of concern of head teachers and to raise their possible solutions as regards actions at the Municipal level.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The responses were grouped into three of the four main categories used so far in this section. The theme "Attitudes and Value" did not receive any statement which could be categorised as belonging to it. The other themes and what they specifically mention with regards to the question being asked are described below.

The theme "Support and Partnership" regarded issues like clustering and linking between the APAEs (see Abbreviations index for explanation), dialogue (not clear among whom) and seminars, and collaboration with the State institutions.

It is worth noticing that this last statement (collaboration with the State institutions) came from one State school only, and in a way reflects the complaints made during the interviews with the State schools' head teachers, when it was said that the

Municipal administration was providing so much support in general and that they should help the State schools. This could also explain why some of the State schools spoke strongly in favour of Municipalization¹⁴⁷, that is, of transferring the primary State schools into the responsibility of the Municipal administration, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The theme "Resources/Investment" included matters like specialised training in special education, provision of adequate materials and equipments to schools and of special classes to *exceptional* pupils, building of more schools with adequate installations, teacher training and courses, appropriate salaries for teachers, adequate curriculum and recruitment of capable and trained staff to do the job, and provision of a satisfactory number of places for all pupils in the schools when they register.

In the theme "Legal/Administrative Actions", there were issues included like: creating the special education department, implementing the legislation, inclusion of support for *deficient* people in the Organic Law of the Municipality, programming of a financial plan by the public powers which are inclusive of special education in order to assume their leadership and responsibilities and expand the provision available, better distribution of the money allocated to education.

Table 30 below shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 30: How to Solve the Problems Caused by the Negative Consequences of Legislation to Integration at the Municipal Level?

Themes	Municipal (N=8)* Number of Choices	State (N=3)* Number of Choices
Support + Partnership	3	4
Resource/Investment	2	2
Legal/Administrative Action	5	2
D/K	-	-
N/A	8	3

D/K = Don't Know; N/A = Not Answered

* Also notice that the total of respondents expected was 9 for the Municipal and 4 for the State schools, i.e., those responding section 3, sub-section E. However, the actual number of head teachers who responded was 8 and 3, respectively.

As can be seen from the data above, the schools from both Municipal and State Systems who responded to this question tended to concentrate their answers around the themes "Support and Partnership", "Resources and Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Action".

¹⁴⁷ See glossary for explanation

Given the statements and topics used to define the meaning of each theme in this question, it appears that there has been coherence between the answers in this question and the ones in the previous ones.

Section 3, sub-section F, question 2: Suggestions for Solutions, at the State Level, about the Negative Consequences of Legislation

The question asked here is basically the same as in number 1, only this time the aim was to find out what possible solutions head teachers would see as feasible to initiate at the State level, for the negative situations they mentioned in the previous sub-section. The intention underlying this question also was to identify the main problem areas of concern of head teachers, but as regards actions at the State level.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Once again, only three of the themes emerged, as in question 1. The specific aspects of each one of them, and which particularly relate to the question being asked, are described below.

"Support and Partnership" was basically expressed in statements mentioning the need for dialogue and seminars.

"Resources/Investment" included issues like building physically adequate schools, training teachers, and promoting courses and conferences. It also included aspects such as monitoring and inspection, provision of appropriate salaries to professionals and of suitable didactic material and equipment, as well as recruitment and selection of qualified human resources and the need to substitute special classes for professional teams to be available in each school, working with special education.

"Legal/Administrative Actions" included issues like having specialised staff within the State Secretary of Education, implementing legislation, formulating a law which could be really and strictly implemented by the public power (in this case, the State one). It also included making the acceptance of disabled children in the *normal* classrooms compulsory to the schools in order to promote the social integration of these children and better distribute the money allocated to education.

Table 31 shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools. As can be seen in the Table, the concentration of responses from the Municipal schools lies "Resource/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Action", while for the State schools it lies on "Support/Partnership" and "Resource/Investment".

As far as the Municipal schools are concerned, it appears that their judgement about the State level places a lot of emphasis on its administrative aspects, with improvements being mostly needed in that area. On the other hand, it seems that, for the State schools, this is not the main area in need of improvement, but the more practical aspects like financial and pedagogic.

Table 31: How to Solve the Problems Caused by the Negative Consequences of Legislation to Integration at the State Level?

Themes	Municipal (N=7)* Number of Choices	State (N=3)* Number of Choices
Support + Partnership	-	4
Resource/Investment	2	4
Legal/Administrative Action	6	1
D/K	-	-
N/A	9	5

D/K = Don't Know; N/A = Not Answered

* Also notice that the total of respondents expected was 9 for the Municipal and 4 for the State schools, that is, those who were responding section 3, sub-section E. However, the actual number of head teachers who responded was 7 and 3, respectively.

It could be that the State schools think that they have the legal provision already, but need the actual implementation of it, as it has been suggested from the results of other questions throughout sections 2 and 3. Such an interpretation bears implications to "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" in the sense that if this interpretation can be validated, the described process is being verified. However, the number of respondents is low, and only allow for speculation on this matter. Nonetheless, the findings from the interviews (see chapter 9) are supportive of the above ideas.

Section 3, sub-section E, question 3: Suggestions for Solutions, at the Federal Level, about the Negative Consequences of Legislation

The question asked here is basically the same as in number 1 and 2, with the difference that the solutions sought out from the head teachers referred to the Federal level. The intention underlying this question also was to identify the main problem areas of concern of head teachers, but, again, regarding actions at the Federal level.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Only two main themes emerged from this question: "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Actions". The specific aspects they cover in relation to the present question are described next.

"Resources/Investment" included issues like establishing special classes in ordinary schools and a compulsory teacher training on a periodic basis, and technical and financial support for special education.

"Legal/Administrative Actions" included issues like having specialised staff within the Ministry of Education, implementing legislation, formulating adequate legislation to regulate the establishment of special classes in ordinary schools and compulsory periodical teacher training, monitoring of implementation of legislation at the State and Municipal levels, regulation of laws which concern provision for special needs as regards their social aspects, effective allocation of money to the Municipalities (suggested by a Municipal school only) and better allocation of money to education in general.

The table below shows the number of times in which the themes were mentioned by the subjects.

Table 32: How to Solve the Problems Caused by the Negative Consequences of Legislation to Integration at the Federal Level?

Themes	Municipal (N=9)* Number of Choices	State (N=2)* Number of Choices
Resource/Investment	2	4
Legal/Administrative Action	7	3
D/K	-	-
N/A	7	6

D/K - Don't Know; N/A - Not Answered

* Also notice that the total of respondents expected was 9 for the Municipal and 4 for the State schools, that is, those who were responding section 3, sub-section E. The actual number of head teachers who responded was 9 and 2, respectively.

The data above show that there was a higher concentration of answers, from the Municipal schools, referring to "Legal/ Administrative Actions". This predominance could be explained by the fact that the Municipal schools, in terms of hierarchical structure, are more distant from the Federal level and as such receive less information coming straight from the Federation than do the State schools, an intermediate level in terms of administrative hierarchy. This could have influenced the Municipal schools' tendency to see the solutions, as concerns the Federal level, in terms of more effective actions to take place regarding the Federal policy formulation and implementation processes in general.

The State schools showed a more distributed view, in which it appears that the same weight was given to both predominant themes. This seems to be in accordance with most of the answers provided so far by the State schools throughout other sections and questions (see, for example, questions of sub-section E of this chapter). It is also in accordance with the illustrations showed in chapter 9.

Section 3, sub-section F, question 4: Suggestions for Solutions, at the School Level, about the Negative Consequences of Legislation

The question asked here is basically the same as in number 1, 2 and 3, but this time the solutions sought out from the head teachers referred to the school level. The intention underlying this question was, again, to identify the main problem-areas of concern to head teachers, but, again, regarding actions at the school level.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

From the responses gathered in this question, the four main themes emerged again: "Attitudes and Values", "Support and Partnership", "Resources and Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Actions". The aspects they involve, regarding specifically this question, are described below.

"Attitudes and Values" was basically referring to issues like dedication, equality, donation, security, love, fraternity, humility and the overcoming of prejudices were also cited in this theme. It is relevant to notice that the theme "Attitudes and Values" was only emerging for the State schools, not for the Municipal ones.

"Support and Partnership" basically regarded issues like discussing the problems of special needs people with the local community, having higher level of interaction (not clear of whom), and more discussions, meetings, dialogues and reflections.

"Resources/Investment" included issues like promotion of in-service training with discussions and conferences for debate, adequate professional qualification for working with disabled people, more understanding of disabled children by staff involved in education, better professional qualification, more studying and reading by professionals, up-dating courses, more information to be gathered, monitoring of practice, and adequacy of curriculum.

"Legal/Administrative Actions" included issues like creation of conditions for implementing legislation, facilitation of access to school for disabled children, monitoring the Municipal Secretary of Education with reference to definition of

policies and their implementation, and inclusion of provision for disabled children in curriculum development.

The Table 33 shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 33: How to Solve the Problems Caused by the Negative Consequences of Legislation to Integration at the School Level?

Themes	Municipal (N=8)* Number of Choices	State (N=2)* Number of Choices
Attitudes + Values	-	10
Support + Partnership	3	10
Resource/Investment	4	2
Legal/Administrative Action	5	2
D/K	-	-
N/A	8	6

D/K= Don't Know; N/A= Not Answered

* Also notice that the total of respondents expected was 9 for the Municipal and 4 for the State schools, that is, those who were responding section 3, sub-section E. The actual number of head teachers who responded was 8 and 2, respectively.

In looking at the above Table, two results can be immediately noticed: the high number of choices for the first theme by the State schools, and the lack of number of choices by the Municipal schools, regarding the same theme. Such results, when compared, for instance, with the ones presented for section 3, sub-section E questions 1 and 2 appear to contradict the State schools' answers in sub-section E.

As the reader will remember, in sub-section E it was gathered that "Attitudes and Values" was not a negative consequence of legislation for the State schools, even though it was not declared a positive one either. At the same time, the Municipal schools quoted this theme more as a positive, as opposed to a negative, consequence of legislation.

As regards the Municipal schools, thus, the results above seem to confirm those of sub-section E. The same, though, cannot be said of the State schools. On the other hand, from the low number of choices of this theme in the other 3 questions of the present sub-section, it could be that the State school which mentioned this theme in this question sees that despite a general change in attitudes from legislative provision as a whole, that particular school still needs improvement in this aspect. Once more, however, the number of respondents was not enough to allow for any generalisation of this speculation.

Another interesting result shown in the Table above regards the low number of choices for the themes "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Action" by the State schools. These low number of choices could well reflect the fact that the State schools as such are very much dependent upon other decision-making levels, such as the State and Federal administrations, and therefore did not regard these aspects as directly within the power of the schools establishment to solve.

On the other hand, the Municipal schools seemed to see it just in the opposite way, particularly with reference to the theme "Legal/Administrative Actions". This could well reflect a political Municipal movement towards decentralisation of power being initiated at the time the questionnaires were applied, and verifiably more consolidated a year later, when the interviews were carried out. This issue shall be further discussed after the presentation of the results from the interviews.

Section 3, sub-section G: Aspects of Special Education Head Teachers Think should be Tackled by Legislation

This question asked the respondents to list what possible special education aspects they thought of as not included in the legislation and would like to see included. As with the questions in sub-section F, the aim was to identify problem-areas felt as being in need of more urgent action, as well as to complement the practical suggestions provided so far by the respondents.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

Following the same line of the thematical analysis used in the previous questions, only three of the four themes emerged: "Support and Partnership", "Resources/Investment" and "Legal/Administrative Actions". The aspects involved in these themes, regarding specifically this question, are as follows.

"Support and Partnership" basically regarded issues like the organisation of links among institutions which provide for special education clientele, for example, APAEs (see meaning in the List of Abbreviations).

"Resources/Investment" included issues like no limitation for guidance and practice of special education, inclusion of special education in the teacher training programmes, setting up of special classes in all ordinary schools, more in-service training and better qualification of special educationalists, selection of knowledgeable professionals, psychological monitoring (not clear of whom), up-dating courses on the subject, evaluation of practice

"Legal/Administrative Actions" included issues like a new proposal to be made to reform the educational system so that everybody can adopt the "cause" for special education: make provision for special needs compulsory at all educational levels: Municipal, State and Federal; to make it legally compulsory for all schools to accept special needs children; inclusion of curricular provision for disabled children in the national curriculum; make current legislation be taken seriously and be effectively implemented so that special education becomes a real fact; and to oblige the public powers (Municipal, State and Federal) to provide for the special classes.

Table 34 shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 34: What Special Education Aspects Should be Part of the Legislation?

Themes	Municipal (N=9)* Number of Choices	State (N=4)* Number of Choices
Support + Partnership	1	-
Resource/Investment	4	7
Legal/Administrative Action	5	2
D/K	2	-
N/A	7	4

D/K= Don't Know; N/A= Not Answered

* Represents the maximum number of choices possible for each of the 3 first options

Once more, the pattern of choices verified by both schools in general was concentrated on "Resources and Investment" and "Legal/ Administrative Actions", and in the interviews (see chapter 9) there have been comments which are consistent with the above findings.

In respect to the latter category, it is worth mentioning that schools were not necessarily referring to their immediate administrative level, but to all levels in general: Municipal, State and Federal. This could explain any apparent contradiction by the Municipal schools in having a high number of choices for this category, while not having done the same when specifically referring to the Municipal reality, as in sub-section F, question 1. This same kind of explanation could be attributed to the Municipal schools as regards the category "Resources/Investment".

For the State schools, the results also seem reasonably expected, particularly with reference to "Resources/Investment". As was seen in other sections and questions of this questionnaire (section 3, sub-section E), the number of times in which schools complained about lack of resource and appropriate conditions for providing special education was high. Clearly, this seems to be an area in need for the State schools.

Section 3, sub-section II: Administrative Level to Tackle Aspects Provided in G

This question asked the respondents to state which of the three administrative levels (Municipal, State or Federal) should take the initiative regarding the needs the respondents identified in the previous question and which they wish to see included in legislation. The question was directly asked, and the three options were given for the subjects to tick. The options were not necessarily exclusive of each other. The aim of asking this question was to identify the administrative level to which respondents were most referring when responding to question G.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The next Table shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 35: Which Administrative Level should Initiate those Legislative Actions?

Administrative Level	Municipal (N=7)*	State (N=4)*
Municipal	8	3
State	8	4
Federal	6	3
N/A	9	4

N/A= Not Answered

* Only 7 Municipal and 4 State schools were expected here: the ones which answered to sub-section G

Regarding the Municipal schools, the administrative levels which should tackle the issues mentioned in sub-section II in practice are the more local ones, that is, the Municipal and State administrations. For the State schools a similar picture emerged, but a slight stronger emphasis was given to the State administrative level. These data received support in the interviews, as can be seen in chapter 9.

Section 3, sub-section I: Legislative Level to Tackle Aspects Provided in G

This question asked the respondents the same as in II, though now specifically regarding the Legislative, rather than Administrative level. Legislative levels are also sub-divided into three main spheres of legislation: Municipal, State or Federal. The closer the legislation made is to the top level of government, the wider the dimension acquired by the law and, therefore, the higher the possibility that this be adopted or known by more sectors of society.

The question was directly asked and the three options (not exclusive of each other) were given for the subjects to tick. The aim of this question was to identify the level to which respondents were most referring when responding to question G.

The Municipal and State Schools' reports

The Table below shows the numerical results for both Municipal and State schools.

Table 36: Which Legislative Level should Tackle those Legislative Actions?

Legislative Level	Municipal (N=7)*	State (N=4)*
Municipal	7	4
State	7	4
Federal	7	3
N/A	9	4

N/A = Not Answered

* Only 7 Municipal and 4 State schools were expected here: the ones which answered to sub-section G

The data above show that, for the schools who responded to this sub-section, and regarding the levels at which legislation is produced, all levels -or nearly all of them, as in the case of the State schools considering the Federal level- should be equally responsible for including the aspects mentioned in sub-section H in their legislation. These results found support in the interviews, as can be seen in chapter 9.

Summary from Section 3

Respondents from both types of schools did not show much knowledge of policies, or showed some uncertainty about the origins of the legal principles and directives for special education in general, although they basically agree with all of them.

Municipal schools' head teachers saw the principles more as realist than the State schools' ones. There was no concentration of answers for the latter respondents, and the former ones concentrated their answers (as realist) on the principles of participation and normalisation (which are from the Federal level) and on the aims of special education as stated by the State level. Interestingly, the Federal principle of integration was the one most considered as unrealistic by the Municipal schools' head teachers.

Most respondents from both types of schools thought of legislation as relevant to improving special education. The Municipal schools' head teachers also think that legislation makes a difference for special education practice, while only half of the State schools' head teachers thought so. On the other hand, most Municipal schools' head teachers thought of legislation as limited and as not being effective in providing guidance in special education practice, while the State schools' head teachers provided more divided opinions. Subjects from both schools tended to associate effectiveness of legislation to its being disseminated.

There was no concentration of choices regarding positive consequences of legislation to integration in the answers of subjects of both types of school. As regards the negative consequences, Municipal schools' head teachers tended to concentrate their answers around "Resources and Investment", while the State schools' ones expressed more divided views.

As regards suggestions for solving those negative consequences at the Municipal, State and Federal levels there was no specific response mostly chosen by any of the subjects. At the school level, the State schools' head teachers tended to focus their answers around "Attitudes and Values" and "Support and Partnership", while the Municipal schools' head teachers expressed no preferences.

In relation to the aspects of special education which in their views should become part of legislation, the most popular choice for the State schools' head teachers was in terms of "Resources and Investment", while for the Municipal schools' head teachers there was no particular choice.

Finally, as regards the administrative levels which should initiate effective legislation, the subjects of both schools were more or less evenly divided, with a slight tendency to place their answers on the more local levels. The next chapter presents the findings from the interviews, after which some more lights can be thrown on the findings presented and the interpretations made so far.

CHAPTER 9 - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

Introduction

As explained in chapter 6, the interview schedule (see Appendix 2) was composed of four sections.

The first section is called "Scope of Special Education" and aimed at finding out two aspects: how the head teachers see special education (i.e., if as part of or as a different system from ordinary education) and if the way they see it is linked to the degrees of special needs a child might have (i.e. would they tend to think that the placement of a child within ordinary or special settings would depend on the type or the degree of disability?).

The second section, named "Provision", aimed at finding out what head teachers define as provision for special education. Would they see it as strictly linked to resources, or to expansion of the number of staff, or to professional training, or to modifications in the curriculum, or to all or some of these issues together, or to other issues. It also aimed at finding out if they see special education provision as something different when offered in ordinary schools from when offered in special schools or settings.

The third section focused around the topic of integration. It had a few aims. The first aim was to see how head teachers define integration, and in particular if they linked their definitions to more theoretical aspects (i.e., commitment, values, rights, etc) or to more practical ones (i.e., provision, resources, etc.), or to both. The second aim was to find out about what the school they work in offers in terms of integration, in theory and in reality. Thus, questions would be asked about the school having any documentation or policy explicitly mentioning integration, or special education provision, and then they would be asked to describe the practice of integration they have in their schools.

The third aim of the third section was to check on head teachers' knowledge and opinion of governmental policies for integration (at Municipal, State and Federal levels). Questions were focused based on aspects such as what they thought should be happening in terms of formulation and dissemination of policies at the three levels. The fourth aim was to check more closely about the possible practice of integration they would have said to offer in their schools. Questions were planned regarding the identification procedures (i.e., if there was any and what would it consist of), the actual types of provision offered (including every possible aspect, from staff training

to architectural modifications) and monitoring mechanisms to evaluate their own practice.

The fourth section was named "Legislation" . It attempted to collect information about the head teachers' knowledge and opinions about legislation for special education in general, and integration in particular.

The aim was to double check the answers which would have been provided in section 3 and to generate material on which to further analyse "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

Throughout the interview questions most of the aspects attempted to be investigated in the questionnaires were repeated, with the intentions of clarifying doubts and to follow up the situations described a year earlier in the questionnaires.

After carrying out the interviews they were all transcribed and then codified. The codification was checked by, and discussed with the judges so that it was possible to eventually arrive at the nine derived themes and their categories (and in a few cases also sub-categories), which are presented below. Passages exemplifying most of them can be found in Appendix 8.

Results from both Municipal and State schools as regards each theme and their respective categories will be presented and discussed in conjunction, following the same structure used in the presentation of the data from the questionnaire. Whenever the presentation of a relevant point requires further investigation and comparison, such aspects will be shown separately.

It is worth noticing that the discussion of the findings also includes comments based on the contextual differences of Municipal and State schools, e.g.: the innovations being implemented at the Municipal level, or the elections for head teachers, taking place in the State (in 1991) and Municipal schools (in 1992) at the times of the data collection.

Theme 1: Concepts of Special Education

This theme corresponds to the first section and to parts 1 of the sections named "Provision" and "Integration" of the interview schedule, as shown in Appendix 2.

In the interviews, the discursive patterns of both Municipal and State schools interviewees pointed to five types of categories through which they could be said to conceptualise special education:

The Categories Derived from Theme 1

A) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of "Giving a Special Treatment" to the Child. In this case, the disabled children were usually defined according to the types of impairments, including more specific characteristics, like: speech, hearing, visual, mental⁴⁸, psychological, physical problems which could, somehow, impair the learning process of the child. Such characteristics were also described as factors which prevent the child from following the normal classroom rhythm of activities, in which case the children were described as *slow learners*. In other words, it could be said that the parameter used in this theme to discuss special education involves a more "within-child" perspective for defining special needs.

Still within this conceptualisation was the general idea expressed by the interviewees that this "special treatment" needed by the children implies a constant monitoring, carried out mainly by the educational orientation service of the school, in terms of discussions with the teachers -and sometimes with the family- about the academic progress of the child.

B) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of Socio-economic Background. This type of definition was more applied to the cases in which the impairment of the child was associated to problems of a more socio-economic origin. The children under this category were described as those *usually* of alcoholic parents, whose siblings sniff glue or smoke Cannabis sativa, whose mother beats them up and/or who live in precarious housing conditions (eg: 7 or 8 people in a single room). These children were also described as showing a considerably different behaviour (e.g. they are considered to be more aggressive) from other, 'normal' peers, as well as having a school history of repetition of at least one academic year. In this sense, the parameter used in this theme for discussing special education is an environmental one.

Also included in this conceptualisation were those individuals described as having missed out the normal school years and so became too old for joining day-time education. They would be registered in night-time supplementary literacy programmes of the schools of both Systems.

From the description of the subjects interviewed, a "different treatment" should be given to disabled children, which should include a special attention from the part of the teachers, as well as a deeper search into the child's or individual's family

⁴⁸ No school defined what they meant by "mental". Since this was not a main concern at the time the interviews were carried out, this issue remained without further exploration.

background. Such background would be taken into account whenever the school adopted any kind of special provision for these disabled children.

C) Special Education Conceived in Relation to Professional Issues. This conceptualisation was applied whenever the parameter used to discuss special education was directly linked to the need for professional qualification of teachers and school specialists (ie: pedagogic supervisor or educational adviser) regarding provision for disabled children. The focus of the arguments given would be on the immediate aspects of the environment (i.e., staff attitudes, school organisation, etc.) .

This category also included comments referring to the attitudes of school staff concerning provision. There would be those professionals who would express disbelief in school's ability to help disabled children and who would favour some form of segregation. And there would be those who would try to face the limitations of school provision and who would "try to do their best" to compensate for it and provide some special educational practice, which would range from a more special attention given to the child to a more special pedagogic technique attempted with the child.

D) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of the Ineffectiveness of the Educational System. Most of the special educational problems conceived under this category were seen as a result of an unstructured schooling system, regardless of the impairment of the child. The parameter used for discussing special education would be the educational system as a whole, and the focus of the arguments would be centered on the more general aspects of the environment (i.e. the implications of a poorly organised educational system).

The definition of special education was associated to the view of a competent educational system, which includes provision of both professional qualification (training and specialisation levels) and additional resources, as opposed to a selective, segregative and resourceless one, in which the schools did not feel obliged or able to provide for any "different" child.

E) Special Education Conceptualised as Something to be Offered in the Ordinary Schools. This category represents the views of those interviewees whose parameter to discuss special education is the belief that it must happen within the ordinary schools of the two Educational Systems. The focus of the arguments is within that of an inclusive education. Thus, this is not necessarily a category exclusive of the others.

This view might imply either greater or smaller changes and adaptations at many or some levels. In other words, such changes and adaptations might range from the

levels of teachers' attitudes to whole-school approach to special education; from centralising attention on teachers' professional training and up-dating courses; to centralising attention on national campaigning and dissemination of special education to the society.

Concepts of Special Education: the Municipal and State Schools' views

Table 37 below shows the general distribution of categories derived from the conceptualisations of special education, as given by the schools.

Table 37: Distribution of the Municipal and State Schools' Choices of Categories Used for Defining Special Education.

Categories	Municipal (N=15)*	State (N=8)
A - Special Treatment	8	4
B - Socio-Economic Origins	11	7
C - Professional Issues	4	1
D - School Ineffectiveness	5	4
E - In the Ordinary Schools	3	5

* One Municipal schools did not address this topic during the interview.

One first thing that calls one's attention to these data is the schools' choices of categories A and B. As reported in chapter 6, the Municipal and State schools were in quite a different condition at the times the data were collected through both questionnaires (1991) and interviews (1992). The Municipal schools were said to be much more assisted in terms of financial and material resources, as well as of professional training. The opposite picture was given by the State schools, which complained of a general lack of resourcing and training.

In the view of these pictures, and despite the small size of the sample, it seems logical to expect a greater response from Municipal schools' subjects in terms of category B. Since the Municipal schools were generally receiving more support, and since this support included a teacher training programme turned to an educational ideology based on *constructivism*, equal opportunities and the ideal of a school for all, it appears reasonable to expect that they would not be speaking so much of disabled children in terms of categories.

In the same way, it would seem more logical to expect from the State schools' subjects a greater response in terms of category A. That is, since these schools were not receiving the same support mentioned by the subjects from the Municipal schools, and since they had not had professional training for a long time, and still, since the State educational reforms occurred in the past years were in terms of building up special placements (either within or outside the ordinary schools), it seems reasonable to expect them to speak more of disabled children in terms of categories.

Contrary to the expectations, however, the State schools' head teachers chose category B as well as the Municipal schools' head teachers, which could reflect their addressing the children in terms of their socio-economic conditions.

This could be so because the interviewees from the State schools associate their traditional special educational provision to those needs originated from biological, physiological or organic causes. What overburdens teachers, in the context of State schools, would not be the specific provision required for specific and more easy-to-define needs. It would be the general provision, required for those needs which apparently come from a socio-economic cause. Because such needs are not so easy to define, more effective actions or decisions become harder to be taken by the school. The data from the questionnaire which provides a cross-comparison with these (see Table 10 of section 1, sub-section C in chapter 8) seem to offer some support to this interpretation.

Such interpretation helps to explain the slightly higher number of State schools' subjects' choices of categories D ("School Ineffectiveness") and E ("In the ordinary schools") . If a school does not feel itself qualified to provide for a certain type of problem, it seems reasonable to expect that at least part of the explanation the schools will give for this lies within the analysis of the structure of the System (in this case, the State one) supposed to organise such qualifications. Furthermore, these special needs of a socio-economic origin do not seem to be officially associated to special education matters. As such, they would not normally be seen as part of the existing special education provision of the State schools (i.e. the special classes or special schools). It seems reasonable to expect that State schools would see these children placed within the ordinary schools.

Nonetheless, as it has been pointed out elsewhere, due to the size of the sample these ideas should only be regarded as speculations.

The data from the questionnaire's section 1, sub-sections A, B and C in chapter 8 do not refer to special needs of a socio-economic background, but to the main categories of needs usually applied, and such definitions rely predominantly on the physical and organic characteristics. This makes it difficult to state if and why State schools tended to place disabled children in the ordinary classrooms. On the other hand, one cannot not state it either, based only on the lack of that information. It is an issue that remains to be investigated.

As for the Municipal schools, the fact that only three of the head teachers conceived of special education in terms of category E ("In the ordinary schools") might not

necessarily mean that they favour segregation. It might rather mean that this is not an issue for them, since the educational ideology they were trying to effectively bring to practice at the time the interviews were carried out was that of "a school for all". In a way, the analysis of the next theme (Concepts of Integration) will confirm this point. Furthermore, in the questionnaire's results (see chapter 8, section 1, sub-section B) the Municipal schools' head teachers tended to make a much greater use of the category "ordinary classroom" to place disabled children than the State schools did.

Nonetheless, a small proportion of the head teachers from the Municipal schools chose category D ("School Ineffectiveness"). It seems right to expect that a line of action based on a "school for all" ideology would imply a deeper consideration of the structure of the educational system as a whole. The only likely interpretation to this result seems to lie in the fact that most head teachers from the Municipal schools expressed a growing satisfaction with the Municipal System in general, and especially in what concerns the educational provision as a whole, as in theme 7 of this chapter.

Summary from Theme 1

Both Municipal and State schools' head teachers showed a slightly higher tendency to conceive of special education within a perspective which takes into account the socio-economic background of the children so-called "exceptional". In other words, to conceptualise the special needs a child might have as a product of the relationship between the needs and the external factors which might influence such needs.

Theme 2: Concepts of Integration

This theme corresponds to part 2 of the section called "Provision" and to parts 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the section named "Integration" of the interview schedule (see Appendix 2). From the interviews, it was possible to extract eight categories for this theme, some of which divided into sub-categories (see examples in Appendix 8).

The Categories Derived from Theme 2

The eight categories derived from the interviews can be divided into a set of two main ones (A and B) and another set of five categories (C to G). The set of two are complementary of each other and bring out the issue of placement of disabled children in the ordinary classes as opposed to placing them in special classes. The remaining five categories are directly linked to constraints about opting for integration in the ordinary classroom.

There was also the case of those schools -from the Municipal System- which did not speak of integration in terms of placement nor did they express their position in relation to this issue. Instead, they subjected the ability (or lack of it) to decide in favour or against integration to the question of having or not having enough knowledge about special education and special educational needs (category H). A more detailed description of all the categories is provided below.

A) Integration Defined in Terms of Placing Children in the Ordinary Classroom. This category expressed respondents' views of integration in terms of degree of agreement regarding children's placement in the ordinary classes of the ordinary schools. It is worth mentioning that these positions (in favour or against) were initially clustered regardless of the reasons given for them. Such reasons will be discriminated in categories C through to G. Thus, there were mainly three types of comments about this: the ones in favour, the ones against and the ones who could not decide on their position.

B) Integration in Terms of Placing Children in a Special Classroom. In this category, respondents view integration in terms of degree of agreement regarding children's placement in special classes of the ordinary schools. There were basically two main kinds of comment in this category: those in favour and those against. These opinions were also clustered together regardless of the reasons given for their agreement or disagreement. Such reasons will be seen under the categories C through to G.

C) Integration as Linked to Teachers' Acceptance of Disabled Children in the Ordinary Classroom. This category reflects those opinions which link integration to the teachers' acceptance to take up working with disabled children. The quotes which compose this category are related to head teachers' belief that for integration to occur, either fully or partially, teachers must accept disabled children in their classrooms. Even if such acceptance needs to be, sometimes, enforced by the headteacher! (see example in Appendix 8).

D) Integration as Depending on Ratio Between Disabled Pupils and Teacher in the Classroom. This category refers to those head teachers who think that successful integration is linked to the number of disabled children a teacher has in the classroom. One of the common implications of comments under this category is that of the need for some extra support in classroom, as shown in the example.

E) Integration as Depending on the Availability of Extra Teaching Hours. This category referred to extra teaching hours for the disabled pupils, either in or outside the school building, but generally outside the ordinary classroom.

F) Integration as Depending on Teacher Training and Professional Qualification. This category expresses opinions which take into account a need for the school staff to be "prepared", or trained, to receive disabled children, particularly teachers.

G) Integration as Depending on the Type and Degree of Impairment Presented by Disabled Children. This category represents the opinions of those who think that the possibility of integration is linked to the degree of impairment a child might have.

H) Ability to Express Opinions About Integration in the Ordinary or Special Classroom Depending on Acquisition of More Knowledge on the Matter. This category refers to those who could not really decide on their opinions as pro or against integration, regardless of the "type" of integration being considered by the samples, i.e., if full or partial. The respondents could go from placing the child in an ordinary class to placing them in a special school without being able to come to a final conclusion on the matter, because they could not imagine unfamiliar situations or because they did not think of themselves -or the school- as ready for integration in terms of knowing what that is.

Concepts of Integration: the Municipal and State Schools' views

The results of this theme are shown in numerical terms in the Table below.

Table 38: Categories Derived from Conversation About the Theme Concepts of Integration and Number of Times they were Cited by Respondents.

Categories	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A- Agree with O/C	14	3
A- Disagree with O/C	1	2
A- No conclusion on O/C	1	-
B- Agree with S/C	1	4
B- Disagree with S/C	1	1
C- Teachers' Acceptance	4	2
D- Teacher/Pupil Ratio	4	3
E- Extra Teaching Hours	4	3
F- Teacher + Staff Training + Qualification	8	4
G- Degree of SEN	5	2
H- Lack of Information or Knowledge	3	-

* Only category A was used by all respondents of the Municipal schools sample. All the other categories were not necessarily addressed by all the schools of both samples.

O/C= Ordinary Class; S/C= Special Class

The head teachers of the Municipal schools agreed with and made more use of integration in terms of placing disabled children in the ordinary schools than integration in terms of special class. On the other hand, the State schools' head teachers almost equally agreed with integration both in terms of placement in ordinary classrooms and in terms of special class. This was possible because categories A and

B were not mentioned as opposed to each other -not being, thus, exclusive of each other, but rather linked to the other categories originated from the interviews on this matter, that is, categories C to G.

The data above could suggest that for the head teachers of the Municipal schools the factors influencing whether disabled children should be placed in the ordinary classrooms or in a special classroom will be mainly linked to staff and teacher training and qualification, followed by the degree of impairment a child has and then by teachers' acceptance, teacher/pupil ratio and extra teaching hours provided for the children.

The picture suggested from the head teachers of the State schools is less clearly defined, since their addressing of the issues were more equally divided. One could say that teacher and staff training and qualification had a slightly greater tendency to be mentioned, followed by teacher/pupil ratio and extra teaching hours, and by teachers' acceptance and the degree of impairment of the child.

The fact that agreement with integration in terms of ordinary classroom was mostly addressed by Municipal schools' head teachers and that disagreement with integration in terms of ordinary classroom together with agreement with special class was mostly chosen by the State schools' head teachers seems to be in accordance with the lines followed by the Municipal and State legislations on the matter. The Municipal legislation follows a more "school for all" line of action, while the State one actually establishes special classes as a regular practice. Thus, regarding "over-formulation" and "under-implementation", there would be no *gaps* between what is suggested -or ordered- by the documents and what is believed by those who put those directives into practice.

The above tendencies are also in accordance with the data gathered from the questionnaire and presented in chapter 8 (in its section I, sub-section B). As seen there, head teachers of the Municipal schools tended to see disabled children more placed in the ordinary classrooms than in special classroom or school. The State schools presented a more divided view as regards children's placement, similarly varying the number of choices of the range of placements options given in that question.

Likewise, the data above also corresponds to the ones from the questionnaire as regards category H. From the interviews, only head teachers from the Municipal schools found it difficult to decide for or against integration in terms of placing children in the ordinary classroom. This seems to be in agreement with what was

discussed in the previous chapter (see Table 9 on chapter 8). The amount of answers of the kind "Not sure" given by the head teachers of the Municipal schools regarding the placement of disabled children in the ordinary classroom or not was proportionally higher than those given by the head teachers of the State schools. It seems possible to think that Municipal head teachers, as opposed to State schools' head teachers, find it more difficult to decide for or against integration. However, one can only speculate on the reasons why this could be so, and one of these reasons could be that Municipal schools' head teachers are less generally used to, or informed about, nuances of and debates on integration.

Summary from Theme 2

Municipal schools' head teachers had a tendency to conceptualise integration in terms of placement of disabled children in the ordinary schools. As extra factors associated to the topic they tended to mention teacher and staff training and qualifications. State schools' head teachers showed a more divided view of integration, conceptualising it almost equally in terms of placing disabled children in both ordinary and special classes. As regards extra factors associated to integration regardless of the placement issue, the most mentioned factors were also teacher and staff training and qualifications, although such a mention was only expressed by half of the State schools samples.

Theme 3: Special Education Practice

This theme corresponds to part 6 of the section called "Integration" of the original interview schedule (see Appendix 2). For a clearer understanding of all the issues discussed in the interviews about this theme, the theme has been divided into four sub-themes: identification of disabled children (3.1), the actual provision existent, as described by the head teachers (3.2), monitoring or evaluation of practice (3.3) and signs of commitment by the school or those involved in providing for disabled children in the school (3.4). Each of these sub-themes has its own categories, but examples were found relevant to be given only for the categories of Sub-theme 3.4.

The Categories Derived from Sub-theme 3.1: Identification

The categories which emerged from the interviews with regards to the identification of disabled children were quite distinctive, in some respects, for the Municipal and State schools. These categories were:

A) Through a Survey in the Beginning of the Year. This category was extracted only from the Municipal schools' interviewees and implies any form of enquiry made at the

time the child was registered in the school, before the beginning of the academic year. Such an enquiry would usually have been suggested by or requested from the Municipal Secretary of Education, as part of the Municipality's attempts to collect information on which to basis the practice of the Special Education Department being structured and implemented at the time.

B) Through Teachers' Realisation that Something was "Wrong" or "Different" About the Child. This was usually described as happening throughout the year, as the teachers got to know the children while interacting with them in the classroom.

C) Through a Spontaneous Information Provided by the Parents. This would happen usually in the beginning of the year, during registration, independently of the cases in which parents were asked anything about their children (as in category A)

D) Through a Confirmation by a Specialist. Some schools reported this procedure as taking place right after the teachers had noticed anything with a child. The child would then be more closely seen by either the health agent of the school or one of the pedagogic specialists (or both, according to the suspicions), as a means of certifying the school of any extra help being needed and back up the school for following contacts with the family in order to decide what provision could be offered or actions could be taken.

E) Through a Selection Made by the Special Class Teacher or the Specialists of the School in the Beginning of the Year. This category was extracted only from the reports from the State schools' head teachers, since the Municipal schools were reported not to have any special class arrangement. It consists of a general evaluation of the child history, as told by parents who directly bring their children to those schools because they know of the special class in the school and think their children need that type of education. This evaluation is made in order to see if the school services will be of real help to a particular child, or if it will be the case for the school to indicate another school or institution for the child.

F) Particular Cases. This category was originated from two specific cases of the State schools. One is about a school which accepts any child, since the school is strictly made for street kids. Pedagogically speaking, the school is an ordinary one in the sense that it provides the very same curriculum any other school does. However, the running of the school happens in a much more flexible way (for instance, regarding rules, attendance and punctuality). The second case is about a State school which was reviewing its special educational provision at the time of the interviews, and was offering no special class for this reason, until they could be sure they would be able to

offer a provision they could consider effective and in accordance to the State System's guidelines.

Identification of Disabled Children in the Municipal and State Schools

All the sixteen head teachers from the Municipal schools reported that the immediate identification of disabled children is made through the observation of the child/ren by the teachers (category B). Therefore, it appears that no general notice is taken or no systematic procedure is adopted regarding the identification of these children before classroom contact with the teacher is initiated.

Although it seems that the survey carried out by the Municipal System in the beginning of the year (as explained in category A) was a practice to be applied in all Municipal schools, only three schools reported the use of such a survey in the beginning of the year. This bears implications for the "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" in the sense that a directive was not being followed.

Another two head teachers reported some occasional identification made through the spontaneous notification by the child/ren's parents (category C). However, this report was provided as additional information to that regarding the general identification through the teachers.

Five of the sixteen head teachers of the Municipal schools reported that specialist help is used to confirm the teachers' observation of any child with potential special needs, as described in category D above.

Table 39 provides a better view of the categories chosen by both schools with respect to the identification of disabled children:

Table 39: Procedures Regarding the Identification of Disabled Children in the Municipal and State Schools

Identification Procedures	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
A- Survey	3	-
B- Teacher	16	2
C- Parents	2	1
D- Specialist	5	1
E- Special Class Teacher	-	3
F- Particular Cases	-	2

Regarding identification, it seems that the Municipal schools have a less systematic way of finding out children in need of extra help within the schools. On the other hand, the pictures which emerged from the interviews with the State schools' head teachers concerning the identification of disabled children was quite a varied one.

There was no majority of head teachers using any particular category, as the responses were all spread through five of the six categories.

Regarding the Municipal schools, one could argue that their lack of a systematic means of identification of the disabled children results from their commitment to an "a school for all" philosophy: if the school is to be for all, there is no need to select children, because all of them are accepted. However, this could represent a naive interpretation, if not superficial, because a school for all should not necessarily imply any lack of preventative practice, as discussed in chapter 3.

On the contrary, early identification -not only regarding the age of the child but also in the sense of when a special need is found out by the school- can only help organising provision and services in the best way so as to promote the basis on which disabled children might be able to gain access to the curriculum and, like the other children, be able to make the best out of their learning process.

The general picture originated from the reports of the Municipal schools' head teachers does not appear to indicate a *laissez-faire* attitude regarding disabled children in general and their identification, more specifically. What seems more likely, according to the responses of the interviewees, is that the Special Education Sector of the Municipal System had only just recently been set up, and as such it was still being structured. At least, this was the most common type of response in theme 7, when subjects were asked about the support provided by the education System, as it shall be seen later.

The Categories Derived from Sub-theme 3.2: Actions/Provision

In general, the actions/provision described in the interviews could be grouped in four main topics. One regards cases related to just one, or a few "problem-children" from different groups in the school and at different times. A second one relates to cases in which a whole group of children of the schools would be in need of some special action from the school. Such cases would usually regard behavioural problems happening in the group as a whole.

The third topic refers to cases in which a teacher had adopted an attitude considered by the head teacher as pedagogically wrong, jeopardizing the educational history of the children, in the opinion of the head teachers. Finally, the fourth topic regards the school as a whole adopting an action regarding a disabled child or children. The categories of actions and provision characteristic of each of the mentioned topics which emerged from the interviews are presented below:

When the "problem" was one child, or a few children (Topic 1), the categories expressing the actions and provision taken were:

A) Transference of the Child Into an Academically More or Less Advanced Group or to Another Institution. Such procedure was usually adopted according to decisions taken in a meeting with the schools teachers and specialists. It was not rare cases in which the less advanced group turned out to be the special class of the school.

B) Discussion of the Case with the Educational Advisory Service of the School. Although this discussion would mainly happen with the teacher, there would be some cases in which the pupil or his/her family would also participate.

C) Dialogues with the "Problem-child". Mainly applied in cases concerning behavioural problems, or children with a severely disturbed family and an even more disturbed socio-economic background.

D) Inviting the Family for Meetings. Such procedure would usually be reported for those cases in which the school wished to force the family into taking up the responsibility for certain remedial actions regarding the child.

E) Help from Another Professional. Mostly the health agent⁴⁹ of the schools, who would help the schools either to transfer the child to a special school or institution, or to provide a specialist service other than one directly educational, like a psychologist or a speechtherapist or a physiologist. The health agent would also have helped schools to obtain some more material provision, like spectacles, for instance. Nonetheless, this category also refers to the cases in which referral was directly made of the child to specialists other than the Health Agent, sometimes provided by the Municipal System and sometimes through friendship of the specialist with someone from the school staff.

F) Home Visits. Reported by very few schools, these visits would happen quite rarely and mainly when a child, whose family conditions were known by the professionals of the school to be quite unstable, both emotionally and economically, had "disappeared" from the school.

G) Support Teacher in the Ordinary Classroom, Extra Teaching Hours and Monitoring of Pupil's Achievements. Reported only by one school, the support teacher in the ordinary classroom would be provided by the System in an attempt to help the teaching of some children with mild learning difficulties in the classroom. The extra teaching hours was frequently the "reinforcement" classes the child/ren

⁴⁹See "Health Agent" in the Glossary for a definition

would need to attend to outside the school time in order to be able to follow the normal rhythm of the classroom. This category also includes the case of a State school which keeps close records of the progresses made by disabled children.

Only two head teachers -one from a Municipal and one from a State school- reported a whole classroom as a "problem" (Topic 2). The main actions taken in these situations were:

H) Seeking Closeness and Proximity with the Group. This would be carried out through classroom work based on reading and discussion of texts of an ethical nature, and writings requested from the children about their lives and personal experiences. It is worth noticing that these attitudes were reported by head teachers as part of their own practice as teachers, in times in which they were simultaneously teaching and being the head teacher.

I) Providing Extra Time for Recreation. This was reported by the head teacher of the Municipal school only, who said such measure would be adopted by her whenever she felt the group was particularly excited or upset.

When the "problem" was a mistake made by a teacher of the school (Topic 3), it would usually be associated with the reluctance teachers expressed about accepting disabled children and their consequent wish to segregate the children. It would also imply some radical measures taken by teachers, like making a whole classroom repeat the year. The main actions taken in these cases were:

J) Dialogue with the Teacher. In an attempt to ask the teacher to review his/her position or, sometimes, to question the teacher's assumptions about the children concerned or even about the role of the head teacher, seen by the teacher as something to be repressive to students, as someone to endorse the teacher's suggestions of exclusion of the children.

K) Attempting to Change the Decisions Taken by the Teacher. Especially in the case when the teacher reproved a whole classroom or a large group in the classroom. The attempt to change the situation could either be done in a more "negotiable" way, via discussing the situation with the teacher but formally asking him/her to review it, or via a more "strict" way, like calling the children's family for a meeting with a view to change decisions made by the teacher, who would simply be notified of the meeting and expected to be present at it.

In relation to actions of and provision made by the whole school (Topic 4), the emerging categories were as follows:

L) Waiting for Education System's Actions, Orders or Guidance. This category refers to the Municipal schools only, and there were quite a few of them included. It means the cases in which the school was facing one or some difficulties with some children, and did not know what or how to do. Extra help or assistance would then have been asked to the Municipal System, and the schools were simply waiting for that help to come. This category also includes a case in which there was a survey to identify disabled children in the beginning of the year, after which the school kept on waiting for the feedback of the Municipal System regarding the help the school could or would have.

M) Staff Discussions and Studies. Usually adopted when there was a topic of particular concern to the school staff being noticed in the students in general. For instance, aggressiveness. Texts, articles and papers about the theme would then be read and discussed by the staff in an attempt to set up a whole-school approach to the problem identified.

N) Internal Planning. This is a common practice in all Municipal schools (therefore, no State school chose this category). Staff get together once a month, within their paid hours, to discuss and prepare the general guidelines to be followed by the school for the next month. Although this is a common practice of all schools, only two schools reported to use this time for thinking of disabled children.

O) Experimental Studies Involving School Staff. Mentioned by a few schools which were piloting some attempts to handle problems faced by the schools, usually regarding pupils with behavioural problems or, as in the case of the State school which also mentioned this category, disabled children in general.

P) Campaigning. Reported by only one school, Municipal, as a whole school attitude adopted with a child who had a severe physiological problem and needed a special medical treatment in another Brazilian State, which would be too expensive for the family to afford. The school was involved not only in fund-raising, but also in covering up for the child's absence before the Municipal education Systems's inspection.

Q) Revision of the School Practice in General. This was mentioned by the head teacher of only one school, Municipal, which always tries to begin its practice from the assumption that whatever is wrong must be wrong with the school first, as it is structured and organised. Thus, practice would constantly be permeated by questions like "to what extent is the school being responsible for, or even producing, such a difficulty for these children?".

Action/Provision in the Municipal and State Schools

Among the four main topics extracted from the interviews -ie: regarding one or a few children, regarding a whole classroom, regarding the teachers and regarding the whole school, the topics regarding one or a few children and the whole school were the ones about which the schools most spoke, as can be seen in the Table below.

Table 40: Main Topics and Categories Descriptive of Actions and Provisions, as Reported by Municipal and State schools

Topics	Categories	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
1	A- Transference	4	3
	B- Discussion with School Specialists	7	2
	C- Dialogue with Child	4	2
	D- Meeting with Family	9	2
	E- Outside Specialists' Help	12	4
	F- Home Visists	2	-
	G- Support Teacher, Reinforcement and Monitoring	1	3
2	H- Closeness	1	1
	I- Extra Recreation Time	1	-
3	J- Dialogue with Teacher	3	3
	K- Attempt to Change Teacher's Actions	3	-
4	L- Awaiting System's Actions	7	-
	M- Staff Discussion and Studies	3	2
	N- Internal Planning	2	-
	O- Experiments	2	1
	P- Campaigning	1	-
	Q- Evaluation of School Practice	1	-

From the results in the Table above it can be seen that in relation to the first topic (One/A Few Problem-Child/ren) both types of schools had a higher number of choices for "Help from Outside School Specialists" (category E). For the Municipal schools' subjects, this was followed by "Meeting with the Family" (category D) and "Discussions with School Specialists" (category B). The State schools' subjects' second highest choices were to categories A and G ("Transference" and "Support Teacher, Reinforcement and Monitoring", respectively).

Regarding the Municipal schools, this data confirms the ones gathered in section 2, sub-sections B and D of the questionnaire. In these questionnaire sub-sections, special educational provision of Municipal schools was mainly made of the ordinary

classroom with ordinary teachers, and the main suggestions given by them referred to the category "Services". This was interpreted as making sense in the light of the Municipal context, because Municipal schools' subjects' complaints were more focussed on practical aspects like the inclusion of more specialists and physical space in the schools than on the professional inputs given to teachers by the Municipal System (see Tables 16 and 18 of chapter 8).

It might be that the schools are actually trying to get what they proposed a year before, be it through the normal procedures through the Municipal System, or by themselves, through knowing these professionals and asking them to help the school as a favour.

The same could be said of the results presented by the State schools in their questionnaire responses. As seen in chapter 8, they tended to concentrate their special education provision in ordinary classes and special classes equally (see Tables 16 and 18 of that chapter) and in sub-section D their suggestions concentrated mainly on "Material Resources" and "Professional Qualifications", which was also interpreted as being no surprise.

These results make sense when compared with the ones above, because if schools complain of lack of material resources and professional qualification for promoting special education, it seems logical that they seek help from professionals outside schools (again, regardless of being financed by the State System or not) and make use of the practice of transferring children into special classes or schools.

The data in the Table above also show that the second main topic used by the subjects from both types of school was the fourth one, "Whole School", with particular use of categories M ("Awaiting Administrative Actions") for the Municipal schools' subjects, and N ("Staff Discussion/ Studies") for both Municipal and State schools' interviewees, though, compared to the Municipal schools' subjects, the State schools' ones made much less use of this topic.

Once more, these results seem to be in logical accordance with the ones from the questionnaire. In section 2, sub-section C, for instance, it was seen that both schools thought of their special education provision as not being good enough. For the Municipal schools' subjects, there would be the need for more "Services", and for the State schools' subjects, there would be the need for more "Material Resources" and "Professional Qualification", as seen in sub-section D (see Tables 17 and 18 in chapter 8).

Since "Services" included the provision of aspects which depended on administrative decisions and since the Municipal System was basically being seen as constantly improving its educational provision, it is not surprising that schools were "Awaiting Administrative Actions".

As for the State schools, since "Material Resources" and "Professional Qualification" were linked to aspects they complained as not being properly provided by the State System, it seems logical that they try to compensate for this lack of provision by promoting discussions and studies by and among themselves.

This seems especially relevant to consider if one remembers that the State schools' head teachers have expressed concern with the commitment (or lack of) shown by the State System as regards special education provision in general.

The Categories Derived from Sub-theme 3.3: Monitoring/Evaluation

There were two main categories extracted from the interviews, as shown next.

A) Monitoring/Evaluation of Actions Taken Up by Whole School. This was described as something that would normally be done through staff discussions about the practice provided by the school, on the basis of the progress made by the children. Such discussions could either occur on a more informal or occasional basis, or on a more formal, periodical basis.

B) Monitoring/Evaluation of Students' Progress. This was described in terms of something that would usually be done through discussion of pupils' situations and progress with the specialist staff of the schools and would sometimes involve participation of the family, or would happen through the education System or yet through reports received from other professionals than those of the school.

Monitoring/Evaluation in the Municipal and State Schools

The head teachers from the Municipal schools were the ones with a higher number of responses to this theme, as shown by the results presented in Table 41.

From the results below, not all interviewees addressed this aspect in the interviews. For the Municipal schools' subjects, when they do so it seems that they do with a view to evaluating their own effectiveness as well as the child's progress almost with the same frequency. As for the State schools' ones, the more common practice of monitoring success seems to concern the child's achievements, and not so much the schools' effectiveness.

Table 41: Monitoring/Evaluation of Special Education Practice in Municipal and State Schools

Categories	Municipal (N=16)	State (N=8)
Evaluation of School Initiatives regarding disabled children through monitoring of children's progress	10	1
Evaluation of student's progress through discussion with/reports from others	11	7

Because at the time the questionnaire was constructed this aspect had not yet become of relevance to the research, it was not included in its questions. There is, thus, no other data regarding this aspect with which to compare the above data. Nonetheless, they can still be of relevant use when considering "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" and when trying to highlight the points which made Municipal and State schools' situations so different at the time the questionnaire and interviews were carried out.

In relation to the Municipal schools, it could be speculated that as regards monitoring and evaluation there was no "over-formulation", since the policy being followed by the Municipal schools at the time states that schools should focus their revision processes on their own practices, with a view to monitor their own democratic practice and their effectiveness in terms of providing for all children (see Appendix 4 for a better understanding of the educational philosophy being adopted at the time). In the same way, there seemed to be no "under-implementation": most schools seemed to follow this practice, which was advocated as example of good practice by the Municipal System.

As for the State schools, monitoring and evaluation being concentrated on the progresses achieved by the pupil, rather than on school practice or both aspects together could be linked to State schools' focus on special classes as main practice for special educational provision. In fact, some general comments were made during the interviews (for instance, that the teachers assess the students academically in order to determine if they should be promoted or not to a *normal* group) seem to support the above idea. Moreover, I had the impression that the special class system worked as a parallel educational provision within the school, with a "proper" teacher, didactic material and specialists (when there were specialists) being allocated specifically for that class.

Little or no discussion of the other members of the staff would happen, in terms of school practice in general. Other staff would only be involved in discussions of special class programmes when these would somehow need their collaboration, like

when a campaign was being initiated in the school. This also suggests no "over-formulation" nor "under-implementation", since the State education System does not talk so much in terms of evaluating school effectiveness in special education, but only of evaluating pupil's progress. In other words, this situation has no contradictory *gaps* which could be suggestive of the proposed processes.

The Categories Derived from Sub-theme 3.4: Commitment to Special Education

Four main categories emerged from this sub-theme, and they are exemplified in Appendix 8.

A) Commitment Expressed by Teachers. This refers to when head teachers said that they had noticed more talk from the part of teachers regarding special education and the need to provide for disabled people in terms of their having rights to education too. Such category does not cover whether teachers thought of it in terms of ordinary or special classrooms, or special schools.

B) Commitment Expressed by the Administration of the Education System. This refers to the times in which head teachers said that they had felt the commitment with special education as directly being expressed by representatives of the Municipal or State Education System.

C) Commitment Expressed by School as a Whole. This refers to the times in which head teachers would state that they felt a general commitment towards special education provision in their whole school, regardless of teachers belonging or not to the special educational field.

Commitment to Special Education as Seen by the Municipal and State Schools

The data shown in the Table below bring these results together in numerical terms.

Table 42: Committed Attitudes Towards Special Education Provision

Categories	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A - By Teachers	14	1
B - By System	2	3
C - By School	7	4

* Maximum possible number of responses for each category

The Table above shows that for the Municipal schools, commitment has been felt by head teachers as being more expressed by teachers, followed by the school as a whole. For the head teachers from the State schools, the school as a whole came first, and the System in second.

The results above are surprising. It would have been expected that the number of choices by Municipal head teachers for category B ("By System") would be higher, since there have been many positive comments towards the actions initiated by the Municipal System. However, it is true that such comments were more concerned with education in general, not only special education. Moreover, many times head teachers would refer to educational improvements through using teachers' changes in attitudes as a criteria generally observed. It might be that the "thermometer" being used for measuring commitment in these responses comes from their observations on teachers' attitudes.

On the other hand, it would have been expected that State schools' subjects would choose category A ("By Teachers") predominantly as opposed to the other two categories, especially after the results from sub-theme 3.3, where evaluation was reported to happen more at the level of discussing pupils' progress, which implies the participation of their teachers, at the very least.

If one goes back to the questionnaire results, in its section 3, sub-section E, question 1 (Table 28, chapter 8) it can be seen that Municipal schools' head teachers spoke of attitudes and values as positive consequences from legislation more than the State schools' head teachers did. Although this question was referring to problems with legislation, it is still indicative of schools and professionals, since the theme "Attitudes and Values" is also about that.

Since those results in the questionnaire were interpreted in terms of a positive legislation promoting improvement on people's willingness, "By Teachers" would have been a reasonable choice for State schools' head teachers here. It might be that the schools as a whole were seen as the first most committed instance and the State as the second because of the general rules set about allowance of special classes throughout the State System. However, these ideas can only be at the level of speculations, for this data does not allow for more concrete affirmations.

Summary from Theme 3

Regarding the identification of disabled children (sub-theme 1), the Municipal schools tend to find out whether or not a child has any special need through an unsystematic observation by the teacher in whose classroom the child is placed at the time of admission, and after some time in contact with the teacher. As for the State schools, they showed a more inconclusive practice of identification, with variations ranging from a "diagnosis" made by the special teachers when a child registers in the special class, to the same informal observation made by the ordinary teacher, when a child is

placed in the ordinary classroom and present some difficulty throughout the academic year.

In relation to the existing provision in the schools (sub-theme 2), the search for outside specialist help was the most common choice of head teachers of the Municipal schools. The State schools' head teachers showed again a varied choice, with the highest percentage given to outside specialist help as well. However, this percentage, in such a small sample, does not permit any generalisations to be made.

As regards the monitoring and evaluation of special education practices (sub-theme 3), the Municipal schools showed use of such process according to the two categories originated from the interviews: in terms of their own practice and in terms of the educational progress of the children. The State schools showed predominance of use of monitoring practice more in terms of the progress of the child.

In relation to signs of commitment (sub-theme 4), the Municipal schools reported a greater commitment from the part of their teachers, while the State schools, once more, provided a varied answer, with certain predominance over the categories commitment from the part of the schools themselves and from the part of the System to which they belong.

Theme 4: Knowledge of Policies and Guidelines

This theme corresponds to part 1 of the previous section named Legislation, as shown in Appendix 2.

The Categories Derived from Theme 4

There were basically 3 main categories extracted from this theme and exemplified in Appendix 8:

A) Knowledge of Schools' Own System's Policies and/or Guidelines. This category refers to those cases in which the head teachers expressed knowledge of policies and guidelines, or initiatives being oriented by or taking place in the administrative System to which their schools belong. Answers to this question would mainly be in terms of being certain or not so certain about the existence of such policies in their System. In the examples given for this category, one answered in terms of certainty, other in terms of uncertainty.

B) Knowledge of Policies and/or Guidelines of Other Systems. This category refers to those cases where schools would belong to a certain System, but would either not know much about the guidelines issued by their own System, but by others, or would

also have knowledge of other Systems' initiatives or policies, or guidelines in special education, in addition to the knowledge about their own. Again, answers were in terms of certainty or lack of certainty as regards other Systems' policies and guidelines.

C) Knowledge of School Philosophy. This category refers to those who have knowledge of special education policies as expressed by their school constitution only. Once more, answers were expressed in terms of being sure or not sure about the existence of such policies.

Knowledge as Expressed by the Municipal and State Schools

The Table below shows the results gathered from the head teachers of both State and Municipal schools, as regards their knowledge of special education policies and directives.

Table 43: Knowledge of Policies and Directives

Knowledge of Policies	Municipal (N=16)*		State (N=8)*	
	Certain	Uncertain	Certain	Uncertain
Of Own System	12	4	3	3
Of Other Systems	1	7	1	3
Of Own School	-	2	3	-

* Notice that not all schools addressed this theme during the interviews, so that the numbers shown for N represent the maximum number of responses which are possible for this question.

The results above show that the head teachers of the Municipal schools who addressed this topic in the interviews tend to know better about policies and directives of their own System (the Municipal) and seem to be less sure about special education policies of other Systems (Federal or State). Just two Municipal schools' subjects and three State schools' subjects addressed this topic in reference to their own schools, about which the Municipal's said to be uncertain and the State's said to be certain of their schools having or not any policy. Moreover, the same number of State schools said to be certain and uncertain of the policies of their own System, leaving a very inconclusive picture regarding the matter.

In addition, in chapter 8 it was seen that head teachers tended to know more about the Federal principles than the ones produced by their own Systems, i.e., the State and Municipal (see Table 19). This partly contradicts the results above. Moreover, in chapter 8 there was a high percentage of wrong answers given to the Municipal quotes by both subjects. The comparison of these results do not permit any conclusion to be taken, especially when one takes into account that in that same question in chapter 8 the number of "Not Sure" ticked by both types of subject was relatively high

too, in particular with regards to the Federal quotes. This could suggest that the results presented here do not contradict the ones in the questionnaire afterall.

Summary from Theme 4

Theme 4 shows quite conflicting and inconclusive a picture, when compared to the corresponding question in the questionnaire. From the interviews, it appears that Municipal head teachers know better about the policies of their own System than of other Systems, while the State head teachers expressed a divided knowledge. From the questionnaire, they were found to have heard of policies, though not knowing well the origins of such policies (i.e., if from the Federal, State or Municipal policy-making levels). When they did know, this was higher for the Federal policies. In addition, they showed a high rate of uncertainty about the origins of policies and principles by frequently ticking options like "Not Sure" in the questionnaire. Given this diversity of results, it has been decided that the summary from this theme will be without attempts to make any general view of this theme.

Theme 5: Justifications for knowing about Policies and Guidelines

This theme corresponds to the third and fourth questions of part 2 of the section named Legislation (see Appendix 2) of the interview schedule.

The Categories Derived from Theme 5

Five main categories, also exemplified in Appendix 8, emerged from this theme:

A) To Guide Professional Action. This category implies that the knowledge of legislation or guidelines on special education is relevant to orientate head teachers' (and staff's) professional practices.

B) To Improve Professional Knowledge. This category refers to those head teachers whose justifications for knowing policies relied on the fact that their professional practice would be made more effective by the acquisition of such knowledge.

C) To Promote People's Change in Attitudes Towards Disabled Pupils. This category refers to the cases in which knowledge of policies and directives was justified by the belief that it would help changing attitudes towards disabled children.

D) To Inform Families of their Rights about their Disabled Children. This relates to those cases in which knowing about policies was justified by the help it would bring in enabling professionals to help and inform families of their rights.

E) For more Effective and Future Political Actions to be Taken. This refers to those cases in which knowing more about special education policies and guidelines would help a better organisational educational structure to take place.

Justifications provided by the Municipal and State Schools

The Table below shows the results obtained from both types of schools.

Table 44: Justification Provided by Head Teachers about the Importance of Knowing about Legislation

Justifications	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A- Guide Professional Practice	13	5
B- Improve Knowledge	2	2
C- Promote Attitude Change	7	-
D- Inform Family	4	3
E- Effective Future Political Actions	-	4

* Maximum possible number of answers for each category, since not all subjects have necessarily addressed this issue.

The results above show that most of Municipal and State schools' head teachers tended to justify the importance of knowing about policies and guidelines by saying that it would guide their professional actions (category A). The second justification most chosen by the head teachers of the Municipal schools was that knowing policies and guidelines would help them to promote changes in attitudes (category C). The head teachers of the State schools' second choice was for category E, that is, it would make future political actions more effective.

These results seem to be in accordance with results from the questionnaire. For instance, in question 1 of sub-section D of section 1 (see chapter 8, Table 11) it was found out that for both schools the most important aspect of integration as regards resources is teacher training, which might as well include knowledge of policies and current guidelines, therefore enhancing guidance for professional practice.

The results from question 3 of the questionnaire sub-section D, section 1, also relate to the above. As it was seen there (chapter 8, Table 13), having clear teaching methods and coherence between school integration policy or guidelines and teaching methods were the most important criteria chosen by the head teachers of both schools, if integration was to take place. This is related to the above data in that knowing the policies or guidelines will help to enhance the coherence between teaching methods and school policy and/or guidelines, which in turn promotes guidance to professional actions.

As regards the relationship of this question with the questionnaire questions, the results from the Table above throw some light on the sub-section B of section 3 in the

questionnaire. In chapter 8, Table 21, it was surprising the fact that the subjects considered realistic the quotes provided about integration and special education which were taken from legislation and guidelines of the three administrative levels.

If one connects the above results with those results from the questionnaire, the tentative suggestion could be made that subjects found the questionnaire quotes realistic because once they were read, they became known by subjects. This in turn not only enhanced subjects' level of information, making them more aware of special education. In being so, special education has become a little more feasible, in the sense of more people knowing about it and promoting it.

However, as said previously, these are only tentative suggestions, and the results obtained above are not strong enough to support such an interpretation as a general statement.

In relation to sub-section D of section 3 of the questionnaire, in particular regarding paired questions 1 and 4 (see chapter 8, Tables 23 and 24), the results above also seem to be in accordance. In the questionnaire it was seen that Municipal schools' head teachers could be regarding legislation as a factor of differentiation to the improvement of special education, and the State schools could instead be asking if the actual differences which result from legislation are actually relevant or not.

These two answers seem to relate well to the ones from the interviews. If for the subjects of the Municipal schools the main reasons for knowing about policies and guidelines relate to guidance of professional action and promotion of changes in attitudes, it is no surprise that they found legislation to make a difference, independently or not of its relevance. On the other hand, if for the State schools' subjects the main reasons for knowing about policies and guidelines relate to guidance of professional action and effectiveness of future political actions, it is also no surprise that the focus shifts on to the relevance of legislation, despite the actual differences it might make. This seems to be directly related to the question of effectiveness in future political actions.

Summary from Theme 5

In terms of justifications given about the importance of knowing about legislation, subjects from both schools tended to justify such an importance in relation to the fact that legislation guides their professional practice. In terms of the number of choices given to this justification, the choice was stronger (i.e., higher number of respondents choosing this category) for the Municipal schools' head teachers than for the State schools' ones.

Theme 6: Opinions about Policies and Guidelines

This theme corresponds to the first question of part 2 of the section named Legislation in the interview schedule. The theme originated 6 categories (examples in Appendix 8):

The Categories Derived from Theme 6

A) Municipal Authorities Still Leaving Too Much for Parents to Handle on their Own. This category, chosen only by Municipal schools' head teachers, refers to the cases in which the subjects stated that overall there was not enough support for parents and families of disabled children in terms of assistance and guidance.

B) Municipal System is Becoming Serious. This category relates to those subjects, from both Municipal and State schools, who believe that in terms of policy formulation and implementation the Municipal System was expressing an improving commitment.

C) Municipal Policies and Guidelines are Being Ineffectively Disseminated. This category, mentioned only by the head teachers of the Municipal schools, refers to the cases in which the respondents thought that those Municipal agents specifically designated by the Municipal Secretary of Education for helping the schools with the implementation of the the Municipal policies and guidelines were confused about the policies and guidelines themselves and therefore implementing it in a confusing way, causing ineffectiveness.

D) Political or Group Interests Interfering in Educational Policy. This category refers to the cases in which the subjects think that interests other than those which should specifically benefit the disabled population get in the way of the policy making and implementation processes, jeopardizing the actual benefits intended to the target population to whom the policy was directed.

E) Policies are Impracticable due to Lack of Support. This category involves those respondents who included lack of financial help and investment, lack of personal commitment from people in general, lack of general dissemination of information about special education and disability and lack of correspondence between laws and the demands of reality as some of the reasons for finding policies impracticable.

F) The State Education System is Trying, but There's Too Much to Do. This was expressed by only one State school's head teacher, and it refers to an opinion which is

favourable to the State education System and attributes the lack of support to special education to the State being expected to deal with too many responsibilities.

Opinions as Expressed by the Municipal and State Schools

The head teachers' opinions about policies can be seen altogether in Table 45.

In the data displayed below the two more popular opinions for the Municipal schools's head teachers are that policies are inpracticable or improving in terms of reliability, at least as regards the Municipal System. For the State schools' head teachers, the most popular choice was also for the category which implies that policies are generally inpracticable.

Table 45: Head Teachers' Opinions about Policies

Opinions	Municipal (N= 16)	State (N= 8)
A- Too Much for Parents	3	-
B- Municipal Seriousness	10	3
C- Bad Dissemination	5	-
D- Divergent Interests	7	4
E- Inpracticable	9	7
F- State Trying	-	1

The results above might be throwing some light on the the discussion initiated in chapter 8, about some results from Section 3 of the questionnaire (see discussion on chapter 8, section 3, sub-section C). They seem to suggest that, as regards what was discussed in chapter 8 about head teachers' divided opinions about policies, for the Municipal head teachers such division is more associated with policies produced at other administrative levels (i.e., State or Federal), since the Municipal level has been reported to be improving.

As for the head teachers from the State schools, who also showed some degree of division, it might be that they see policies as inpracticable and unrealistic when taking into account the different interests involved in a given situation. Given the size of the samples, no certain statements can be made about this matter. Nonetheless, at a suggestive level, such speculations are not invalidated.

Summary from Theme 6

In terms of opinions about policies, the results from theme 6 and their respective cross-reference from the questionnaire suggest that Municipal head teachers tend to think of policies as generally inpracticable, although some credibility has been attributed to those policies produced at the level of their own education System.

As for the State head teachers, their opinions also tend to take policies as impracticable, perhaps because of the diverging interests they see involved in policy-making.

Theme 7: Opinions, and Respective Justifications and Explanations about Support Given to the Implementation of Policies and Guidelines

This theme corresponds to the second question of part 2 of the "Legislation" section of the interview schedule.

The Categories Derived from Theme 7

There were basically 6 categories originated from this theme. They consist mainly of reports stating either the existence or the absence of support provided by authorities of a specific administrative level (ranging from Municipal to State to Federal), in a variety of ways. The definitions of the categories are given below (examples in Appendix 8).

A) Support Expressing Educational Authorities' Interests in Knowing About and Providing for Disabilities. This category expresses the views of those head teachers who see that the presence of support reflects authorities' efforts to improve their services and provision.

B) Support Still Lacking Regarding Information to and Effectiveness and Continuation of Actions in the Schools. This category refers to those head teachers who think that sometimes actions are initiated, but there is no continuation given to them, especially after political reshuffles in the education cabinets of all the administrative levels. It also includes the opinions of those who think that this could be due to a lack of a more efficient information system which could ensure actions initiated to be carried out if of public interest, rather than becoming a mere party-political issue.

C) Lack of Support Expressing Educational Authorities' Lack of Interest in Knowing About and Providing for Disabilities. This expresses the views of those who do not see much support and attribute it to a lack of commitment and/or interest from the part of the Educational Authorities.

D) Lack of Financial Support. This category, only chosen by the State schools, refers to the cases in which subjects saw that the main lack of support was related to resourcing and financing special education.

E) More Effective Support Being Prevented by Excessive Control of School Practice by SEME [Municipal Secretary of Education]. This category was only chosen by one Municipal and one State school's head teacher, and it refers to the opinion that despite Municipal seriousness in implementing its own policies, sometimes the "monitoring" of this process becomes too controlling and schools might end up losing their autonomy to take initiatives.

Opinions, Justifications and Explanations given by the Municipal and State Schools

The Table below shows the number of times in which the subjects mentioned these categories in the interviews. It also discriminates the education System to which they were relating the comments used in each category.

Table 46: Opinions and Explanations about Support Received to Implement Policies and Guidelines

Opinions and Explanation	Municipal (N= 16)*			State (N= 8)*		
	Education		Systems	Referred to		
	Municipal	State	Federal	Municipal	State	Federal
A- System's Commitment	14	-	-	1	-	-
B- Need of Continuity and Effective Actions	9	1	-	-	2	-
C- System's Lack of Commitment	1	5	6	-	6	2
D- Lack of Financial Support	-	-	-	1	6	2
E- Excessive Control	1	-	-	1	-	-

* Represents the maximum possible number of choices of each category

As regards comments made about the Municipal System, the head teachers of the Municipal schools tended to concentrate them mostly on categories A and B. In other words, in their opinion the support received for the implementation of guidelines and policies reflect a growing interest and commitment from the Municipal Secretary towards special education. In addition, there is also the need to ensure that such administrative posture be continued and improved. The need for continuation of actions seems to be justified by the fact that by the end of the year the interviews were carried out (1992) there was going to be a Municipal election for Mayor, which could again change the political lines of the Municipal System, if candidates of another party won. The subjects interviewed clearly showed concern about this possibility.

The head teachers of the State schools made only a few comments regarding the Municipal System, but when they did they tended to concentrate them in categories A, D and E. When making comments in the lines of categories A and B, their statements were quite similar to those given by the subjects from the Municipal schools. However, when making the comment within the line of category D, the State school's head teacher was actually referring to the lack of financial support which the State schools did not receive from the Municipality. This is a surprising expectation, given the fact that according to the Constitutional principles, it is always the wider administrative instance which is responsible for supporting and helping the smaller ones. In this case, the State System should be the one responsible for providing help to the Municipal one, and not the other way round.

The Table above also shows that as regards the comments made to the State System, the head teachers of the Municipal schools tended to use categories B and C. In their views, thus, the little, or lack of, support given to implement policies and guidelines at the State level reflects the State's lack of interest or commitment towards special education.

The head teachers of the State schools showed a similar picture when commenting on their own administrative System. They tended to make most use of categories C and D, and less so but still some, of category B. In their views the little support they claimed to receive is linked to a lack of interest from the part of the State System towards special education, as well as to the lack of financial support in the area.

Finally, in relation to the comments made about the Federal System, the head teachers of the Municipal schools tended to make use of category C. They probably think that there is a lack of interest towards special education from the part of that System. The head teachers of the State schools made use of categories C and D, expressing a view of the Federal System which is similar to that about their own System, that is, that there is a lack of interest about and of financial support to special education.

The findings from above are in agreement with those from the questionnaire. As the reader may recall, section 3 of the questionnaire dealt with the above issues in its sub-sections E, F, G, H and I (see chapter 8, Tables 29 to 36). In sub-section E, question 1, it was discussed that for the subjects of the Municipal schools a general educational improvement has been seen as one of the positive consequences of legislation to integration, while for the subjects of the State schools such positivity remained within the topics of "Attitudes and Values" in the sense of people's willingness and "Support and Partnership" in the sense of people's own initiatives to problem-solve.

In sub-section F, question 1, the head teachers of the Municipal schools chose predominantly the category "Legal/Administrative Action" when asked about problem-solving the negative consequences of legislation at the Municipal level. The State schools' head teachers chose mainly the category "Support and Partnership".

These choices show coherence with the findings of the Table above: the need for continuity of policies is directly related to legal and administrative actions. In the same way, financial support, as claimed by the State schools' head teachers in the findings above, is part of what was defined by "Support and Partnership" in the questionnaire.

When in question 2 they were asked about suggestions for solving the negative consequences of legislation at the State level, Municipal schools' head teachers tended to concentrate their answers around the administrative aspects, while the State schools' head teachers did so around more pedagogic and financial aspects.

These results are coherent with the ones showed in the Table above. Question 3 of the questionnaire's section 3-F, about the suggestions for solutions at the Federal level, again showed coherence with the data displayed above, because both Municipal and State schools' subjects concentrated their answers around the themes "Legal/Administrative Actions" and "Resources/Investment", within the same connotation of categories C and D above.

It seems wise, however, to remind the reader that these interpretations should be seen as speculations, rather than conclusive comments, given the fall on the number of respondents when commenting on Systems other than their own.

Summary from Theme 7

As regards this theme, head teachers from the Municipal schools tended to explain the support received to implement policies and guidelines mostly in terms of commitment of the System, when referring to the Municipal System; and more in terms of lack of commitment from the Systems, when referring to the State and Federal Systems, even though in this case the number of respondents fell considerably.

The head teachers of the State schools tended to explain the support received to implement policies and guidelines mostly in terms of lack of commitment and lack of financial support, when referring to their own System; when referring to the Municipal and Federal Systems the number of respondents also fell considerably, and comments had to remain at the conjectural level only.

Theme 8: Suggestions for Problems

Like theme 6, this theme also corresponds to the first question of part 2 of the "Legislation" section of the interview schedule.

The Categories Derived from Theme 8

There were ten categories derived from this theme, as shown below and exemplified in Appendix 8.

A) More Dissemination of Information About Special Education. This category refers to head teachers who think that more general information about special education and disability should be given to the professionals of the schools.

B) More Specialist Support Available to Teachers. This category refers to the cases in which head teachers think that mainly teachers should be more constantly and promptly supported when dealing with disabled pupils. It mainly refers to specialist support being available in the schools, ready for when the teachers need them, and also planning further teacher training as another form of specialised support.

C) Professional Training. This category refers to the cases in which head teachers think that teachers should be better trained for working in special education. It also includes the cases when the subjects extended the need for professional training to other members of the staff, besides the teachers, like the Pedagogic Supervisors or Educational Advisers.

D) Decentralize Support Services from Local Administration to School Level. This refers to those head teachers who said that there would be the need for fastening the time span between the moment when assistance is requested by the school and the moment it actually happens. It also refers to those who think that the school establishments are still too tied to the more central levels of administration, and as such lacking in more effective autonomy for solving their own problems.

E) Political Campaign and Commitment. Refers to comments made by head teachers in the sense that people involved in special education and in favour of integration (professionals, families and politicians) should commit themselves to spreading more information and campaigning.

F) Smaller Teacher/Pupil Ratio. This category refers to the head teachers who suggested that there should be fewer disabled children for each teacher in the ordinary schools, in order for a more effective and integrative special education to take place.

G) Partnership with Family. This category relates to head teachers who think that in order for special education to be effective there should be closer links between the professionals and the disabled child's family.

H) More Special Class Due to Shortage of Staff. This category, only mentioned by one State schools' head teacher, refers to the head teacher thinking that there should be more special classes available because the specialists of the school have to give attention to too many teachers about too many children. A special class with a special teacher would avoid the school specialists having to provide this special assistance for these special cases.

I) Teachers' Salary Raise. This category was chosen only by head teachers of the State schools, and refers to the cases where the interviewees think that an effective and integrative special education can only happen if teachers receive the right financial incentive.

J) More Investment in Special Education. This category was also mentioned only by State schools' head teachers and it refers to all educational aspects: teachers' wages, physical adaptations in the school buildings, teacher training (initial and up-dating), and financial incentives in general.

Suggestions Given by the Municipal and State Schools

It is important to note that none of the above categories are exclusive of each other, and that they were mentioned in conjunction with others some times. The Table below gives the numerical details of the times in which head teachers mentioned them.

Table 47: Suggestions for Solving Problems as Identified by the Head Teachers

Suggestions	Municipal (N= 16)*	State (N=8)*
A- More Dissemination	9	2
B- Technical Support	10	5
C- Professional Training	13	6
D- Decentralization	7	3
E- Political Campaign	9	2
F- Teacher/Pupil Ratio	4	1
G- Partnership with Family	4	-
H- More Special Classes	-	1
I- Raise in Teachers' Wages	-	2
J- More Investments	-	2

* Represents the maximum number of times possible for each suggestion to be mentioned

From the data shown, the subjects of both schools tended to make more suggestions in terms of professional training and technical support (categories B and C).

The second most popular suggestions for the head teachers of the Municipal schools were in terms of more dissemination of special education for school staff (category A) and general commitment to campaigning for an integrative special education (category E).

For the head teachers of the State schools there was no particular second option, since their answers were similarly spread through the other categories.

Overall, the results above bear coherence with the correspondent ones in the questionnaire (see section 3, sub-section F, questions 1, 2 and 3 in chapter 8).

This seems to be especially true in the cases of the solutions presented for the State and Federal levels of administration, in the questionnaire.

Thus, from the findings of both questionnaire and interviews it appears that subjects of both Municipal and State schools are indicating the need for more teacher training and professional up-dating and improvement in qualifications, and the need for more readily available specialist professional help in the school premises.

Summary from Theme 8

From the analysis of this theme, the suggestions mostly mentioned by head teachers of both schools to solve problems they identified were in terms of professional training and technical support.

Theme 9: Extra Topics

This theme results from the process of codification and categorization of the interviews.

After codifying the answers, and after categorizing the pieces of information accordingly, there were still some topics discussed with most of the subjects which were brought about spontaneously by themselves during the interviews.

Although not included in the original scheme, these topics are included here, as illustrative aspects, because they refer to current issues about which I could not be aware at the time of the interviews because of the time in which I had been away from Brazil.

However, because of their purpose being that of only further illustrating the views provided by the respondents, these topics will not have a summary section at the end.

The Categories Derived from Theme 9

There were six "extra" topics talked about (see examples in Appendix 8):

A) Parental Reluctance to Accept the Disability of their Children. This category refers to the cases in which head teachers mentioned the parents' difficulties in dealing and coping with their children's disabilities.

B) Teachers', Specialists' and Other Pupils' Discriminating Attitudes. This category refers to the cases in which head teachers reported a general discriminating attitude from staff and other students towards disabled children in the school.

C) Lobbying, Divergent Political Interests, "Jeitinho"⁵⁰. This category refers to comments made by head teachers in the sense of pointing out how much situations can change, or be changed, according to the interests of a few, but powerful, individuals or groups. The general end product of certain manoeuvres to suit the needs of a few people is rarely compatible to the interests of a larger community, be it the school or the social community.

D) Differences Between the Municipal and the State Education Systems. This category refers to the cases when the head teachers commented on the differences of administrative style between the two Systems. These comments would usually be favourable to the Municipal administrative style as opposed to the State one, comments about which would generally imply some criticism or irony.

E) Inconsistency of Projects and Actions. Part of this category has already come out in theme 7. Apart from the characteristics presented there, here it also refers to those cases when the head teachers complained about lack of continuity given to actions or projects initiated either due to lack of personal commitment or professional collaboration among members of the staff in the schools.

F) Too Many Expectations About the School and Consequential Extra Concerns for Head Teachers to Deal with. This category refers to the cases in which head teachers complained that the school is growingly having to deal with more and more issues which are not immediately of a pedagogic nature, although they do bring pedagogic implications. It also refers to the cases in which they pointed out that one of the results of this is a widening of the role of the head teacher in the administrative sense, leaving too little room for them to tackle the actual pedagogic issues of the school.

⁵⁰See Glossary for definition

Distribution of the Extra Topics from the Municipal and State Schools

The Table below shows the number of times in which each of these extra topics were mentioned by the head teachers interviewed.

Table 48: Extra Topics Mentioned by Municipal and State Schools' Head Teachers

Topics	Municipal (N=16)*	State (N=8)*
A- Parental Reluctance	8	4
B- Discriminating Attitudes	8	5
C- "Jeitinho"	6	5
D- Municipal Vs State Systems	4	6
E- Inconsistency of Projects and Actions	1	4
F- Expectations About Schools	4	2

* Represents the maximum number of responses for each category

The data above show that for the Municipal schools' head teachers, parental reluctance and discriminating attitudes towards disabled pupils (categories A and B respectively) are aspects of concern regarding the integration of disabled children, while for the head teachers of the State schools the concerning ones are the differences between theirs and the Municipal System (category D) and discriminating attitudes towards disabled pupils (category B).

These findings are consistent with the ones presented so far. In general, it could be said that the Municipal schools' head teachers concerns are more centred upon issues regarding the relationship between disabled children and those who deal with them, while for the State schools' head teachers the focus also involve administrative issues. These findings make sense with a general picture extracted from both types of school. For the Municipal, since there has been not many complaints about administrative aspects, it seems reasonable to expect their answers to centre upon issues or a more day-to-day nature.

As regards Municipal schools' head teachers' choice of category B, one could argue that it is contradictory to their low choice of the same category in theme 2 of this chapter. However, this contradiction is only apparent, for as the reader might recall this category in that theme was only referring to teachers' attitudes, which has also been felt as improving since the Municipal education System of the time the interviews were carried out had taken power, in 1989 (see discussion of theme 6 of this chapter). In here, the category refers not only to teachers, but also to other members of schools staff and to other children of the school. It is, thus, reasonable to expect a larger number of choices of this category in the present theme. This same point has been made when discussing the results presented in Table 42 of sub-theme 3.4, theme 3 of this chapter.

Likewise, for the State schools, since they have expressed complaints about their System, and since this System has officially recognised special classes as the main type of special education provision (as seen in chapter 7), and still since this official recognition seems to imply more direct actions from the administrative sphere, it also seems reasonable to expect head teachers of the State schools to interpret this aspect as an important one which could improve integration or prevent it from happening.

The next chapter discusses the results from chapters 7, 8 and 9 altogether, in the light of the research questions. "Over-Formulation" and "Under-Implementation" will also be given special attention when discussing the mentioned findings.

CHAPTER 10 - CONCLUSIONS

Introduction:

This chapter discusses the results presented on the basis of the literature reviewed and with particular attention being paid to "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". This will be done in the light of the research questions proposed.

Each of the six questions will be brought up and attempted to be answered. Then analysis of the contributions generated from this study, as well as of the possible suggestions that can be taken for the future, is provided. The chapter finishes with a brief comment on the process of ending this research.

Question 1

This question asked: What is the Brazilian Federal (National) discourse on integration of disabled children? From the contents presented in chapters 5 and 7 it was observed that the National discourse on integration has historically moved from a segregative to an increasingly integrative approach.

This movement has been observed not only in the changes of terms adopted for making reference to special education, and when attempting to make less use of categories. It has also been observed in the increasing number of pieces of legislation concerning the matter. In this respect, it could be argued that the increase in the number of legislative measures itself might not constitute sign of any change towards integration in particular. This in fact seems to be the case of the Brazilian context at present (1995). Nonetheless, historically, in the Brazilian context, the making of policies itself was a positive step and an initial measure towards promoting integrative changes.

In addition, the content of such legislation has indicated a progressive move towards integration in the sense that it has set priorities and that it has become more specific to the issues identified as priority. For instance, such contents now specifically consider the education of disabled children, and emphasise the ordinary school as the main place for it to happen, as far as possible.

Question 2

In this question it was asked: How is the National discourse reflected in Vitória, in terms of the issuing of directives at both State and Municipal levels?

From the documentary analysis made in chapter 7, it seems that the effects of the National discourse have been little, even though it was suggested that at the Municipal level of administration the general trend observed is towards integration. In terms of production of documents and guidelines at both State and Municipal levels, the documentary analysis has shown that in the Municipal case this has been little, especially until 1990. In the State case, the issuing of directives and guidelines about integration has been even more traditionally seldom. In addition, at the State level the trend is still along segregative lines. Special education is viewed as a parallel system made up of special classes and/or special institutions and in which integration is not a great educational target but a "natural" consequence of a remedial educational programme. The consequences of the above point to the occurrence of *gaps* between what is expected and what actually happens, which bring us to the next question.

Question 3

This question asked if there are *gaps* at the discourse level, and if so, in what sense. Through the documentary analysis it was suggested that there are *gaps* occurring at the three levels of educational policy-making (Federal, State and Municipal). As a result, these administrative levels would have their own characteristics as regards "over-formulation" and "under-implementation".

As regards the Federal level of policy-making, its characteristics of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" were seen in its relationships with the other two administrative levels, i.e., State and Municipal. As a possible result of "over-formulation" of policies at the Federal level there are two different pictures at the State and Municipal levels respectively.

At the State level there appeared to be "under-implementation" of integration policies from the Federal level of policy-making in the sense that the practices followed were not in accordance with the main guidelines set by the Federal level. The State system was more inclined to encourage the development of a special education system which is parallel, and not part of, the general educational system.

In its relationship with its own level of policy-making, there seems to be no "over-formulation" in the State in the sense that there are not many policies developed about special education, let alone about integration. Nonetheless, there seems to be some degree of "under-implementation", for the State has failed to provide the provision required by its own policy-making process.

At the Municipal level the documentary analysis suggests that there has been "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" as regards its relationship with the Federal

and State levels of policy-making in the sense that the practices verified were not in accordance with the directives set by those two levels up until 1990. This is so because there were no documents produced at the Municipal level regarding special education until 1990, and there were no official studies reporting practices either.

After 1990, as regards the relationship between the Municipal and Federal levels, this picture changes into one that reflects more agreement in terms of the policies formulated; that is, these two levels seem to adopt similar ideas and terminologies, reflecting, thus, less "over-formulation" at the Federal level of policy-making. It also reflects no "over-formulation" nor "under-implementation" at the Municipal level itself: its educational policies developed after 1990, although not directly regarding special education, seemed to be put into practice and the possible *gaps* were not overlooked, but monitored.

However, the same cannot be said of the relationship between the Municipal and State levels of policy-making after 1990, for the differences of approach and perspectives between these levels continued, both theoretically and in practice, reflecting "over-formulation" from the State level and "under-implementation" of State's policies at the Municipal level.

From the interviews, the results from section 7 seem to support the suggestions made above (see Table 46 in chapter 9). It asked head teachers' opinions and explanations about the support they receive (or not) to implement policies and guidelines. As the reader will remember, the majority of the Municipal schools' head teachers made use of category A when referring to their own System, which expressed the view that support is associated to the commitment shown by their Authorities to implement their services and provisions.

As for the State schools' head teachers, the categories most used to refer to their own Education System were C and D, expressing, respectively, the views that there is not enough support due to lack of interest from their Authorities and that there is no financial support given to education at all.

Question 4

This question asked: What pattern of integration practice can be drawn from head teachers' descriptions of integration practices happening in their schools?

From the data presented in chapters 8 and 9, the general picture one gets is that in practice (that is, at the school level in Vitória) it is unrealistic to talk about integration practices, given the confusion about the more theoretical aspects of integration.

For a start, head teachers had little knowledge of policies regarding special education and integration. In the interviews, rarely would they make any links between special education, inclusive education and integration, and the impression I got was that these were separate issues for most of them.

Although they found the legal principles generally realistic and relevant, the principle of integration itself, as defined in the Brazilian National Report on special education was the one most considered as unrealistic by the Municipal sample. In addition, when in the interviews they were asked to conceptualise integration, their views were given in terms of placement: in the ordinary schools for the Municipal sample, and in ordinary and special classes for the State sample.

There are some findings from the questionnaires and the interviews which could explain the above. One is that head teachers did not feel sufficiently informed about the subject of integration and they constantly stated that such issue and its respective policies needed to be disseminated and discussed. Another one is the predominance of answers, in both questionnaires and interviews, emphasising the need of better professional qualification and teacher training, especially when it comes to special education. It appears that patterns of integration practice in the schools studied are influenced by the level of information the head teachers (and their schools) have about the theoretical aspects of integration.

Thus, this question is best answered in terms of the requisites needed for integration to take place, as identified in the head teachers' discourse. Such requisites are as follows:

- 1) Integration seems to depend on teacher training, physical accessibility to the school premises and availability of specialists;
- 2) Integration seems to depend on the adoption of clear teaching methods and on a level of coherence between these methods and the integration policy available in the school (if any);
- 3) Integration seems to depend on the establishment of links between all the interested parties (from the family of the children to the authorities);
- 4) When integration happens in the schools studied, it is mostly provided in the ordinary classroom through the ordinary teacher. In some cases, State schools also make use of special classes and peripatetic teachers. In general, these provisions were not considered to be good enough.

Question 5

This question asked if there are any *gaps* between the official discourse on and the practice of integration observed in the State and Municipal Systems, and if so, in what sense.

This question can be answered by comparing the answers given in questions 3 and 4. Regarding the State level, for instance, it was said in question 3 that there was no "over-formulation" in the State in the sense that there are not many policies developed for special education (and as such, there is not much room for *gaps* to occur). Nonetheless, it was also said that there seems to be some degree of "under-implementation" in the sense that there are *gaps* : even the little provision set at the State level has either been lacking or incomplete in practice.

Illustrations of the above point can be taken from the results of section 1, sub-section D, question 4 of the questionnaire (chapter 8), when the State schools preferred to link themselves to the Municipal level, rather than to the Federal one. In the following year, during the interviews, this fact was confirmed by the sample and understood by myself: the head teachers of the State schools expressed, many times, the wish that their school system could be as organised as the Municipal one was at the time, in terms of receiving resources in general for the improvement of education. Most of them expressed the wish that the State schools should actually be "Municipalised", that is, transferred to the auspices of the Municipal education System, whose investment in the educational sector seemed to be quite satisfactory in their view. This exemplifies how, at the State level, there is a *gap* in the sense that not even the little provision ensured in the legal texts for education in general is guaranteed, let alone provision for integration of disabled children.

As for the Municipal level, it was said in question 3 that conclusions about *gaps* could not be taken from the period before 1990 because of the absence of laws or directives for special education and/or integration. It was also said that after 1990 there was no "over-formulation" nor "under-implementation", since the educational policies developed, although not addressing special education directly, was apparently being put into practice and the possible *gaps* were not overlooked, but monitored by means of discussions with those concerned. Indications of these can be taken from the interviews, in which respondents referred to the support being received by the Municipal System a number of times.

Nonetheless, the subjects also said that despite the support being received, things were only starting and that there was still be a lot to be done. Respondents pointed out

a relevant concern, that if after the political elections, to take place in 1994, the government changed, policies would also be changed and progress made so far could be jeopardised. This implies that possible *gaps* at the practical level could occur (and none of those who mentioned this concern was surprised with this possibility, they seemed to see it as part of the Brazilian context). However, none of them placed the blame on the Municipal level of educational administration, but more on the general way the Brazilian political system is organised in their opinions.

Question 6

The last question asked: what kind(s) of connection(s) and comparison(s) can be made with integration practices reported by other countries? A few relevant points have already been observed in chapter 4. They shall now be brought back and discussed in the light of the Brazilian case.

From the Danish account, it was said that two aspects are particularly relevant. One is the lack of excessive legislation, and the other their implementation of the existing legislation not being centrally controlled, but locally controlled. It appears that success of integration, from the point of view of policy-making, is somewhat related to these two aspects in the sense that too much legislation incurs in too many regulations. This in turn brings up the possibility for *gaps* to occur, which requires a lot more mechanisms of control for implementation, inevitably resulting in centralisation of power and the diminishing of local autonomy.

The historical perspective of the Brazilian case reported in chapter 5 has demonstrated the above points in relation to the Federal level of legislation. As the reader recalls, the Brazilian problem in a general way is not so much the lack of directives, but its excess. Adding to it the characteristic of the Brazilian context as being a prescriptive one, it follows that "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" of policies might be even more visible in the educational field.

From the Dutch account, as it was seen, the provision for special education already started from a more selective and segregative perspective, making it more difficult for changes towards integration to be promoted -and implemented- over its history. Another point made about the Dutch case referred to its centralised system of government regarding the formulation and implementation of its educational policies, which, as was discussed, does not help to promote changes.

When comparing Brazil with Holland, one can see that in general terms the Brazilian special education has also followed a more segregative line from its beginning. Nonetheless, a major difference is that, in the Brazilian case, even a more segregative

provision cannot be said to have been consistently established. If on one hand this implies the existence of a *gap* in the sense that what was intended was not totally supported in practice, on the other hand this very *gap* could be an advantage to the Brazilian attempts to review special education in the light of inclusive education, facilitating the practical implementation of integration. This would constitute a good example of one of the points made in this thesis, i.e., that *gaps* can be a useful indicator of "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" and, as such, a useful mechanism to monitor the effectiveness of integration practices.

The Brazilian case bears another similarity with the Dutch case: a centralised system of educational policy-making. Although it has been shown in chapters 5 and 7 that there has been a move towards the decentralisation of policies, this has happened rather slowly and, as can be seen in Appendix 4 (showing the interviews with the Secretaries for Education), the tendency is still that of a dependency between the lower and the higher administrative levels. If effectiveness of integration is linked to issues of autonomy of local government and to consideration of the local demands, as seems to be the case, then centralisation can only impair the process of integration and the philosophy of inclusive education. These points receive further support when one looks at the Spanish case.

From the Spanish example two factors were said to play a particular role in the successful development of their integration programme: a governmental commitment to change towards integration, expressed in the continuous launching of financially enabling and decentralising legislation (even though centrally coordinated) which takes into account the very local demands, and a carefully planned programme to implementation, with clear steps set and clear support provided to schools and professionals involved.

From the Brazilian example, it has been shown that a process similar to the Spanish has been happening since 1990, at the Municipal level in Vitória. The apparently growing level of acceptance and trust in the Municipal policies shown by the head teachers of the Municipal schools, as discussed in the Findings chapters, seems to confirm the importance of decentralisation, consultation, dissemination of information, careful planning and governmental commitment regarding the formulation and implementation of policies.

A major difference between Brazil and Spain, however, seems to be in that in the Spanish case, decentralisation has been taken to a further extent, that is, to the whole country. In Brazil, this happens at only some States or Municipalities. In other words, a decentralised line of government does not seem to be fully effective if the idea is not

put into practice at all governmental levels, including the central. As a result, even if States or Municipalities have a very integrative educational policy, such policy might be impaired at any point in which these more local governments come across the barriers of dependency on the higher levels of government.

Finally, from the British example it was said that a striking factor seems to be the implications of a system which is contradictory in discourse and practice. The British case has shown a lot less practical commitment (i.e. funding, resourcing, support, enabling policies) to the actual implementation of integration after the 1981 Act, despite the claims that the discourse pro-integration existed in Britain since much earlier than the publication of the Warnock Report in 1978.

In this sense, there are similarities with the Brazilian case: Brazilian policies have mostly been contradictory. The difference seems to be in that in the British case such contradictions originate because of different reasons. The Brazilian contradictions could be attributed to at least two predominant characteristics: its dependency on external/international demands, and its attempts to conciliate divergent interests of different groups in or aspiring to power.

In the British case, it seems that such dependency on the external/international setting is not the case, not at least to the same extent it seems to be in Brazil. Moreover, the British context, as compared to the Brazilian, seems to have a much more stable policy-making process -at least in what concerns the presence of divergent ideological groups. Unlike Britain, Brazil has an almost uncountable number of officially acknowledged political parties in the Congress, the conflicting interests of which might significantly impair the formulation and implementation of policies.

Further Comments

One is now left with two more general questions: What are the contributions of the study as a whole? What suggestions originate from it? The answers to the above questions can better be given if divided into three topics: Methodological, Conceptual and Political and Practical.

Methodological Contributions and Suggestions:

One of the aspects of relevance in this topic refers to the final format of the questionnaire, in particular to the section 2-A which needed to be disregarded for analysis in chapter 8. As pointed out there, such a format did not seem to allow for a clear understanding, by respondents, of how they were expected to answer the section.

That format of questions would have been potentially useful in terms of distinguishing sub-samples within the sample.

However, it is clear that it did not work for the samples of this study. As a suggestion for future studies, one could consider two steps when applying formats like this to similar categories of professionals. One is to pilot it with people who would fit in exactly the same professional category chosen as sample. The other is, if that format is eventually decided to be applied, to make sure the researcher or research assistant/s would be present at the application of the questionnaire.

The second suggestion obviously rules out one of the advantages of questionnaires discussed earlier, that is, the possibility for the researcher to be absent. Nonetheless, if the format proves potentially useful for the purposes of a study it might be worth being present or to get an assistant to be there.

Another aspect refers to the number of the samples of this study. Although they were originally significant in number (i.e., all the State and Municipal primary schools of that Capital), such number (38 respondents to whom questionnaires were sent) does not seem to have been large enough to ensure more generalizable analysis from those who actually answered (that is, 24).

A suggestion to be made about this aspect refers to the widening of the original population. For instance, all the State and Municipal primary and secondary schools. Another suggestion would be to set aside a longer time for managing the response rates.

Again, this would mean a closer contact between the researcher him/herself and the samples, something not always possible when the researcher is based overseas, as has been the case of this study. In this case, the suggestion could go in the sense of starting the questionnaire application as early as possible in the research process.

Possibly, the major aspect of relevance in this topic refers to the understanding that one can hardly be sure of controlling every aspect of research, despite all the precautions one might take. The unpredictable and the inevitable just seem to be part of the process of doing research.

It is my belief now that this seems to be truer of the cases in which the research takes a longer duration, and of the cases in which the research relates to very changeable matters (such as educational policy-making). Having said that, it is worth pointing out that these are the very factors that make research a fascinating challenge, and as such, worthy of being pursued.

Conceptual Contributions and Suggestions

Two main aspects can be highlighted with reference to this topic. One refers to the richness of the theoretical aspects of this study in particular. The other refers to the pitfalls of expressing oneself in another language.

In relation to the first point, one factor to point out is the bringing together of topics such as policy and integration, which are in themselves substantially polemic. Another factor is the use of them within changeable and peculiar contexts like the Brazilian National, State and Municipal ones, selected in this study. The combination of these aspects provided a unique opportunity to generate a conceptual framework which is relevant to the understanding of how these aspects and contexts relate altogether. Thus the adoption of the Policy Analysis perspectives used in this study. Thus the creation of terms such as "over-formulation" and "under-implementation". Thus the redefinition of terms like "legal" and "non-legal" documents, of "state" education, of "official" and "private" education "networks", and of "Federal", "State" and "Municipal" education "Systems", all used in the present research.

It is hoped that the creation and redefinition of the concepts mentioned above have served the purpose of improving the understanding of the education contexts studied and of others, which are similar to them. Above all, it is hoped that their peculiar aspects have been brought to light, as well as the importance of taking such peculiarities into account during the process of research and when making analyses about them.

A factor related to the second point mentioned in this topic refers to the difficulties one comes across when writing in another language. Despite the efforts made to have the thoughts organised in English, this has clearly resulted in a Brazilian writing in terms of its style. This seems to make it sometimes difficult for the reader to maintain a stable level of interest in the reading, regardless of the writer's efforts to make unusual and translated concepts clear to the reader.

In addition, in the case of those readers who already know of the writer's national background, the writer might be at disadvantage and taken for granted in terms of making mistakes which turn out not to be mistakes in the end. For instance, there were a few occasions when the English friends and professionals who read this thesis would "instinctively" cross out a word which in their view would not exist in the English vocabulary. And yet, when later checking them before making the proposed changes, such would be my satisfaction to confirm that the words do exist in English, and that it was not a mere reflection on my thinking in Portuguese!

Whether or not these "misunderstandings" can be interpreted as patronising attitudes or as genuine attempts to help from the part of the readers is a matter that escapes the purposes of this study. Nonetheless, the suggestion remains for researchers in the field of linguistics or politics to have a closer look at -if it has not yet been looked at. And for my overseas colleagues doing research in a country of another language than your own, a little advise: do not give up on your confidence!

Political and Practical Contributions and Suggestions

In relation to this topic, the present research has allowed for some relevant observations. A first observation regards the diversity of views which can be found about special education and integration. This can be expressed in the resulting legislation at National, State and Municipal levels, and also in the smaller level of the schools, and of those who represent them (head teachers, for instance). A second factor observed, consequent to the one above, is that such diversity will be reflected in and influence integration practice. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the differences in and variety of provision between the State and Municipal schools, or even between schools of the same System, were reported so frequently by the head teachers.

Another contribution from this topic refers to the confirmation that politics and governmental leadership do matter. They seem to be undoubtedly relevant aspects to the promotion and implementation of integration. However, it also seems clear from the present research that such aspects can only matter in an effective way to integration if they take account of the diversities observed above.

In other words: in the Brazilian contexts studied in this research, there needs to be a special attention to be paid to the political characteristic of "over-formulating" and "under-implementing" policies if effective integration policies are to take place. It seems necessary that rather than attempting to follow international pressures or to conciliate internal divergences, politicians and parties concerned should start from an understanding of what are the local priorities of the moment.

Better still: to investigate the local understanding of policies to be formulated and/or implemented and to promote debates and discussions on the matters and to disseminate information about such matters. In this way, the people concerned can actually have a real democratic say on what they think is suitable for them and consequently be adequately empowered to make informed choices when putting policies into practice.

In the present study, it is perhaps because the National and the Municipal education Systems were attempting to do so that their policies and consequent practices were being better accepted and supported at the time the data collection was carried out (1991-92).

Another aspect about this topic refers to the position of Brazil within the imaginary scale of integration policies proposed as a result of what was presented in chapter 4. Brazil's location on the scale would alternate between Holland and Britain and Britain and Spain.

It would be placed between Holland and Britain in the cases when the policies do not reflect the recent national requirements, resulting in the lack of integrative practices. In this particular research, what happens at the policy-making level of the State of Espírito Santo and its implementation of those policies in its Capital (Vitória) has served as an example of a situation in which there is "over-formulation" and "under-implementation" in the relationship between the State and the National policies.

In a similar way, Brazil would be placed closer to Spain in the cases when more flexibility and decentralisation of policies have been observed. In this study, the recent changes at the National level and the characteristics of the Municipal level have served as examples. At the National level, there has been a move towards integration and attempts to decentralise policies, and at the Municipal level there has been deeper consideration of the local demands and priorities, as well as further discussions on how policies should be implemented.

Final Remarks

To do research does not seem to be about reaching conclusions, but initiating discussions. A lot more could be said in this final chapter: the list of points to address could be endless... The relatively recent establishment and seemingly international acceptance and adoption of the term "inclusive education", for instance, could have been further discussed in the study. The post-1992 education legislation of the countries studied here could also have been approached.

However, at some point, with conclusions or discussions at hand, an end must be reached. It is as if, after a long process of "academic pregnancy" (if the reader excuses the old analogy) the "child" needs to be given "birth" and consequently be part of the world. In this sense, putting an end to the writing is like finishing the generation of the "child". On the other hand, once part of the world, the "child" will hopefully constitute another generator. It is my hope that this particular "academic child" will be a generator in the sense of inviting those who read it to think about the issues it

raises and to formulate opinions about these issues. And so the cycle is, hopefully, perpetuated: it is the end of the “academic pregnancy”, but the beginning of a worldly -and desirably inclusive- life.

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GLOSSARY

ACT: A public Document exhibiting an authoritative decision. A legal action aiming at acquiring, transferring, protecting or extinguishing rights.

CAIXA ESCOLAR: A sum of money normally collected from parents and families by the schools on a monthly basis, in order to pay for any emergency expenditures. The amount itself is not compulsory and not normally stipulated, although a minimum amount might be suggested, depending on the school.

CIRCULAR: An official letter, or a memorandum sent to a group or groups of people, professionals or institutions. Can also be issued by governments as guidance to legislation.

DECREE-LAW: Norm or set of norms elaborated and voted by the Legislative Power, with force of law.

EDUCATIONAL ADVISER (Also: educational counsellor, or educational orientator): A pedagogue specialised in the emotional and organisational aspects of the school. These professionals, many times, work as counselors, or act as a figure who keeps the emotional balance of the school as a whole, although their main responsibility is with the pupils' emotional and social development. Is normally part of any school staff.

GRADES: Marks given to pupils after assessing them through exams, tests or any other form of assessment chosen and determined by the teachers. Corresponds to the british term "mark".

HEALTH AGENT: A similar to the British health visitor, but they visit schools, rather than families. They belong to the Health sector of public administration, and are expected to work in collaboration with the other sectors, for example the educational. This collaboration is not, however, always present. Sometimes there is even lack of such professionals.

JEITINHO: Expression used by most Brazilians to signify a Brazilian way of getting away with things, or of solving problems by means of bypassing the normal rules and regulations which would normally have to be followed. For instance, the system says a child has the right to be registered in the schools of the official network. However, if the chosen school does not have enough vacancies for all the children applying, it is likely that those who will succeed in getting a place are those who know a politician,

or any influential person within the school. The "jeitinho" can be applied to any situation. If you know the manager of a bank, you might not need to face the long queues in the bank, or you might get away with an overdraft which is bigger than what the rules of the bank allow. Barbosa (1992, see references) provides a very interesting anthropological study about the Brazilian "jeitinho".

LEGISLATIVE POWER: One of the three organs of the National Sovereignty (the other two are the Executive and the Judiciary), responsible for elaborating, discussing and approving certain Executive acts.

MUNICIPALIZATION: When a certain geographical region or area becomes the responsibility of the Municipal Administration.

MUNICIPAL SCHOOLS: Public schools (usually primary level) of the municipal network. In the British context, the term public correspond to state schools.

ORGANIC LAW: Law which fundaments the establishment of the Municipal structure. Corresponds to the English By-Law.

ORIENTATOR: See Educational Orientator.

PEDAGOGIC SUPERVISOR: A pedagogue specialised in the area of curriculum development, normally part of any school staff.

PESTALOZZI INSTITUTE: Founded in 1935 by the Secretary of Education of the State of Minas Gerais, as a governmental means of sharing the responsibility and expenditures over the provision for the *exceptionals*. It followed lines of action similar to the Pestalozzi Society, as well as sharing a number of the same volunteers. (In: Januzzi, 1985)

PESTALOZZI SOCIETY: Special education institutions for the *exceptional*. Founded by the pedagogue Helena Antipoff, in 1932. Its work focused on the diagnosis as a starting point for educating *exceptional* children. (In: Januzzi, 1985)

PRIVATE EDUCATION: Education, or schooling, which takes place in the private schools. Private education can be profitable and non-profitable and is expected to follow the same guidelines as public education, as set by the central, state and municipal governments, in terms of curriculum contents and administrative educational rules. When it is profit-oriented, schools are expected to maintain themselves financially and are not entitled to governmental subsidies.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS: Schools run by private initiative of profit or non-profit-oriented agencies or people. They also comprise Church schools and are allowed to provide for all educational levels. The non-profit-oriented ones can also be entitled to governmental financial subsidies. In the British context, they correspond to the Public schools.

PUBLIC EDUCATION: Education, or schooling, which takes place in the public schools, as opposed to private schools. Until 1988, it was compulsory only at the primary level. With the 1988 Constitution and its subsequent Law of Directives and Basis of Education, presently in process of approval by the Legislative Power, it is intended that compulsoriness be also extended to the secondary educational level.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS: Schools which belong to the Municipal, State or Federal Education Systems. They are funded by these governments and free of charges. They can be primary, secondary or of higher educational level, and in the British context they correspond to the State schools.

REINFORCEMENT CLASSES: Classroom where children considered as in special need are sent for extra teaching time in the subjects they are considered to be in need of extra help. It is usually used after or before normal school time.

REPETITION: When a student is considered not to have achieved the minimum learning level which allows him/her to go through to the next academic grade. They then have to repeat that same academic year.

RESOLUTION: A deliberate, purposeful legal decision about a certain matter.

SERIES: Academic year, or grade, where the child is at. It informs of the level of attainment in the learning process where the child is at in a particular moment of their schooling. Corresponds to the British term "grades".

SHIFT: Every turn, or session, a school can have during the day, providing for different children. It is common to find schools with up to 4 shifts a day: 7 to 11 am, 11 am to 3 pm, 3 pm to 7 pm, 7 pm to 11 pm (these later ones are normally reserved to adult education).

STATE SCHOOLS: Public schools (primary and secondary) of the state network. In the British context, it corresponds to State schools.

SUPERVISOR: See Pedagogic Supervisor.

ABBREVIATIONS

NAME/ MEANING

LEVEL

APAE: Association of Parents and Friends of the Exceptional	(Federal + State)
CEE: State Council for Education	(State)
CENESP: National Centre fo Special Education	(Federal)
CFE: Federal Council for Education	(Federal)
CIAC: Integrated Centres for the Assistance of the Child	(Federal)
CNE: National Council for Education	(Federal)
CORDE: National Coordinatorship for the Integration of People Portraying Deficiency	(Federal)
CONSED: Council of State Secretaries for Education	(State)
DAT: Department of Technical and Pedagogic Support	(State)
INPS: National Institute of Social Provision	(Federal)
LBA: Brazilian Legion of Assistance	(Federal + Voluntary)
LDB: Law of Directives and Basis of Education	(Federal)
MEC: Ministry of Education and Culture	(Federal)
MPAS: Ministry of Social Welfare	(Federal)
FNDE: National Fund for the Development of Education	(Federal)
SAS: Secretary of Social Action	(Federal)
SEDU: State Secretary of Education	(State)
SEE: Special Education Sector	(State)
SEME: Municipal Secretary of Education	(Municipal)
SENEB: National Secretary of Basic Education	(Federal)
SESG: Secretary of Secondary Education	(Federal)
SESPE: Secretary for Special Education	(Federal)

APPENDIX 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

General Information

Data about your School

- A. Name:** _____
- B. Type of school:** Municipal () State () Federal ()
- C. Grades covered by your school (place an "X" in all grades covered by your school):**
Pre-school () 1st to 4th () 1st to 8th () 5th to 8th () 2ry level ()
- D. Number of pupils in your school:** _____

Personal Data

- A. Name:** _____
- B. Birth Year:** _____ **C. Sex:** _____

Professional Data

- A. First Degree:** _____
- B. Titles obtained in education:**
- C. For how long have you been the head teacher of this school?**
- D. For how long have you been head teacher of schools in general?**
- E. Previous posts in education:**
- F. Have you always worked with the grades covered by the school where you are at the moment?**
Yes () No ()
- G. If not, with which other grades have you worked before??**
- H. Have you ever worked in special education? Yes () No ()**
- I. For how long?** _____
- J. Briefly describe what your work in special education consisted of.**

Section II. The Exceptional Children and their Integration

A. Consider the children described below.

Among each type, how many do you consider in need of special education?

Place an "X" in the column which best expresses your opinion.

Who do you think needs special education?	All of them	Some of them	None of them	I am not sure
Visually impaired children				
Hearing impaired children				
Motor/Physically impaired children				
Children with language problems				
Children with emotional problems				
Children with conduct problems				
Children with learning difficulties				
Retarded Children				
Children with multiple disabilities				
Gifted children				
Others (Please, specify)				
.....
.....
.....

B. Consider again the children described below.

Take the majority of each type as a reference to your answer.

Place an "X" in the column which best expresses your opinion about the best means to provide education to the majority of each of the types of children described below.

The best way of educating the majority of each of the children described below is through placing them:	In ordinary classes of the ordinary system	In special classes of the ordinary system	In special schools	I am not sure
Visually impaired children				
Hearing impaired children				
Motor/Physically impaired children				
Children with language problems				
Children with emotional problems				
Children with conduct problems				
Children with learning difficulties				
Retarded Children				
Children with multiple disabilities				
Gifted children				
Others (Please, specify)				
.....
.....
.....

C. Consider the two sentences below.

Which of them represents, in principle, your opinion about special education?

Place an "X" in the parenthesis that correspond to the chosen sentence.

Or answer to number 3, if no sentence corresponds to your opinion.

1. () Special education is the attempt to adapt the ordinary schooling system to the child's exceptionality in order that the child is able to respond to individualised educational expectancies.
2. () Special education is the attempt to adapt the exceptional child to the ordinary schooling system, so that the child is able to respond to a standard pattern of educational expectancies.
3. None of the two above, because in my opinion...

D. Consider the groups of affirmatives below.

Take the integration of exceptional children into the ordinary schooling system as reference for your answer.

In each group, which affirmations express aspects which you consider essentials to the promotion of integration of exceptional children into the ordinary schooling system?

Place an "X" in the parenthesis corresponding to the chosen affirmations.

1. Regarding RESOURCES, promoting the integration of exceptional children implies, basically:

- a. () obtaining extra financial resources to the ordinary teaching establishments;
- b. () purchase of special equipment by the ordinary teaching establishments;
- c. () elimination of architectural barriers and facilitation of access to the premises of the ordinary teaching establishments;
- d. () hiring of special education specialists by the ordinary teaching establishments;
- e. () offering of extra training to the teachers and technical staff of the ordinary teaching establishments;
- f. () others (please, specify)

2. Regarding the TEACHING ESTABLISHMENT itself, promoting the integration of exceptional children into the ordinary schooling system implies, basically:

- a. () the existence of a philosophy that is pro-integration of the exceptionals in the official regulations of the ordinary teaching establishments;
- b. () the existence of pedagogic methods to integrate the exceptionals in the ordinary teaching establishments;
- c. () coherence between the existing philosophy and pedagogic methods for integrating exceptionals in the ordinary teaching establishments;
- d. () others (please, specify)

3. Regarding PRINCIPLES OF ACTION of the sectors involved, promoting the integration of exceptional children into the ordinary teaching system implies, basically:

- a. cooperation between the ordinary teaching establishment and the exceptional's family;
- b. cooperation between the ordinary teaching establishment and the local community;
- c. cooperation between the ordinary teaching establishment and the Municipal, State and Federal Secretaries of Education;
- d. cooperation between the family of the exceptional child and the local community;
- e. cooperation between the family of the exceptional and the Municipal, State and Federal Secretaries of Education;
- f. cooperation between local communities and Municipal, State and Federal Secretaries of Education;
- g. cooperation between ordinary teaching establishment and the family of the exceptional, the local community and the Municipal, State and Federal Secretaries of Education altogether;
- h. others (please, specify)

4. Regarding the INNER PRACTICE of the sectors involved, promoting the integration of exceptional children into the ordinary educational system implies, basically:

- a. coherent actions between the ordinary teaching establishment and the Municipal Secretary of Education in the promotion of integration;
- b. coherent actions between the ordinary teaching establishment and the state Secretary of Education in the promotion of integration;
- c. coherent actions between the ordinary teaching establishment and the directives issued by the Ministry of Education;
- d. coherent actions between Municipal and State Secretaries of Education in the promotion of integration;
- e. coherent actions between the Municipal Secretaries and the Ministry of Education in the promotion of integration;
- f. coherent actions between the State Secretaries and the Ministry of Education in the promotion of integration;
- g. others (please, specify)

5. Regarding the REALISATION OF PRACTICES, promoting the integration of exceptional children into the ordinary educational system implies, basically:

- a. to disseminate knowledge and pedagogic techniques in special education in the ordinary teaching establishments;
- b. to communicate principles and legal directives in special education to the ordinary teaching establishments;
- c. Others (please, specify)

Section III - Your School and the Integration of
the Exceptional Children

A. Consider each one of the questions below.

Take the reality of what happens in your school as a reference to your answers

Place an "X" in the parenthesis which is most appropriate to your answer and follow the consequent instructions

1. Do the official regulations of your school mention the education of exceptional children (that is, of children who need special teaching)?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, answer straight from the question number 13 on.

2. Is the content of such mention disseminated to your school staff?
Yes () No () I don't know ()
3. Does the content of such mention follow any more general directive?
Yes, Municipal () Yes, State () Yes, Federal () No () I don't know ()
4. Does the content of such mention imply acceptance of children with any type of exceptionality for matriculation?
Yes, all of them () Only some of them () No () I don't know ()
5. Does the content of such mention imply any process of identification of exceptional children?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, go straight on to question number 14.

6. Who participates in such identification (e.g., teachers, specialists, parents, family, etc.)?
7. In what procedures is such identification based on (e.g., teachers' observation, assessment at the beginning of the academic year, interviews with parents, reports from other professionals, etc.)?
8. Does the content of the mention to the education of exceptional children given by the regulations of your school imply the existence of any defined special education practice in your school?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, go straight on to question number 17.

9. Is such practice disseminated to all staff in your school?
Yes () No, only to the ones directly involved () I don't know ()
10. Does such practice follow any more general educational directive?
Yes, Municipal () Yes, State () Yes, Federal () No () I don't know ()
11. Does the content of the mention to the education of exceptional children given by the regulations of your school have the integration of these children into the ordinary educational system as a priority?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, go straight on to question number 20.

12. Is such integration practised in your school?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

Finish your answers here, if you have followed the normal sequence up to here.

13. Does your school accept children with any type of exceptionality for matriculation?
Yes, all of them () Only some of them () No () I don't know ()
14. Does your school have any means of identification of exceptional children?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, go straight on to question number 17.

15. Who participates in this identification (e.g.. teachers, specialists, parents, family, etc.)?
16. On which procedures is this identification based (e.g.. teacher's observation, assessment at the beginning of the academic year, interviews with parents, reports from other professionals, etc.)?
17. Does your school have any defined special education practice ?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

If you answered no, go straight on to question number 20.

18. Is this practice communicated to all school staff?
Yes () No, only to the ones directly involved () I don't know ()
19. Does this practice follow any more general directive?
Yes, Municipal () Yes, State () Yes, Federal () No () I don't know ()
20. Is the integration of exceptional children a priority in your school?
Yes () No () I don't know ()
21. Is the integration of exceptional children practised in your school?
Yes () No () I don't know ()

B. Consider the services described below.

Place an "X" in all those ones that are available in your school

1. Regular classroom with only regular teachers from the school itself; ()
2. Regular classroom with regular and support teachers; ()
3. Special Classroom ()
4. Resource Room (with special equipment) ()
5. Pedagogic workshop (for extra teaching hours, provided by regular teachers of the school) ()
6. Peripatetic teacher (transiting from one school to another and providing extra teaching) ()
7. We have no services for these children ()
8. Others (please, specify)

If you placed an "X" in item 7 of question B above, go straight on to Section III .

Otherwise, carry on answering to questions C and D below.

C. Do you think that the services available in your school are sufficient, regarding the exceptional children of your school?

Yes () No ()

D. If they are INSUFFICIENT, what measures do you consider necessary in order for them to become sufficient?

Section III-Administration, Legislation and the Integration of the Exceptional Child

A. Consider each one of the sentences below.

Place an "X" in the column which expresses the legislative level (Municipal, State or Federal) from which you think these sentences were extracted.

If you are not sure about the level, place an "X" in "I am not sure".
If you have never heard of such sentences, place an "X" in the last column.

Note that NO sentence belongs to two or more levels at once. Each one belongs to only one of the legislative levels.

Sentence	In relation to Special Education...	Legislative Level	I am not sure	I don't know
A	"Participation... understood as the involvement of all sectors of society in the development of educational activities..."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
B	"...the special teaching aims at offering, according to a proper rhythm of learning, opportunities to the full development of the clientele..."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
C	"The duty... towards education shall be realised throughout the assurance of... educational provision to people conveying deficiency, with specialised staff and the assurance of appropriate places and equipment, preferably in the ordinary teaching system..."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
D	"Integration... characterised as a dynamic and organic process, involving efforts from the several segments of society, as well as the commitment of public and private institutions and all those who... may contribute to the improvement and expansion of special education."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
E	"The plain curriculum... shall follow the prescribed in the current legislation, with the adaptations and methods, ordering and sequencing, to the special teaching."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
F	"The special education teachers shall be trained in appropriate courses of higher education level, according to the teaching modality to which they direct themselves and shall present team work skills."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
G	"To the learner conveying physical, mental or sensory deficiency it is assured the right to register in the public school... closer to their residence."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
H	"Normalisation... defined in the sense of providing life conditions similar to other people's to the people conveying deficiency, conduct problems and to the gifted, giving them possibilities of as normal a life as possible and access to the services, benefits and opportunities existing in their communities."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		
I	"Special education shall be applied... in classrooms of the ordinary teaching system to the special pupils so recommended; ...in special classes created in the ordinary teaching schools; ...in establishments especially created."	<input type="checkbox"/> Municipal <input type="checkbox"/> State <input type="checkbox"/> Federal		

B. Consider again the sentences (from A to I) of the previous question.

Write, in the space provided next to each letter:

"A", if you agree with what the sentence says;

"D", if you disagree with what the sentence says.

In the space next to the ones with which you disagree, briefly describe the reasons of you disagreement.

Sentence	A or D?	Reasons for your <u>DISAGREEMENT</u>
A		
B		
C		
D		
E		
F		
G		
H		
I		

C. Now, write in the space next to each letter:

"R", for the sentences that you consider realistic if applied to the reality of your school ;

"U", for those that you consider unrealistic if applied to the reality of your school.

In the space next to the ones considered unrealistic, briefly write out the reasons why you considered them to be so.

Sentence	R or U?	Reasons why you consider them <u>UNREALISTIC</u>
A		
B		
C		
D		
E		
F		
G		
H		
I		

D. Consider each one of the sentences below.

They represent thoughts commonly expressed regarding Brazilian laws which were adapted here to laws in special education

What is your opinion about such thoughts?

Place an "X" in the column that best expresses your opinion in relation to each one of the ideas expressed in the sentences .

Legislation regarding special education...	Agree	Disagree	I'm not sure
Is, in principle, relevant to the improvement of special education			
The special education legislation we have nowadays is limited in what concerns practical orientations in special education			
Legislation is relevant even when not disseminated among the different levels of educational administration			
In principle, legislation makes no difference to the improvement of special education			
The special education legislation we have nowadays is efficient in what concerns practical orientations in special education			
Legislation becomes relevant only when well disseminated among the different levels of educational administration			

E. Take as reference the integration of the exceptional child.

Cite up to three examples of situations that you have observed in practice and which you think that:

1. represent consequences, in your view, positive, resulting from legislation (Municipal, State or Federal) in special education:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

2. represent consequences, in your view, negative, resulting from legislation (Municipal, State or Federal) in special education:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

F. How would you suggest that the negative consequences that you cited above were solved or minimised by the following educational administrative levels:

1. Municipal?

2. State?

3. Federal?

4. of the teaching establishment?

G. Is there any aspect which you think should be especially approached by the legislation regarding special education?

H. Which educational administrative level(s) should tackle the aspect(s) that you cited above?

Place an "X" in the parentheses which you consider appropriate

- 1. () Municipal
- 2. () State
- 3. () Federal

I. Which educational legislative level(s) should tackle the aspect(s) that you cited above?

Place an "X" in the parentheses which you consider appropriate.

- 1. () Municipal
- 2. () State
- 3. () Federal

J. Briefly describe your impressions in relation to having answered to this questionnaire. Please add any criticisms, suggestions and comments that you might want to make.

Please, check all the questions and make sure you did not leave any one unanswered.

It is very important that this questionnaire returns completely answered

Please, write down below the average time you took to answer to it.

Once more, thank you very much!!!

APPENDIX 2 - INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Scope of Special Education

1. As something to be practiced in ordinary schools
 - Depending on the type of special need of the child?
 - What type(s)?
2. As something to be practiced in special schools
 - Depending on the type of special need of the child?
 - What type(s)?
3. As something to be practiced in a special class or unit of the ordinary schools
 - Depending on the type of special need of the child?
 - What type(s)?

Provision

1. What do they consider to be special education provision?
 - Extension of staff
 - Staff Training
 - Extra equipments
 - Environmental modifications
 - Curriculum modification
 - General (National) or School level?
 - Structural (content and sequence)?
 - Pedagogic (teaching methods)?
2. Is provision different for ordinary and special school?
 - How?

Integration

1. Definition
 - Involving commitment to integration as a principle
 - Involving practical modifications
 - Do they see the two above in interrelation?
2. Relationship with school policy:
 - At a theoretical level:
 - Should school policy include integration explicitly?
 - Why?
 - What difference does it make to have an explicit integration

- policy in the school?
 - makes none;
 - helps making people more committed;
 - helps defining practices;
 - helps better planning and resource allocation;

- In reality:
 - Does school policy include integration?
 - How?
 - explicitly (written in regulations)
 - implicitly (advocated in words)
 - Are details of policy disseminated in the school?
 - How?
 - meetings for all staff;
 - just for the ones involved;
 - in forms of open discussion;
 - in forms of staff training;
 - as an initiative of the school;
 - as a parental initiative;
 - as a Municipal or State Secretary's initiative

3. Relationship with Municipal policy:

- Should Municipal Organic Law include integration explicitly?
 - Why?
 - it makes no difference;
 - to be in accordance to State and Federal Constitutions;
 - to help promoting greater awareness of population about integration;
 - to help local educational planning:
 - in relation to resource allocation;
 - in relation to curriculum guidelines;
 - to better orientate schools' practices;
 - to help coordination of efforts and works;
 - to help dissemination of efforts and works

4. Relationship with State policy:

- Should State Constitution include integration explicitly?
 - Why?
 - it makes no difference;
 - to be in accordance to Federal Constitution;

- to help promoting greater awareness of population about integration;
- to help local educational planning:
 - in relation to resource allocation;
 - in relation to curriculum guidelines;
- to better orientate schools' practices;
- to better help Municipal practices;
- to help coordination of efforts and works:
 - within and among State and Municipal schools;
 - within and among Municipal Secretaries of Education;
 - among State and Municipal schools and Secretaries of Education;
- to help dissemination of efforts and works:
 - within and among State and Municipal schools;
 - within and among Municipal Secretaries of Education;
 - among State and Municipal schools and Secretaries of Education;

5. Relationship with Federal policy:

- Should Federal Constitution include integration explicitly?
 - Why?
 - it makes no difference;
 - to be in tune with democratic and international principles;
 - to help promoting greater awareness of population about integration;
 - to help a better local, regional and national educational planning:
 - in relation to resource allocation;
 - in relation to curriculum guidelines;
 - to better orientate schools' practices;
 - to better help Municipal and State practices;
 - to help coordination of efforts and works:
 - within and among State and Municipal schools;
 - within and among State and Municipal Secretaries of Education;
 - among State and Municipal schools and Secretaries of Education;
 - to help dissemination of efforts and works:

- within and among State and Municipal schools;
- within and among State and Municipal Secretaries of Education;
- among State and Municipal schools and Secretaries of Education;

6. Practice of Integration

- Identification

- is there any?
 - description:
 - who participates,
 - what it consists of,
 - what actions are taken about identified child:
 - educational intervention?
 - other procedures?
 - provided by school?
 - other institutions?
 - who takes final decision about intervention?
 - any support available?
 - which one(s)?
 - is it coordinated?
 - how?

- Provision

- Extension of staff (include special education specialists)
- Staff training
- extra equipments
- environmental modifications
- curriculum reform:
 - structural (content and sequence)
 - pedagogic (teaching methods)
- parental support/approval
- possible links/work with community

- Evaluation and monitoring

- of progresses of the child
- of coherence of school policy and practice
- of educational programme elaborated:
 - in terms of curriculum;
 - in terms of support/specialist services provided;

- in terms of the environment;
- in terms of family support and help

Legislation

1. Information

- Actual knowledge of legislation about integration:
 - from the Municipal administrative level
 - from the State administrative level
 - from the school level

2. Opinion

- Do they think they have enough information about legislation?
 - What possible improvements there could be?
- Do they think they have enough support in carrying legislation out?
 - How?
 - by being provided guidelines;
 - by inspectors' visits and guidance;
 - by general meetings promoted;
 - by some of the above and/or others
- Do they think legislation is relevant to the practice of integration in their school in particular?
- Do they think legislation is relevant to the practice of integration in general, ie, considering:
 - local level;
 - state/regional level;
 - central/federal level

APPENDIX 3

Municipal School's Head Teacher's Definition of Special Education

"There is no such a common pattern of educational expectations. Each child is unique and can only be compared to herself. On the other hand, one cannot expect the child to correspond to individualized educational expectations either. Education is a continuous and collective process."

State Schools' Head Teachers' Definitions of Special Education

School 1: " Within our reality we don't consider the exceptional child but the special education due to the problems presented by the clientele."

School 2: "Special Education is a proposal to: 1- Development of the individual up to the maximum limits of the possibilities; 2- Promote or to make the real integration of this individual in the society where he is inserted; 3- Is to conduct him toward his self-realization."

**APPENDIX 4: Transcription of the Interview with Odete Cecília Veiga,
Municipal Secretary of Education (May, 1992)**

General Background: I telephoned the Secretary and asked her for the interview. She agreed with it and expressed some enthusiasm by stating that it would be good to talk about what the Secretary was trying to do in the field at the time, and that it could be a good chance to gather some more information about special education, from the experience I would be able to tell her, after the interview. We then made a time for it, which was maintained with no delays or postponing. The interview took about 50 minutes.

Mônica: One thing I'd like to know is: how do you, people in the Municipal Secretary for Education define special education? How are you seeing it?

Odete: Special Education would be... treated, you know, because the greatest... future change which we think we are promoting is the overcoming of this understanding that people have, of this common sense that any child who is... who has any behavioural disturbance, any learning problem, is a special child. I mean, generally speaking, this is what pervades the... the way even teachers see it; their understanding is that: "if there is a problem, then it's a special child." This child then has to be marginalized within the school; it has to be separated and... segregated from the group. So, we found a great discrimination within the schools, that is, always in the... very much in the separation of the average attainers pupils from the weak attainers and the high attainers ones, of those who have conditions to learn from those who don't. And so it is much easier to say that that child has no condition to learn and as a result not to invest in that child. Thus, this great approach, I mean, the one about promoting awareness among the teachers of what special education is about in fact; of what it is... meant to be considered special education. We have just finished a Seminar this week, with the professionals who are already working with children who are, in fact, portraying... some... I mean... some issues which in fact give grounds to special education, which are the mental deficiency, the visual deficiency, isn't it... or... or who have a real physical deficiency or something else, and we put these teachers together with another group of teachers. This was a Seminar which had about 50 people. The big conclusion of these teachers when the seminar was over was that they did not have any special child.

Mônica: This sounds interesting...

Odete: Isn't it? I mean, this is something which is being slowly discussed within the Network. In the beginning we used to receive lists and lists of children as if... when

the chance came about for the Department of Special Education to be structured here in the Secretary -because it is not yet structured- we used to receive lists and lists of problems, that is, it is as if the... "well, now that we have who take care of these problem-children" [imitating teachers speaking]. So this discussion started within the schools, our people going there... and so on, that is, there is this... I think this is the great... battle to fight, about... making people conscious of it and providing fundamentals [meaning knowledge] to the teachers, isn't it? Now, what we understand by special education and how it should work in the Network nowadays as a real special education is in the sense of an effective provision to the children who portray deficiencies which can in fact be diagnosed, but that these children be provided for in parallel and integrated to the group. It has to be a work of integrating these children within the classroom while at the same time enabling us to provide for her needs. I mean, the idea is that we have the resource rooms in some schools, I mean, which goes from... from here in the Secretary, we also have to structure a team which is still to be approved by the Chamber, isn't it, which would include from physiologist to the occupational therapist, psychologists, pedagogues, in sum, this wider, multidisciplinary team, who can work as a parallel support within the school, within the classroom. And also for those who need certain specific stimulation, so that they will have those resources within the school. We already have schools working with this resource room system, isn't it? The Artur da Costa e Silva [name of a Municipal School] is one of them. But it is an initiative which is still in its very... initial phase, you know?

Mônica: Right. But would you say that... the majority of children so far considered as having learning difficulties or problems, by the Network, through this survey which you did, were in fact children with...

Odete: Normal children.

Mônica: Right...

Odete: Children who were made ill by the educational system itself, isn't it, I mean, who turned these children... made them repeat the year, for instance... for about 5 consecutive years. That's what turns any child into a problem.

Mônica: Right...

Odete: We had loads of children with about 5 years of repetition.

Mônica: In terms of targets, of programmes by the Secretary, the priority would be, for instance, changes in attitudes... in a broad sense, that is, changing the views about

these children, this educational system, about what would education be as a result of these changes...?

Odete: Yes, because we work on the general change of the posture of the teachers in relation to, for instance, their view of the world, of the society, that is: what is the discrimination promoted by the school of today? In the sense that we are progressing even in relation to the knowledge of the contents being administered by the school, I mean: what is this content, repetitive, which has been there for years and years, generating the ineffectiveness of the school, this inertia, I mean the teacher perceives that many times an evaluation that he makes, it's the evaluation itself what marginalizes the child! Or the methodology he [teacher] is adopting. That is: the question about special education and the "problem" child is not a different one from what is going on in the Network, that is; it's as if one thing leads to the other. In other words, why... why so many children are still condemned in the Network to repeat the year in Mathematics and Portuguese?

Mônica: And how is this being worked on with the teachers? Give me an example of this programme.

Odete: Well, what we have is... two types of professional qualification and In-service training, right? One is given through Seminars, when we bring people who will add on to it, accordingly to the themes chosen by the teachers, be it in specialist subjects or more general ones, which imply some more philosophical, ideological discussions, etc. And we... in parallel to this, the teachers have, every week, in the school, they are paid for the planning activity. So, in these planning times we have teams from the Secretary who go to the schools, who go there to help, to be partners in this work, that is: to discuss, to check the theoretical grounds, to raise the problems, in other words: to make the link between theory and practice, right? And we are feeling that this is progressing more in the initial years [meaning with the teachers who teach the initial years], the work is more grounded in the initial grades, and the movement is beginning now with the people from the final grades, that is: from the 5th to the 8th grades. So, this is an area of greater stagnation, because of the training of the teachers themselves: they think they already know everything. So, it's more complicated to discuss with the more specialised teachers, than to do so with those who have not so much training and are thus much more open to learn. So, we have to deal a lot with these issues: what do we need to reformulate, what do we have to touch on, that is: it's amazing to see how our curricula are rotten, so old they are. We're touching on these things in parallel to a whole discussion going on in the Network, about redefining the curriculum, redefining evaluation...

Mônica: And what have you found in relation to the curriculum?

Odete: [After brief pause] I think this depends a lot on the subject, doesn't it? I mean, in each subject there is something quite specific, for instance, in Portuguese it is the... the perspective I told you about earlier is too mechanicist, it's too much to do with grammar; the production of texts and the creative production of the pupils were totally forgotten... Even because... to go through that way is much more hard work for the teacher, and the teachers before were too badly paid in the Municipal Network... I mean, it is only now that we are having a different working condition... I mean, it's like putting non-didactic books, newspapers, magazines in the hands of teachers, so that... they can use things other than didactic books in their classrooms, things other than those which bring a very serious ideological issue about professional training implied in it... So, the basic perspective is: how can we get rid of this mechanicism and of this tendency which has been put upon Brazil, from the U.S.A., to be trained in this... this line of repetition, repetition and training... To substitute all this by rescuing the creative potential of the student and of the teachers. I mean, the background is: in order for education to be changed we need to change the working conditions of the individuals. As long as these [working conditions] go back to the hands of the teachers, they would be prepared to make their students to work effectively too, based on their own interests, and not to work just for the others.

Mônica: Right... And do you evaluate this work of yours? For instance, this issue about a programme of attitude-change, or change in the point-of-view: have you any way through which the Secretary itself evaluates, controls the progress of it, in any specific way...?

Odete: There are these... these systematic meetings constitute constant sources of evaluation, isn't it? That is, another evaluation which we do have nowadays is that we already have a great number of teachers who are already effectively working on a line of action chosen by themselves. I mean, we have a series of documents which have been written and by the teachers, the teaching class, the specialists of the Network, in sum, the professionals involved, who say: "this is how we want it and this is what we are planning to do". With all the successes and mistakes, but they say: "this is where the progress will come; we have discussed, studied, thoroughly examined and came to this conclusion, so that we are going this way". So there is an integrated work between the specialists [the educational orientator and the pedagogic supervisor, see Glossary for explanation], even at the pre-school level, which is put in the form of a final document, in practice... there is a document about structural change in the pre-school education as a result of a collective production of these professionals... we are now trying to finish the... we intend to reach September with

the curriculum redefinition of the other levels of teaching, that is: all the professionals are involved in it: they are all represented here, so that it is as if it goes and comes back, isn't it? I mean, we are there, discussing and helping in the day-to-day work, in the classroom, with the teacher, that is: the idea is to finish the view that those who work in the Secretary were just bureaucrats feeding the system, who would go to the schools for a short visit and would not get involved, I mean: we're sticking our necks out there, isn't it? And this is quite serious, that is, this has generated... this has even generated a lot of unbalance here, because everybody was used to protect themselves behind the theoretical arguments. The things is: the teachers want that partnership who goes there and says "I am here and we can work together". Because to work together is not just theory.

Mônica: And it is not just the good side, there is also the bad side of it...

Odete: Heavy side, too. So, we... we feel it. The evaluation is also happening in another way... For instance, every two months we check on the grades given to the students of the Network, right? Whenever we identify that the level of learning... I mean, "learning", isn't it? Whenever we identify that the grades are too low, we go for a deeper intervention, I mean: we go for a deeper help to the teachers in order to discuss the reasons for that. So we do this monitoring, of all the classrooms, all the series and all the shifts [see Glossary for explanation of terms], right? There is a substantial change in the night shift teaching, which used to be one with a massive number of drop-outs and repetitions... Of every 100 students starting the night courses, only 17 would be approved [go through to the next year]; the rest would either drop-out or be forced to repeat the year, and the indications were that this number disappeared... In other words, the literacy teaching used to have enormous levels of repetition...

Mônica: And it is better now...?

Odete: Much better! Because the Bloco Único, that is: with the de-serialization of these two series, that is, the illiteracy problem is now faced in a different way. I mean... for a start, changing the way it is conceived and de-serializing it there is no longer repetition in the first grade. And we are now monitoring it to see how it will work with the second grades, right? That is... the children would reach the second grade with a minimum of literacy skills, which would give them conditions to carry on, and already including all the contents, which are also second grade contents...

Mônica: Right... Tell me one thing: as regards special education in the sense in which it is traditionally understood: mental deficiencies and visual deficiencies, etc. You

said that there is a project with a multidisciplinary team which goes to the schools in order to support these children with special needs. And you also said this is still being initiated. Which are the greatest obstacles which prevent you from putting it in practice?

Odete: Well, the first obstacle is the Municipal Chamber, which has not approved the reform. And while it doesn't approve I cannot compose the team or structure the Department. And this has been delayed for too long, we feel really handicapped, we function... That is, how do we function today? With the teams we have composed... The team we have composed here receives help from other teams outside the Municipal administration -people who come and help us occasionally- professionals who we invite for a course, a Seminar, an In-set... Now, we don't have a supporting system for the professional of the Network, who needs it nowadays, here, in the Secretary. Because, for instance, we don't even have how to send a pupil for a certain treatment, for instance, medical treatment, something belonging to the medical sphere. We don't have a Public health today in Brazil which allows us to do it, I mean: a computerised thomography is a fortune. So what? We do identify that the child is entitled to it, but so what? We send the child there, and they send the child back! So even exams we have to pay, I mean... With the money from the Caixa Escolar [see Glossary for explanation], and this generates a whole series of problems, because there is no other way of doing it. So we try to deal with the numbers [meaning finances] of the Secretary in order to try and see if we can pay for these special examinations, right, with the money from the Educational sector, and... to pay the private services. We are trying to set up some agreements as well with private health institutions... in sum, it gets really tough, that is: all the more specialised assistance, since we don't have a structured team here, and depend on outside teams and on the public health of this country, it gets really complicated...

Mônica: And what stops the Municipal Chamber so much that they can't approve certain projects? What's the mechanism behind it, is it political disagreement...?

Odete: It is political... but what really stops it, I think... what really stops it is the difference in views, and by it you can understand... I mean, it's the different form of making policy. I mean, to touch on... because to touch on... I mean, the administrative reform has not implications just to the Secretary of Education, it has implications to all the Secretaries of the Municipality, and there are interests which are distinct and isolated and which try to prevent things from happening. We were even thinking of splitting this part [special education sector] from the Secretary and to try and send it separately to the Chamber to see if it can be approved. Now...)

Mônica: The special education part?

Odete: Yes. The structuring of the Department. Well, this is a great hindrance, and I mean, the public health, in the way it works here, is another great hindrance, because there is no public health... The greatest... Another... another problem: I mean, we have, nowadays, several children who are already studying in the Network and who are deficient [disabled] and we try to provide for them with the team we have here. I mean, because the idea is... it's not that this team would work in a way as to specifically assist the children. But in the sense of training the teacher who will in turn be able to assist the child. Thus, we are trying these courses, right, to attempt to... enhance the in-service training of those professionals who already accept the possibility of having a special child in their classrooms. Because the... this is the question asked to teachers, I mean, in the beginning, when... during the registration, we had to work a lot on the teachers. There were teachers and even head teachers who were in total panic with the possibility of receiving a child who could have a more serious deficiency. That is, the reaction was really big in some places, I mean, there wasn't... In a region where I was, during the registration, there were two children in the queue, the mothers in an absolute state of suffering, you know, one child with visible serious conditions when compared to the other... with the mental and motor parts well impaired... when I saw, the head teacher was crying! Desperately, crying! Because of the idea of her school having to take that child in! I mean: so you have to sit down... and sit down... and sit with the team of educational orientators, and sit with the pedagogic supervisors, sit with the teachers, and ask which of them could think of themselves as prepared to take that child... We have to think of who is going to be the professional who will go there and offer support to this teacher, that is: the support even to... how are they going to take this child from a place to another? Because this child, for instance, doesn't walk. I mean: the child already depends on another supporting professional to the teacher, classroom assistant really, who can go there and work on... assist, really! It's to take the child to the play area, to the toilet, to clean this child, and so on... But... And the other great difficulty is... is this reaction that the teacher has, that the school has, I mean: the fear people have of anything that is not normal, of anything that is different, that is: the schools still have a lot of difficulties in dealing with the difference, I think everybody does, isn't it? In the school this is very clear, that is: the massification which we live, it is as if it needs to be maintained in the regular school, so that anything which is different causes a great deal of anxiety within the school.

Mônica: I wouldn't just say in the school, I think... the society as a whole, the communities, because, for instance, there a lot of families with special children who don't even bring these children to school...

Odete: Yes

Mônica: I was told of a few cases where the families, for reasons of lack of information or of feeling shameful or fearful they think they won't.... they don't know about their rights to put their children in a school and of this school to accept this child, I mean: there is no information and as a consequence there is still a lot of myth about the "special" child.

Odete: Yes, and... we had a case here in the... it was so interesting... I mean, interesting in a figurative way, right... because at the same time... It tells us a lot of what you've just said. We used to have a teacher... who has a special child, and this special child studies in a private school. This teacher was one of the ones who most reacted against the idea of special education being part of the ordinary education! She was in a state of rebellion so strong that in a Seminar we promoted calling the teachers to come and bring their views about it and see who was interested, she would say... she was in panic, she would say: "you are all lying, it is not possible to integrate a... to make the integration of a special child! They don't learn!" But she wouldn't talk about her daughter, that is, and since we knew about her daughter... you see, she had no belief in the potentials of her own daughter! That shows how difficult it is for people to bet on this potential: how to believe that a child with deficiency might be able to learn? As other children do? How can they develop? So, it is very difficult for people to believe in it.

Mônica: Yes, because... many times people mistake -and that's why I started by asking you what is special education for you- people confuse education and assistance, isn't it? And in a way, when you insert this "special" child in a separate, segregated environment, the education will not necessarily be better or worse, but there will almost certainly be a more charitable approach. And not so much one that sees the individual as a citizen, with duties and rights, and a potential to participate in society.

Odete: Yes.

Mônica: An integrated education implies an interaction between the family and the school, something that maybe the Brazilian reality, now, isn't prepared to take on board... I don't know, I can only imagine that -mainly in the Municipal Network, for instance- people just don't have the time, or the patience...

Odete: Yes, it's very difficult. For instance, the issue of time: the mother needs to have a commitment, to take the child to the doctor, to have him examined, to provide the evaluation -because, for instance, there's a lot of visual problems detected. That is, aspects which are not perceived, even due to the pollution, whatever, so there's a great deal of learning problems happening because of lack of accurate hearing in children who are, sometimes, sitting at the back of the classroom. But it's all too difficult to sensitise the parents to take the child to the doctor for something which could probably be a simple diagnosis which could mean another level of learning for that child...

Mônica: That's why I ask, now already talking in terms of administration in general, for instance the Federal and the State ones, I wonder if it wouldn't be interesting for Brazil to have these provisions as a social project generally, nationally adopted and disseminated, and not just restricted to the level of the principles exhibited in the Constitution. I know there lacks dissemination of these things in Brazil; for instance, do you, here, in the Municipal Secretary, do you receive information from the Central government, information which you consider necessary, or relevant, about the projects the government has regarding special education?

Odete: No.

Mônica: Are you aware of what is going on at the other administrative levels, or would you say the work you're doing is to do with your own initiative only?

Odete: No, it's to do with the perspective adopted by this administration, really. Because there's no support, that is: we work, during all this time here, with our own resources, really. The National Fund for Educational Development itself, who is supposed to be sending money to the Municipalities, what we received, in three years of administration, has only reached 120 millions [of cruzados, the currency of that time, approximately £88.000]. That is: a Municipal school today, which is only beginning, is based on 800 millions [approximately £580.000], so that gives you an idea. And only 120 were sent to us in three years. Now I think I've just got a little more money there, let's see if they will send. I mean, the State doesn't send us the help from the taxation, which should be coming to us. The Federal doesn't send. The Municipalities can hardly afford the basic education. Because Vitória has a different characteristic in the sense of resources, that is, things were not normally done because there was no political intention of doing it at all. Now, there are Municipalities which are poor. And how do they stay? Nowadays we have, in our budget, destined to special education, about 8% of the total. And how is this being distributed? It is since the beginning of the school projects, the plans including ramps, different doors... to

the special needs children, and this is onerous to the Municipal projects, isn't it? Now, we invest and distribute these resources throughout our... sectorial policy, and whole [party] policy. But orientation from the central government, there is none. I mean, in the times of Chiarelli [former Minister of Education] there was an announcement about special education in the country, that's when there was a... a resolution or an Order, I can't remember too well, which would determine that 8% of all the Municipalities should be destined to special education. Then, the Minister changes, so does the attitude, I mean, nobody else is talking about special education. That is, the perspective now is to do with the passing of resources, but within another perspective: we are no longer hearing the sound of special education, as we are no longer hearing the sound of adult education. That is, it seems that there has been some change about it there, but nothing is explicit, there is no such a thing as a National Plan of Education, the LDB [see Abbreviations] is there, stuck, at serious risk, because all these issues are put in the text of the LDB... since the financing of education. So, it gets complicated, because to maintain, to have a structure to support an education... an integrated education with children with special needs is expensive. So we... how will the Municipalities get on with it on their own? Since we are not passed any money from no source... So, even though the Constitution says that spending should come out of the 25% to be given to the Municipalities, there is also other things said. For instance, the National Fund for the Development of Education should be giving 64% of its nationally collected resources to the States. This money goes to Brasília [Brazilian capital], and it should come back to the States to be given to the Municipalities. We have no view of this money!

Mônica: It's unbelievable, isn't it? And with the bureaucracy we have here, there's a lot of money 'lost' as well, with all this transit the money goes through...

Odete: Yes, and what does it generate? The fallacious CIACs [see Abbreviations], isn't it? I mean, the capacitation is coming from the top to the bottom, that is: through the Universities. I mean, there is no consideration for what the reality is... in sum, I think we are living a moment yet even more difficult, country-wise. Special education is, therefore, this perspective here. In this integrationist perspective, all we know is that there are other few isolated experiences going on in States like Rio and São Paulo, which we know through people we have contacts with...

Mônica: This is what I was going to ask you now: how is this issue about exchanging experiences? Do you have any interchange? With other States, other Municipalities, how does it work?

Odete: We establish the contacts through the institutions and professionals about whom and whose publications we know. And we bring these people here, that is, the idea is to exchange experiences, really, right? And to ask for help.

Mônica: Has this been useful? Has it been satisfactory? Is it important?

Odete: Yes, it has been very important. Now, we also feel that within the perspective we are trying everything is so new that there is very little real help with regards to the practice. We see that when it comes to actually suggesting what to do in a more pedagogic, methodological way, there is still a lot of contradiction, or people get stuck in their theoretical ideas without succeeding in bringing them into practice. I mean, theoretically speaking there is the whole talk about "breaking the bonds with the traditional". Then, when it comes to the practice we can see people don't know what to do! Because we come from this long tradition of training, that is: I think things are still very confusing here -and when I say "here" I mean Brazil- isn't it? That is, we take Piaget, we take Emília Ferreiro [a Brazilian educationalist], we take this and that author and so on. Theoretically speaking, it is alright. But it is not. Because in the "H" hour it is the behaviourists who take things over and people don't even take notice of it. It is the induction that come, it is those standard exercises that need to be there in your suitcase so that the professionals can feel secure enough to work, because without it the professionals don't know how to work with the different levels and abilities of children. In sum, all that empiricism, mechanicism and behaviourism mixed up and in the name of it people say that they are constructionist -because this is the new fashion in this country and which in my opinion is something very serious, simply because it is a fashion, right? Because people don't really realise the implications of being constructionist. You don't just "turn into" a constructionist. And also, why should one just be constructionist anyway? It seems to me that in order to work with special needs children we need to consider all approaches. And sometimes what we have in terms of Piagetian theories are just not good enough for it! But just because it turned into a fashion one cannot say anything else anymore, and as a result the end product is not constructionism either. So we do see a lot of it here, so that our perspective here is to point to these levels of development of the child, to perceive it and to advance knowledge, the production of knowledge that this child might generate.

Mônica: So, in sum, you see it as a long-term project...?

Odete: Long term. As much as the "normal" child in the Network is a long-term project as well. That is, it is the same thing we put: how does the child learn? There is a big question mark there...

Interview finished because the Secretary was late for another interview with the Local Newspaper.

APPENDIX 5: Transcription of the Interview with Saturnino F. Mauro,
State Secretary of Education (May, 1992)

General Background: The Secretary had agreed with the interview on the phone, but I saw him personally and explained in more details the subject I wanted to talk about he seemed to become a little reluctant over the interview. He tried to postpone it, but I explained I was due to go back to London. He then tried to pass me over to a person of his Special Education Department by saying that he did not understand much about special education, but I explained that in order for the interviews at the levels of the Secretaries to make sense in the thesis, it would have to be him only, since in the Municipal Secretary it was the Secretary herself who conceded the interview. He then agreed to see me briefly, stating that he would have to meet another politician in a little while. The interview took about 40 minutes.

Mônica: I would like to know... Before hand, let me tell you... the questions which you don't feel technically able to answer, just give me your opinion, ok? Because that's also what I am interested in. So... how do you, people in the State, define special education?

Saturnino: Look, the... this type of... definition, right, and all that... I think it would be better if you had an opportunity to come back here and you would talk to the people who work here in the Secretary, professional people, specialised people, in the area of special education, right? So, these technical questions I would not know how to answer, because I am not a professional in education, right? My degree is... I am here for reasons... I am here because I have an administrative post, right, but I am not a specialist in education, right? So, I wouldn't know what to...

Mônica: Right, but as a person, what sort of idea would you have?

Saturnino: Right. So, what have we done here? Last year I came to this Secretary and we elaborated our Education State Plan, right? And in our State Plan of Education we have a series of proposals, right, I can even give to you a copy of the Plan so that you get to know it. So, there's a series of proposals in the area of special education, right? In the State, we are very scarce of resources, schools, etc., for the provision of this special education area, and that's why we did our State Plan for Education, which has a series of objectives, action plans and methods already developed in order to be implemented during these 4 years of government, right? So I can give you this document. Now, the technical question about special education, I don't feel comfortable to talk about because I am not a specialist in education, right? So, I, as a Secretary of State, have a more political, administrative role, right? And... then, in the

technical | specialist | areas I try to be assisted by the specialists who understand about these matters, right? So, I would not know how to further my knowledge in this subject, and say to you that I will talk to you about special education because I am... let's say... a lay person in this subject, because I take more care of the administrative part...

Mônica: Well, let me give you, then, some options, and then perhaps you can give me your position on this... There is a movement for the integration of children with special needs within the ordinary educational system. So, this is something that starts from the Federal level, and nowadays is supposedly implemented at the State and Municipal levels, right? Within this integrationist movement there is, roughly speaking, about three different perspectives. I will tell you about them and then I would like you to tell me which one you think is more viable, or more acceptable, or more ideal... in sum, which of them you identify yourself more with. One says that these children should remain in special schools, outside the mainstream, in specialised institutions which are proper to those types of difficulties presented by the children. The second would say that these children should be included in special classes functioning within the ordinary schools. And the third would say that these children should be included in the ordinary classroom, in the ordinary schools. Which of the three would you think would be more...

Saturnino: Well, in principle I think... In principle... and this is a personal opinion... there's no technical grounds in this... I think that in principle we should try to integrate the child in the ordinary classroom. In the ordinary classroom, to try and integrate them to the others, to that same routine with the others, right? This is what it should be for me, in principle, right? It is obvious, though, that this isn't possible in all cases, and then... I think we have to try and see these two other alternatives which you mentioned. I think... I couldn't choose one of them, I think in principle we should try to leave the child in the ordinary school, right, and to have the opportunities... to have the special classes as an alternative, or as a second option for those justifiable cases. In the ordinary school, in the first place, and then in a special school.

Mônica: Do you believe this is what happens in the State schools nowadays?

Saturnino: Nowadays, this is what we... Look, what happens is a little difficult because we have a gigantic system, we have 3.500 schools, right, in 68 counties, right? I think that nowadays, at least the idea we have... or how we perceive it, right, and this is the idea our specialists spread throughout the system, right, is this one. This is what they try to pass on. Now, I believe the system tries to work within this orientation, ok?

Mônica: How do you think the State relates with certain institutions which are favourable to the maintenance of a special [parallel] system of education. For instance, some APAEs [see Abbreviations for the meaning]?

Saturnino: I didn't understand.

Mônica: These institutions which have a long tradition of providing for special needs feel perhaps a little insecure when people talk about integration. This generates some apprehension to them in the sense of what is going to happen to these institutions when children are integrated.

Saturnino: Ah, right...

Mônica: So, what do you think your view is about it?

Saturnino: My view is the following: nowadays the lack of resources in our State is such that this preoccupation makes no sense, because we need the APAEs, the PESTALLOZIs [see Glossary for explanation], we need to expand our network to provide for special education, because the lack of resources is too big. If we were in another level [of provision], right, then this competition, this preoccupation could take place, but nowadays... there isn't such a thing. In our schools, we try... still a little while ago we started off our Speech-hearing school in Vitória, which is brand new and all equipped, right. And also we, from the Secretary of Education, finance more than 20 APAEs in the State, you know? We finance and are working together with them in order to make the best of their abilities and services. So, we are working in the sense of expanding the provision.

Mônica: And as regards these objectives and targets, which you said you would give me a copy of, do you think they are easy to be implemented?

Saturnino: No! Very difficult! Difficult! So it is that in the Secretary of Education itself we don't have... within our official structure, we are trying to create the special education team. We didn't have not even a special education team, all we had was half a dozen people, right, and in reality there was one or two people who used to work with special education for idealist reasons, right? So, we don't even have a proper structure! It's not easy, it's very difficult!

Mônica: Which are the greatest problems you find?

Saturnino: Nowadays our greatest problem is the lack of structure... from the lack of a specialist team to take care of it up to the lack of infra-structure of the schools, you know, like: equipment, resources to buy equipment, right. In sum, the difficulty is

really a resource type of difficulty and lack of trained professionals, right? And difficulty in changing the official structure of the Secretary of Education: its organisational structure needs to be modified to include the possibility to hire professionals to work in this area.

Mônica: Is it money that lacks, if you forgive my being so direct...?

Saturnino: Yes, there's lack of money in the following sense: nowadays, the Brazilian Constitution tells us to use 25% of the taxes in education. Considering the delay, the accumulation of needs throughout these years, the 25% are not enough for us to provide for all the educational needs, right? So we would need to raise the financial resources to education, right? In our State Educational Plan we are trying to expand these 25% to 30% now (1992) and 35% by 1996, 1997, so we can have at least the perspective of improving a little the education in our State, because the resources are not enough. But this isn't just for special education, it's for all the education. The resources are really scarce, not sufficient.

Mônica: Regarding information, would you consider that the Federal government disseminates well enough what they have at a national level, in terms of objectives and targets for special education? Would you consider the State to be well informed with respect to this?

Saturnino: [Long pause] Look, the Federal government, too... has little, I believe... they have only a few projects, right? Now, with regards to the dissemination of information, I think we... we don't have much to complain about, because through the Ministry of Education and Culture they inform us, they call us to participate in courses and projects, especially now, right? Let me say this: especially now, after the appointment of the current Minister [of Education], Professor Goldenberg, the State gained larger access and a relationship which has better interchanges with the Ministry of Education, right? Because... I would even say, a relationship with more dignity from the part of the Ministry, because the Federal Government has discriminated the State of Espírito Santo in all areas.

Mônica: Why?

Saturnino: For problems to do with political discrimination, right? The past government, mainly, which used to have this pathetic discrimination, right? So, we were discriminated, ok, and in the current government we... this treatment changed after the appointment of Professor Goldenberg, because he gave another dignity to the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Mônica: And do you think that this influences, in a way... does this make it easier for the State to follow the guidelines of the Federal directives, do you think that in some way this...

Saturnino: No. This is only in terms of relationship, right? The relationship has got better because we began to feel that... in the Ministry, we felt that the understandings were kept with respect and dignity, honesty. So, this is to do with an administrative understanding. Now, the question about the technical opinion, technical position, this is something that... there is an ample freedom, there's no imposition. People are free to have their own views, and... at no moment the Ministry of Education imposed any line of thought on us. And also, in principle, nowadays, the directives given by the Ministry match up perfectly with our directives, at the State level.

Mônica: Or is it the State's that match up with the Ministry's?

Saturnino: No, no. I would say that theirs match up with ours because ours were made before theirs. By "theirs" I mean the Goldenberg's directives, do you see? Our positions here were traced before Goldenberg was appointed. Because before, with the previous Minister's that's when it didn't match at all.

Mônica: And what used to happen in terms of political actions regarding education? Was it damaged somehow?

Saturnino: Yes, because we used to be discriminated. The resources from the Federal government, which we had the right to receive, we didn't receive normally, so we suffered because of this, right? Because we had a line of work which used to be disagreed with by the ex-Minister.

Mônica: And do you think this difference exists today, between the State and the Municipality of Vitória as well?

Saturnino: Nowadays, no. Nowadays...

Mônica: Is there an interchange, then?

Saturnino: Look, we... there is... there isn't a... our line and the Municipality's are not in disagreement, right? Although we have a relatively small interchange, right? The interchange we have is more in technical terms, we exchange experts, etc. Because the Municipal Government, which are developing a very good work in education, and... Their work is really very good. They have definitely prioritised education. And the Municipality of Vitória has resources, right? The Municipality of Vitória gets about 22% of the Municipal taxes, so it is a different Municipality. Proportionally, it has a

higher volume of resources to apply in education than the State has, right? While last year we applied around U\$250 [approximately £160] per pupil per year, the Municipal government had to, forcibly, apply around U\$600 [approximately £400] per pupil, per year, right? So, they have sufficient resource to put in practice a good quality education. So they did. They have a serious and well directed work, and had the opportunity, the facility to do it. And they do a serious work, which is within our lines as well, right?

Mônica: So, you think there's no harm at all, nor to their actions, neither to the State's, the fact that you both start from political policies which come from a different party?

Saturnino: No, not at all.

Mônica: What about other States, do you think it's important to keep this exchange with other States, to know what they're doing...?

Saturnino: We have done this through the CONSED, which is the Council of the Secretaries of State for Education, right? So we get together every 6 months, all the Secretaries of Education, and we spend 2 or 3 days discussing themes in education, right? And... these are themes which are previously prepared by all the specialists from the various States and we discuss them seriously. So, we have this interchange and we, in the State, we think it's important... I, at least... our team, we have made a very big interchange, we have visited... our specialists have visited several States, we have brought specialists from elsewhere into this State as well, mainly from the State of Rio Grande do Sul, the State of Paraná, of São Paulo... now... next week I'll be going to the State of Minas Gerais, I want to see their work, the Secretary of Minas Gerais...

Mônica: But you mean to see the administrative work, or the educational work itself?

Saturnino: All the areas, administrative and educational.

Mônica: Have you discussed about special education with them at all? Has it been selected as any theme for these CONSED meetings?

Saturnino: No.

Mônica: Well, suggestion given to the next meeting!

Saturnino: [Laughs] But this is really important, even because these meetings have been... I have participated in other Councils of Secretaries of State, right? Because I have been Secretary for about three times now. So, I always used to go to the Secretaries' meetings. And really, in this government, these meetings have been very

positive, it's something different. Because the themes are proposed, the specialists prepare the work and present them for discussion and we debate about that, every body tells their own opinion and it's a really interesting thing. I have really enjoyed it. And special education, really, I haven't seen yet...

Mônica: If you had to tell me now which is the greatest demand faced by the schools which you can identify, what would it be?

Saturnino: Regarding special education?

Mônica: Regarding education in general -and special education too, if there is one specific to that.

Saturnino: Look, what the schools most demand... because the lack of everything is too big, so... In the first place, to improve the teachers' wages. Without it, we can't improve education, right? In second place, is to improve the working conditions of the schools, right? Their repair, maintenance, equipment, etc. I wouldn't even say this comes in second place, it's altogether, it's all part of a set of demands. Then the people have demanded a lot in terms of professional capacitation [training]...

Mônica: And do you agree that they need this training?

Saturnino: Look, I don't want to offend no teacher, but yes, I do agree. They need to be up-dated and improved in their professional skills. Not because it's their fault, but because the system has deteriorated in time, the wages fell, and the teachers became demotivated even to improve their professional skills, even to... to consider their profession as a prestigious profession. This prestige has been lost. And this led to the lack of interest in improving their skills. What should they improve it for? [in irony]

Mônica: Which would you say is the greatest obstacle you have in order to "fix" this situation, or in order to provide for all these demands.

Saturnino: I see a lot of difficulties. One huge difficulty which I have faced is the general disbelief, for justifiable reasons, especially from the part of the teachers. Everything we propose -as for instance in the State Education Plan, the proposals of the Plan were approved unanimously- but everybody approved while at the same time saying: "I don't believe this will become true". So, there's a general lack of belief and it's very difficult to work in such an environment, believing in something in which nobody else does. So, this is a great difficulty. Another one is the low wage of the teachers. This... there's this disbelief and then there's strikes, all of which disrupt the schools and lowers even more the quality of education, right? The difficulty in physical

terms, which has been junked for about 20 years: there's no buildings, no equipment... lack of up-dating courses, there has never been prioritization of any of these aspects. So, these are difficulties we face, not to mention the lack of resources. The only way to find resources is when we come out of the recession, believing in the economic growth, and then we will improve our budgets and we can invest more on education, pay better salaries... it's all like a snowball. If the snowball goes down in the recession, everything else goes down. If the snowball goes up, then everything goes up. So, this is a fundamental issue: to reverse the economic direction of the State, otherwise there's no way; we've reached the end of the pit. And another difficulty is also the extreme centralisation of educational matters. We have to decentralise everything towards the school.

Mônica: And why is it not done?

Saturnino: Why? Because the system, the laws, were made to centralise. We are just beginning to make a decentralisation job in order to give autonomy to the schools. The schools need to have economic, financial, administrative, pedagogic autonomy, they have to work together with the families and communities, and this is all a challenge, because the laws are not shaped in this way.

Mônica: And you're working in this direction?

Saturnino: We're working towards decentralisation. Then, we have, in this case, to consult the law, to see what the law allows us to do in terms of decentralisation...

Mônica: And then the Secretary would function more in the sense of a co-ordinator?

Saturnino: Exactly. The ideal would be that we worked just in the sense of being a pedagogic orientator, passing the resources on to the schools, also supervising them, because I think this is important. If we are able to pass all the power on to the schools, we will have made a revolution in the system.

Mônica: And do you think you will? Because if your 4 years finish...

Saturnino: No, we will do it. We are already doing it! Now, this isn't a short-term job, it's a job for 4 years indeed. I am intending to use my 4 years here to do this, and then we will revolutionalise this system here by giving autonomy to the schools. Because in fact this is a "brand new" idea, isn't it [joking]? Anísio Teixeira [a Brazilian educationalist], 40 years ago, used to say it already... [Laughs]

Mônica: Do you think the population in general is informed about special education?

Saturnino: No.

Mônica: And the schools?

Saturnino: The schools yes, they are concerned about it.

Mônica: Do the head teachers come and complain to you about it?

Saturnino: No, they don't complain, they come to ask for things, to search... Because you see, in this situation I described to you, low wages for the teachers and enormous difficulties, education only exists because of idealistic reasons, really. This idealism is what keeps up the practice, it's love indeed, it's an act of love. Because what I have seen in the schools I have been to is... the teachers being true heroes. Against all the odds, and they're still there.

Mônica: And do you think special education is included in this act of love?

Saturnino: Yes, and a lot.

Mônica: Do you perceive it through the visits you make or through what they come here and tell you about?

Saturnino: Through the visits and through the talks. The special education itself, then, transcends this act of love, it...

Mônica: But would it be in a real educational sense, or would it be in a more charitable way?

Saturnino: Both ways. Not charitable in a pejorative [paternalistic] way, it's a... I don't know, there's a... commitment. It's not a pejorative assistance, it's a real act of love.

Mônica: But do you see these people concerned with the integration of these children into the ordinary system? Do you see head teachers and schools showing these concerns?

Saturnino: Yes! Within our schools [meaning the State Network's schools], I see, right... a lot of these children within the ordinary classrooms.

Mônica: Really? But that's not what I saw so far...

Saturnino: But which schools have you gone to?

Mônica: So far, to 8 schools of the State Network in Vitória, because we're talking in terms of Vitória...

Saturnino: No! [as if saying: "It can't be possible"] We have special classes in the schools! [using this argument to prove his point]

Mônica: Yes, but I didn't feel this general concern with integrating those children. I didn't see it as being a project of the school, you see, as something taken as priority, basically. This is what I could observe...

Saturnino: Look... was it? Was it, really [expressing surprise]?

Interview was interrupted by his secretary and "had" to be finished because he had to see another politician.

APPENDIX 6: The Current Structure of the Brazilian Education⁵¹

Networks, Systems and Levels

The structure of Brazilian Education comprises **two** general **networks** of education: **Official and Private**. The Official Network is part of the Public Administration of the Nation, and as such has **three** **systems** of education: **Federal, State and Municipal**. Both Official and Private Networks are entitled to offer special education in either segregated or integrated settings. In addition, they can be divided into **two** **levels** of education: **Basic and Higher**.

Besides these levels, and for those who did not finish or follow regular schooling, there is an alternative provision, a **Supplementary** type of education which is run along with and closely linked to the regular education. **Special Education** is considered a part of the general educational provision according to the 1988 Constitution, and is therefore expected to be provided preferably in both official and private ordinary schools. In the cases of the schools of the official network special education provision is free and considered to be a governmental duty (i.e. Federal, State and Municipal).

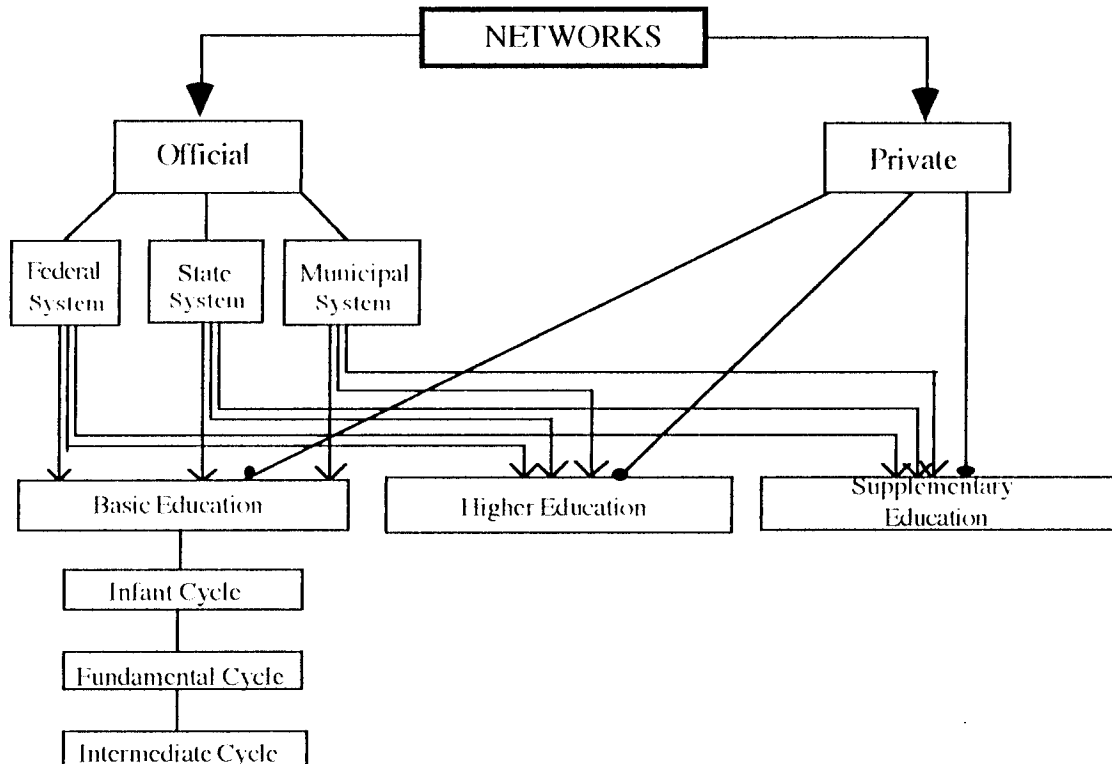
One characteristic which is common to all Networks and Levels is repetition -that is, the students cannot proceed on to the next academic grade if they "fail" to learn the contents they are expected to learn within the year. The Diagram below illustrates in a graphical way what has been said about the current structure of the Brazilian Education.

Official Network

As said earlier, this Network comprises three educational systems: Federal, State and Municipal.

Generally, the **Federal system** is responsible for the regulation and administration of the Higher Education level of both Private and Official Networks and their establishments, as well as of some Technical Federal Schools of the Intermediate education cycle of the Basic Education level of the Official Network. Occasionally, the Federal system might also have Infant and Fundamental schools, as is the case in Vitória, where there is one Fundamental school under the responsibility of the Federal system. In both the cases of the Technical and Infant and Fundamental schools, the schools will follow the Federal directives for education.

⁵¹ Extracted from the Document *The Development of Education from 1988 to 1990 - National Report*, presented by the Minister of Education at the time, Mr. Carlos Alberto Gomes Chiarelli at the 42nd Session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva, September 1990.

Diagram 1: Brazilian Educational Structure

The **State system** is normally responsible for the regulation and administration of the Intermediate education cycle of the Basic Education level -again, of both Private and Official Networks- and its establishments, as well as for the regulation and administration of some schools of the Fundamental education cycle of the Basic Education level, in the Official Network. In this latter case, too, such schools follow the State directives.

The **Municipal system** is mainly responsible for the regulation and administration of the Infant education cycle -and its establishments- of the Basic Education level of the Private and Official Networks, as well as for most of the Fundamental education cycle -and its establishments- of the Basic Education level of the Private and Official Networks.

Basic Education Level

The Basic Education comprises **three cycles: Infant Education, Fundamental Education and Intermediate Education**. As a general rule for the fundamental and intermediate educational cycles (as explained in details below), the regular academic year must cover a minimum of 800 hours per year, with 200 days of effective work, excluding tests and exams. Also as a general rule, the infant education cannot be divided into grades, periods or similar.

Infant Cycle

The Infant Education cycle of the Basic Education level, refers to the educational provision for children from 0 to 6 years of age. It covers the pre-school years and is provided in Crèches (from 0 to 3) and in Kindergartens (from 4 to 6). It mainly aims at supporting the all round development of children and at creating conditions for the acquisition of knowledge, thus complementing provision given by children's families.

Fundamental Cycle

The second cycle of Basic Education is the Fundamental one. It provides for children from 7 to about 14, is compulsory and free of charge (when provided by the Official Network). It aims at a progressive dominance of reading, writing and logical skills, at the understanding of laws of nature and social relationships, and at the development of the ability to think and of creativity.

Intermediate Cycle

The third cycle of Basic Education is the Intermediate cycle. It has the minimum duration of 3 years or 2.400 hours, and according to the 1988 Constitution will progressively become compulsory and free. It aims at deepening and consolidating the knowledge acquired in the Fundamental cycle, at preparing the pupil for extension of their studies, and at developing an autonomous and creative ability to think. Its vocational services are of two modalities: Technical and Normal (the latter also known as a vocational training in teaching), both of them requiring a minimum of 4 years studies (or 3.200 hours of effective school work) plus one academic semester of supervised training.

The technical modality of the Intermediate education cycle of Basic Education prepares the students within the Science and Humanities areas of Curriculum to work at a technical level, while the normal modality concerns the preparing of teachers of the infant and of the four first grades of the Fundamental education.

Curriculum

The core contents (Portuguese, Mathematics, Science and Humanities) of the curriculum of the Fundamental and Intermediate education cycles of the Basic Education level of both Private and Official Networks are determined by the National Council of Education (CNE) and their respective regulating systems (i.e.: Federal, State or Municipal). The extended contents of the curriculum will be complemented, in each Network (private or official) or school establishment, according to their ruling system (Federal, State or Municipal) and their particular regional and local characteristics (e.g.: culture, economy and clientele).

Higher Education Level

Higher Education is **taught at** both isolated schools or **colleges**, and in **universities**. The former offer more specific professional training in one or a few professions. The latter offer a wider curriculum education in terms of areas of knowledge and is organised in two cycles: **Undergraduate and Graduate**. The Graduate cycle, in turn, can be understood as the modalities *lato sensu* (e.g.: specialisation courses, permanent education programmes, updating and some Inset courses) and *stricto sensu* (e.g.: masters and doctorate programmes).

To enter a College or University in the Undergraduate cycle, a student must have completed the entire Basic Education Level and pass an entrance examination to the Undergraduate cycle of a chosen University or College. To enter the Graduate cycle s/he must have completed an Undergraduate course and pass the selection procedures of the chosen Higher education institution. The completion of any of the cycles requires that the student follows the whole basic curriculum of the chosen course and their respective evaluation criteria. In addition, the completion of a *stricto sensu* graduation course is subjected to the submission of essays and a master's -or doctorate's, depending on the case- theses.

Similar to the Basic Education Level, the contents of the curriculum of a Higher education course include a minimum core and a diversified content. The minimum core is established by the National Council of Education (CNE) and the other contents are proposed by the Colleges themselves -or the Departments, if it's within University.

Teacher Training

In order to become a teacher of the infant and fundamental cycles, professionals are expected to have a higher degree in education. However, given the shortage of qualified professionals in exceptional circumstances, a certificate of conclusion of the secondary educational level within a specific vocational training in education can be accepted. Nonetheless, training experience is required of at least one year teaching the grade for which the professional is applying to teach.

To teach in the intermediate cycle, teachers are expected to hold a higher degree together with complementary teacher training in the higher educational level. Apparently, and unlike the exceptions made by the previous legislation (Law No. 5692 of Directives and Basis of Education of 1971), there is no space for exceptions to be made as regards possible shortage of professionals to teach this cycle of education.

The teachers of the higher cycle are expected to hold higher education degrees, preferably at Masters, PhD or post-PhD levels. There is no special courses for special educators. Special teachers receive the same degree as any teacher and are expected to complete a specialisation course in the special education area of their interest, at their own expense. Such courses are not normally of easy access since there are only a few institutions in the whole country who offer them: about 4 or 5 Universities (for further details, see Esteves, 1989).

Like most professionals of the Official Network, teachers too are required to pass a public contest to enter the Network as a professional. Such contests consist of selecting the professionals based on the total points they make after going through an assortment of tests and assignments.

APPENDIX 7: Explanation of "Bloco Único"

The *Bloco Único* consists of the introduction of a comprehensive schooling system based on Piaget's *constructivism*. In these lights, the child is seen as an active participant in the building up of its own knowledge. Education becomes a child-centred and dynamic process whereby the child *constructs* (so the term *constructivism*) the knowledge through continuous experiencing and discovery. The role of the teachers becomes more associated to that of facilitators in this process. In the words of Sutherland (1992),

Constructivism starts from where the child is at present in terms of concepts and learning strategies. The child constructs his own unique set of concepts in order to cope with and explain the world he lives in. This...will occur if he is given relevant practical material to learn from. The teacher needs to know the conceptual level of each child in all her classes. (p.84)

In the Municipality of Vitória, this approach was adopted officially and broadened in the sense that the needs of the child as well as their particular background and the background of the community where s/he lives be carefully taken into account in the elaboration of educational programmes. Educational contents should no longer be "imposed" and standardized by a ready system, but the system should be flexible to adapt itself to the needs of its clientele.

At the time the data were collected, this *constructivist* approach was being implemented for the first two primary years of school (ex-first and second grades) and was given the name of *Bloco Único*. It literally means a single block, that is, for the first two years of schooling the child simply goes on through the years, as if belonging to one single block or grade, without having to repeat the year in case of "failure". This is based on the assumption that possible non-achievements would be normal throughout the development of the child, seen as an individual process, unique to each person, although happening in a group situation.

APPENDIX 8: Passages Exemplifying the Categories of the Themes Presented in

Chapter 9

Theme 1: Concepts of Special Education

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 1

A) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of "Giving a Special Treatment" to the Child. A passage that clearly illustrates this category is taken from a Municipal school head teacher, as follows: *To me [trying to define special education] it's the special teaching, for the child who doesn't learn with the same easiness as a pupil, a normal child. So, she [the teacher] sometimes has to go slowly, has to use a special method for them [disabled children] so that they can learn.*

B) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of Socio-economic Background. The following passage, from a State school head teacher talking about possible causes for special educational needs, illustrates this category: *I think it's to do with... income distribution, you know? What happens? You... a father who earns a minimum wage [approximately £30 a month], isn't it? Who... lives in the shanty towns... there's no way. Who, poor man, works like a horse, isn't it? From sun to sun, right? So, I mean: if this family has no conditions, an "x" salary in order for "x" number of people to survive with dignity, you know, at least being able to buy their rice-and-beans [the very basic of Brazilian nutritional food], to have a bed and a toilet, what can we expect from them? Isn't it? These are the children who are out there... The question is... is a social question, really, isn't it?*

C) Special Education Conceived in Relation to Professional Issues. Next follows an example of this category, from a State school head teacher: *I think the professionals should be more open in order to facilitate these children's access to the school, you know? We do have cases here, but I know the school has a lot of cases which don't even get here... So, the professionals should facilitate that this job (special education) is done. Because you offer a certain technique for the professional to work with this child... Then, you offer material for the teacher to work with... because those would be the sort of things which would motivate the child. But everything that motivates the child means harder work, then the professional turns his back to it...*

D) Special Education Conceptualised in Terms of the Ineffectiveness of the Educational System. Here is an example for this category, taken from a Municipal school head teacher: *I think we still have a lot to learn in order to be acting in this area [special education], you know? ...It is very common to find, at all times, mainly*

within the peripheric area where my school is located, students who really need a special education. But most times we don't feel qualified to act, you see?...

E) Special Education Conceptualised as Something to be Offered in the Ordinary Schools. An example of this category is in the following passage, taken from a Municipal school head teacher: *Look, we're having the following approach to special education in the school, you know... It's even a question of process, because... I think it's to do with an even greater reformulation of the conceptualisation and the like, in which we are engaged now, you know? Because up to now we used to understand that special education was something isolated from the school context. Now we're beginning to understand that... special education must happen within the context of the normal, formal education, right? And that's how it's being managed.*

Theme 2: Concepts of Integration

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 2

A) Integration Defined in Terms of Placing Children in the Ordinary Classroom. Examples of responses in favour of integration in the ordinary classroom are (taken from a State school's subject): *I don't agree [talking about placing children in a special class]. To me this is not the way it should be... Because you put these 20 pupils [in a special classroom] like they did with those 12 [pupils in her school]. Nobody could progress out of that limit they had! Nothing would interest them! Now, if they were in a classroom with the other children, I think they would end up learning something in this class, by seeing the others, everyday, and reading, and reading, and reading...*

An example of comments against integration in the ordinary classrooms is (taken from a Municipal school's head teacher): *...Within the classroom, together with the others who learn easily, I think it's impossible...*

In the same way, an example of an undecided comment, taken from a head teacher of a Municipal school, was [referring to placing the children she described as disabled in the ordinary classroom]: *I think so... Better than... I don't know... Better... I never had the opportunity to... not even to follow a work in a school which is proper to exceptional children. I've never had this opportunity.*

B) Integration in Terms of Placing Children in a Special Classroom. An example of a comment which expressed agreement with special classes (taken from a Municipal school's head teacher) is: *I believe that within the school [the best would be] to have a class like an environment class with a specialised person to work there...*

As regards comments against special classes, an example, also taken from a Municipal school's head teacher, is as follows: *I think... such a special class should not even exist. There should be a school only for this type of pupils, isn't it? So, I think there should be another school which takes care only of these children...*

C) Integration as Linked to Teachers' Acceptance of Disabled Children in the Ordinary Classroom. An example of the contents of such comments is (taken from the report of a head teacher from the Municipal schools): *So, we have no one kind of prejudice in this sense; any child who comes here to register, with any of these problems, is accepted without any problem and the... Of course, when they get in the classroom the teacher comes to complain and I only say: "No, but s/he [the child] has all the right to. This is a school like any other, it's good that these [special needs] children be together with other normal ones, and not that they be separated in schools... which are different. It's good that they coexist with others, it's surely good for them, it helps their all round development..."*

D) Integration as Depending on Ratio Between Disabled Pupils and Teacher in the Classroom. For example (from a Municipal school's head teacher): *...So, to me, I think it must be like this girl we have there; they must participate! Within the classroom! ...Now, there must be a help, do you understand? Because the teacher... there are too many pupils, right? And she [teacher] will not be able to keep on giving a special attention, you know, in that subject in which s/he [the child] will need most...*

E) Integration as Depending on the Availability of Extra Teaching Hours. An example of this category, taken from a Municipal school's head teacher, is as follows: [Talking about the type of integration which there is in the head teacher's schools] *It's an integration which occurs simultaneously. There is the school work and there is this support from the speech therapist, psychologist, depending on the clinic where the child is receiving this support, you know?...*

F) Integration as Depending on Teacher Training and Professional Qualification. An example, taken from a Municipal school's interviewee, goes as follows: *You see, I don't quite know, you know, to tell you the truth, if this business of separating the child in a special class... if it psychologically affects, suddenly, even the parents, or traumatise, I don't know how, you know... Maybe, ... together with the other children it works even better. But the teacher, the Pedagogic and Specialist Body of the school need be trained to do this job without falling in despair when it's time, you know? Because the person [teacher] takes the child, goes on delivering that content, and cannot keep repeating [the content] just because of that... only that [child]... do you understand what I say?*

G) Integration as Depending on the Type and Degree of Impairment Presented by Disabled Children. Here is an example, taken from the head teacher of a State school, which expresses this type of view: *...So, we... if the child doesn't have any brain damage, if she is... has only that difficulty of a slower thinking, something like that, our school is adopting a special class which works as a reinforcement⁵² in a different shift. The pupils stays normally in the morning in his classroom, and in the afternoon he comes to this special class to have a reinforcement ...*

H) Ability to Express Opinions About Integration in the Ordinary or Special Classroom Depending on Acquirement of More Knowledge on the Matter. An example is expressed in the following passages, provided by the same Municipal school's respondent during the interview, showing her indecision about where to place children and which children should be placed separate, and what degree of separation should be considered:

Passage 1: *I think, for instance... suddenly, we... to keep on separating these [special needs] children from the children so-called normal... I think that we might be contributing to establish an even greater difference, an even greater label. I think the ideal would be that they could share the same space, but...*

Passage 2: [Considering special placements for disabled children] *No. Only for those children... because there are some who are so diff... so... special, so... different -I don't know if this is the right word- that sometimes the teacher is not prepared, she has no conditions. Now, depending on the deficiency, I think they could stay in one classroom together with the other children. I even think it would do him good...*

Passage 3: *...Because there are children who have such a great deficiency that I think the school cannot afford [to have them] really. I think they would suddenly need... another space, really ...*

Passage 4: *Now, there are others [disabled children] who I think should not be separated from the others, because if so it gets even worse, I think... I think there are cases which are possible to be provided for by the school. There are others which can't.*

⁵²See "Reinforcement Classes" in the Glossary for a definition

Theme 3: Special Education Practice

Passages of the Categories Derived from Sub-theme 3.4: Commitment to Special Education

A) Commitment Expressed by Teachers. Next is an example of this category: *...our aim is to work with the individual as a whole, that is, to provide a whole assistance to him ...*

B) Commitment Expressed by the Administration of the Education System. Here is an example: *I don't feel it in the school. I feel it in the Municipal System. They've already been there [in the school] this year, they've tried to send to and request from us that form I told you about [enquiring into disabled children] so that we could ask the parents about any problem they might have, in the act of registration ...*

C) Commitment Expressed by School as a Whole. For example: *We try everything possible [to integrate the disabled children]. Now, something very important, very good, that has happened... is the demystification of the child seen as special, because some time ago the school would... a question of labelling: "this one here..." Nowadays the teacher has no longer this discourse. So you can feel they are sensitive to this issue. We've been structuring it since 1986. You know, we've been seeking for, studying... Now it's become more visible, more notable, all this foundation of ours, from 1989, 1990 ...*

Theme 4: Knowledge of Policies and Guidelines

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 4

A) Knowledge of Schools' Own System's Policies and/or Guidelines. Example 1 (from a Municipal school, expressing certainty): *...In the case of the Municipality, there's now being implemented a Department, [of Special Education] so this year we have sent some pupils whom we thought ...*

Example 2 (from a Municipal school, expressing uncertainty): *...Because in the Municipality there is, isn't there? A Department, I guess, of Special Education. I think it's still a bit small, and not enough to reach the range of demands the society has ...*

B) Knowledge of Policies and/or Guidelines of Other Systems. Example 1 (from a State school, expressing certainty): *In terms of the Municipality, I think that nowadays*

they're doing a beautiful job, aren't they? I am even working within this project myself, you know? This constructivism... For the past 3 or 4 years, I was already working with a group... according to the context of the pupil, like I said to you, experiencing the reality of the pupil ...

Example 2 (from a Municipal school, expressing uncertainty): *I have the impression that the State already has this preoccupation, it already has some work established here in Vitória, isn't it? ...The Municipality is the one which still wants to start it, isn't it?*

C) Knowledge of School Philosophy. Example 1 (from a State school, expressing certainty): (making the point that the school has no policy) *...I myself have no knowledge at all, really. I don't even know what the school says about it, nobody has told me anything here. What there might have been, stayed with the teacher [referring to the teacher who deals with disabled pupils, who is not necessarily a special teacher], that is: I didn't see anything.*

Example 2 (from a Municipal school, expressing uncertainty): (talking about what is stated in the school's constitution) *The duties of each one, but the special education part I don't know if this... because it's about to be changed, and I don't know if there's the concern of including anything related to special education...*

Theme 5: Justifications for knowing about Policies and Guidelines

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 5

A) To Guide Professional Action. An example of this type of talk, taken from a Municipal school's head teacher, goes like: *...I'm sure [of the importance of knowing about policies], because if you know of a document, of legal procedures in which you can base your actions, you feel safer to demand things....*

B) To Improve Professional Knowledge. Here is an example (from a State school's head teacher): *Because in the moment the... the... the professional [teachers], s/he... went through their graduation... the contents would be taught in a way... in a transparent way, isn't it... They [professionals] would acquire a... a knowledge. And in reality this hasn't been offered to them.*

C) To Promote People's Change in Attitudes Towards Disabled Pupils. An example is as follows (taken from a head teacher of a Municipal school): *...I think this [knowing about policies] points to an issue which I consider to be crucial: a greater*

sensitization in order to break down a little of the prejudice, isn't it? For the people to be in conditions to begin to face it [disabled children], isn't it?

D) To Inform Families of their Rights about their Disabled Children. An example (from the head teacher of a Municipal school) goes as follows: *...I think this is part of the search for competency. If we need to be more competent to be dealing with these children who have any kind of special need, I think that one way of doing it -one way- is to know about the legislation regarding it. It's one way, it's not the only one. I won't say it's enough to know the laws in order to know everything and go out there helping the children; it's not that. But I think it's one of the ways in which you can... help the children. Even for you to be able to explain to others about the rights of these children, isn't it? That they have rights which are considered by the law ...*

E) For more Effective and Future Political Actions to be Taken. For example (taken from the head teacher of a State school): *...In the future, it will make a difference. Who knows, some day they [politicians] might really promote a change in the laws which will better assist the children?...*

Theme 6: Opinions about Policies and Guidelines

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 6

A) Municipal Authorities Still Leaving Too Much for Parents to Handle on their Own. An example of this category (from the head teacher of a Municipal school) goes as follows: *...What they [Municipal System] have been doing is: the child comes [to the school], we refer the children whom we judge as "special" [to the Municipal Secretary], then this child... the mother has to take to the doctor, and the doctor needs to issue a diagnostic... this is making it difficult, you see?...*

B) Municipal System is Becoming Serious. For example (from the head teacher of a State school): *I know [about the Municipal System] from people who work there, because our teachers here also work in the Municipal System. It's another reality. They have all the material, a whole assistance ...*

C) Municipal Policies and Guidelines are Being Ineffectively Disseminated. Here is an example of this category, taken from the report of a Municipal school's head teacher: *...The law [regarding the "Bloco Único"] was done, everything in its place, right? Only it's been wrongly disseminated, that's what I said, you know? ...The people [from the Municipal Secretary of Education] are going to the schools and are not knowing what they're talking about! ...*

D) Political or Group Interests Interfering in Educational Policy. An example of this, taken from the head teacher's report of a Municipal school, is: *The great truth is that if we keep on... working on educational policy but thinking of political party policy as the ultimate goal, that is: "I am the Minister of the PFL [Liberal Front Party], I am the State Secretary of the PDT [Labour-Democratic Party], and I am the Municipal Secretary of the PT [Workers Party]", it will be complicated, because the ideologies are different. The way of thinking is different...*

E) Policies are Impracticable due to Lack of Support. An example, taken from a Municipal school, is as follows: *...for instance, in the Constitution, the legislation says that... the child has the right to education, has the right to the educational material... and it doesn't happen....*

F) The State Education System is Trying, but There's Too Much to Do. In the passage, the subject said: *I think... ..Sometimes I even think that the [State] government even tries to do something in terms of everything, doesn't it? But it's too many things to be done. So, sometimes it [State government] gets lost, doesn't it?...*

Theme 7: Opinions, and Respective Justifications and Explanations about Support Given to the Implementation of Policies and Guidelines

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 7

A) Support Expressing Educational Authorities' Interests in Knowing About and Providing for Disabilities. An example of this category was taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *You know, I... I have even felt a greater awareness, at the institutional level of the Municipality, which even created a Special Education Department and is bringing it into the schools...*

B) Support Still Lacking Regarding Information to and Effectiveness and Continuation of Actions in the Schools. Following is an example of this category, taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *The Municipality has sought to assist [the school] the maximum it can, regarding materials and pedagogic assistance in the schools. Things still lack. The problem is that our schools, or at least most of them, were not built to be schools, right? They were made out of no educational project, really. So, what we have is an adaptation of a building, of a school. Sometimes we have buildings which were not built to make education, but to make politics...*

C) Lack of Support Expressing Educational Authorities' Lack of Interest in Knowing About and Providing for Disabilities. An example of this category is extracted from the report of a head teacher from a State school, talking about their knowledge of

special education: *Look, I... to tell you the truth, I don't really know... anything. Anything. We hardly know about... Look, there might have laws and the like, I might even know about them, but I go more for the practice, I do prefer the practice. ...I do want to be informed of things, I do, you know? But I don't want to it to be just a word of mouth. I want to be able to advance... This [obtaining more information] depends on the school... on the school and on what comes from there [State Secretary of Education] to here [school]. It's like I said, you know, the... professional training, right, I... I insist on it because I feel quite unprepared. It mean up-dating, really, you know? You see, for the State to pass... I think there must have about 6 or 7 years since they... they [State Secretary of Education] last called out the teachers to say: "Look, this has changed, this is going to be like this..."*

D) Lack of Financial Support. The following is an example, when the subject was talking about coherence between theory and practice: *Look, socially speaking, this is... it's utopic, you know? ...When the truth comes you can see: how much [money] is passed... which... which percentage is passed to education? So, there's never going to be [coherence]. They prioritise everything but education, isn't it? Education serves only ballots purposes...*

E) More Effective Support Being Prevented by Excessive Control of School Practice by SEME [Municipal Secretary of Education]. Here is one example, from the Municipal school's head teacher talking about the way the Municipal Secretary of Education provides assistance to that school: *...Sometimes the... people from... SEME [Municipal Secretary of Education], they go... they come here [in the school] a lot, they give a great assistance. I even think it's too much, because they sort of take away a bit of the... the autonomy of the school professionals. Because the school has its Supervisor, its Educational adviser, but they [people from the Secretary] come here every week to personally run the meetings! I think this is awful. I think this is radical, because I think the school... the school itself should solve its problems...*

Theme 8: Suggestions for Problems

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 8

A) More Dissemination of Information About Special Education. An example of this category, taken from the head teacher of a Municipal school, states: *I think it has to be disseminated and... because everybody working there [in the schools] is an educationalist, and as such you must have all the knowledge -although the professional within that area [referring to special education specialists] is another force in the school, so I think. But everybody should have a certain knowledge*

because if in the day-to-day they come across any problem they should know what to do.

B) More Specialist Support Available to Teachers. Next is an example of this category, taken from a Municipal school: *We could have a human resource well qualified in this area [special education], in the school. Such a dependency of communicating, waiting for the feedback, right, such a dependency takes too long a time. Or sometimes the human resources available are engaged in a more serious problem, or in another activity, so, we should have this person, or assisting by regions, or even in the school, helping the education System and when the problem came about [with the teachers] the person would already be there, isn't it?...*

C) Professional Training. An example referring to teacher training and extracted from a Municipal school's head teachers' report says: *The teacher training, because s/he [the teacher] would need be prepared and trained for that... There isn't any specific course... but there should at least be some orientation on how to work...*

D) Decentralize Support Services from Local Administration to School Level. Next is an example, also taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *The school is still too dependent on the central system, that's the truth. Even though we want to speak of autonomy, you don't concretely have it, right? ...Because I believe that in a more developed system, once the school plans its annual objectives... with commitment, with responsible people, communities involved... the resources, both financial and pedagogic and everything else should be managed in a way that they come to the school level in the quickest way possible. Because this thing about: going through a central institution, that central institution has "n" secretaries: transport, public sanitation, education, health, and then the cake begins to be divided. ...By the time it gets down here, there are so many units [schools], by the time it gets here we get out with a little like this [indicating just a little pinch with the fingers], we can hardly do anything.*

E) Political Campaign and Commitment. The following example is, once more, taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *I think a first urgent measure would be something like... advertising, for sensitization of the people, so that they would be more interested in the difficulties of these children, isn't it, because I think this is something... I don't know if it's because of the... distance... or even because of the difficulty in putting up with it; it's something the people don't share in families...who don't have the problem or don't know about it, isn't it, they have no interest. So I think a first good job to be promoted by the public power or through its associations would be to make people sensitive... All the three levels [of the public power], they could be*

assuming a job like this, for sensitization of the schools in order to make them think what... they can do for the children with special needs.

F) Smaller Teacher/Pupil Ratio. An example, taken from a Municipal school goes as follows: *...Because the teacher... there are too many pupils, right? And s/he [the teacher] will not be able to carry on giving a special attention, you know, in that subject in which s/he [the child] will need most...*

G) Partnership with Family. Here is an example, also taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *These people [professionals] could be in the school, acting together with the family, you know? And... seeking for knowledge, or... I don't know, trying, through the family... or through conferences with the parents and then, I don't know...*

H) More Special Class Due to Shortage of Staff. Here is the statement about it: *We send them [disabled children] to another school, to a special school. ...Because we don't have enough staff members to take care, look: it's one coordinator to take care of 400, 500 pupils. Have you thought of what it is? It's too much, so it's really difficult! I think that if there's a special class, fair enough....*

I) Teachers' Salary Raise. Here is an example, taken from a State school's head teacher, when comparing the State and the Municipal systems: *...A teacher in the Municipality of Vitória, when s/he begins, s/he begins with Cr\$ 600.000,00, and the State teacher, when s/he begins, s/he begins with Cr\$ 150.000,00 [approximately £440 and £110, respectively]. So the difficulty in getting these professionals together, because this generates a real difference. Of course! I'm doing the same job and earning a quarter of what the other is earning, for doing the same job! So, there is no way...*

J) More Investment in Special Education. The following is an example: *There is always that idea... about the 180 academic days: "No, let's make it 200 days", as if adding up more days would improve the educational aspect. Ok, give 180 days and the other 20 for training the teachers! And let's take the part of the budget of 35% and let's spend it with the teachers! Let's take them to a place where they can be guests, sleep well, and during the day they can study together with their colleagues and improve themselves...*

Theme 9: Extra Topics

Passages of the Categories Derived from Theme 9

A) Parental Reluctance to Accept the Disability of their Children. Here is an example, taken from a State school's head teacher, while talking about the provision available in the State System: *...In the APAE [Association of Parents and Friends of the Exceptional] I believe there are psychologists and the like, because our pupils are sent there, but the parents don't accept it. If you go to a parent and say that their child has a problem... This year we had a case. A pupil who... a pupil who has a real problem, we know it's a real problem, and not just behavioural. So, he came to the school with the problem, and you can see he's really deficient. Then the father said: "No, I want to register him in the first grade"... So he was registered. And we, we stayed... the teacher, right, the educational adviser... they began to notice and notice and notice, they called the father and he said he had no time to give assistance to the child -to his own son. And if the educational adviser wanted, he could give her money to take the boy to the psychologist, but he [father] wouldn't be available to do it...*

B) Teachers', Specialists' and Other Pupils' Discriminating Attitudes. An example can be taken from a Municipal school's head teacher: *...Education changes. It changes, it has to change. But it has to change very slowly. ...Especially when you have within the school a whole range of teachers who think differently... It's a real fight, isn't it?... The world is changing, you know, and there are people who haven't become aware of it. And you can see the school... we still have: a huge level of drop outs, a huge level of repetition, and what a horrible education is this? I mean, the people who... who are responsible for this, they're not thinking of it. They're simply... criticizing for the pure sake of criticising. When we try to make a criticism in a constructive sense, people are not prepared to it. A big part of them are still not prepared.*

C) Lobbying, Divergent Political Interests, "Jeitinho"⁵³. An example can be taken from a Municipal school's head teacher, reporting on the attempts of the Municipal Secretary of Education to make sure to provide a fair registration process at the beginning of the year, since the demand for vacancies is always larger than the number of places on offer: *It was the Municipal Secretary of Education [who set the criteria for registration], because... It could have been done by the school itself since long ago, if there were serious people working there... But there's always those ones who like to use that Brazilian "jeitinho". So, it was a criterion taken out of a meeting with all Municipal schools' head teachers and the Municipal Secretary for Education. So, the Municipal Secretary tried to make sure we would send the flow of students to*

⁵³See Glossary for definition

them. We did so, and according to the sufficient number of vacancies. We sent to the Municipal Secretary, to be disseminated through the newspapers, so that the parents knew they would go to the school already knowing the number of vacancies...

D) Differences Between the Municipal and the State Education Systems. An example is taken from a State school's head teacher talking about "Municipalisation"⁵⁴ of State schools: (...) *Here in Vitória there was some talk about Municipalisation, some time ago. But I think if they Municipalise... [denoting lack of credulity in the process] isn't it? Because the person... everybody, when they think of Municipalisation, they quickly think of this [rubbing her pointer and thumb fingers against each other, meaning money]. They [State schools' staff] won't accept it, because the supervision is stronger, isn't it? The supervision [monitoring of professionals' work] is much stronger, you know, in the Municipal Secretary of Education ...And it might happen that in the same school there might have teachers from the State and the Municipal Systems. So: " 'What's his name' is doing the same thing as I am and is earning three times more than me"... This is one of the factors why I think this [Municipalisation] still hasn't happened here [in Vitória], right? ...I used to have three servants from a deal made with the Municipality. They earn - and I'm not saying that they earn too much, because I think everybody is entitled to earn well- but they earn more than a teacher graded P4 [with higher degree education and specialisation] in the State, with 20 years of service! To come here in the morning, clean the floor, dust the furniture and sweep the patio!*

E) Inconsistency of Projects and Actions. An example can be taken from a State school's head teacher, talking about the consequences of the elections for head teachers which she had faced -and won- in the previous year: *...I don't feel quite well accepted by all of them [staff] in the morning shift, because they wanted the other candidate , who also works in the morning shift, to win. So, they don't quite appreciate... you know? So, I feel sorry for it. The co-ordinator, when I assumed the headship, she was already here, she's a wonderful person and I kept her here. She does a good job. But then there are the teachers who don't like her. So, it's another work which I have... It's quite difficult. It becomes really difficult. For instance, this year we tried... We have four 3rd grade groups in the morning. So, we have an integrated work with these four groups: each teacher would be responsible for one discipline, one topic of the curriculum, and it would be alright. All of them accepted ...But then a certain teacher -who was the candidate who lost the election for me- she was the chair of the subject, but she was off on licence and she wasn't planning to come back. When she was told of what we were doing here, she said: "Now, I'll come*

⁵⁴ See Glossary for an explanation

back. I can't admit it, I won't accept". But she didn't come back. And a real confusion was generated among the teachers. The teacher who was replacing her -an excellent teacher- said: "I no longer want it" [the job]...

F) Too Many Expectations About the School and Consequential Extra Concerns for Head Teachers to Deal with. An example is taken from a State school's head teacher, as follows: *We have, nowadays, in this country -because this is a problem which happens in the whole country- the school as being the solution for everything. First: we're having problems with the environment. So, let's offer environmental classes. "Oh, we're facing the degradation of youth", so let's have sexual education in the schools. "Well, we're having Tango problems", so let's offer Tango classes... Is this what we need to do in the schools? Are the teachers different [in the sense of knowing more] from the other citizens? Because all of us have to understand about environment, nature and all that [meaning that this should not be a task confined to the school to solve]. So: are we going to solve the environmental problems in this way? Like they did when they [Federal government] instituted the two compulsory disciplines in the Curriculum: Civic and moral Education and religion, in 1961, [it was actually 1971] with the Law of Directives and Bases of the National Education. And we question if from 1961 to 1992 -no, sorry, from 1971- if the citizenship has become better in the country, if the children have become more patriotic...*

