THE STIGMA IN TEACHERS' SPEECH ABOUT REPORTS AND THE RELATIONSHIP WITH SCHOOL COMPLAINTS: ANALYSIS FROM A NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT

O ESTIGMA PRESENTE NOS DISCURSOS DE PROFESSORES SOBRE LAUDOS E A RELAÇÃO COM AS QUEIXAS ESCOLARES: ANÁLISE A PARTIR DE UM CONTEXTO NEOLIBERAL

EL ESTIGMA PRESENTE EN LOS DISCURSOS DOCENTES SOBRE INFORMES Y LA RELACIÓN CON LAS QUEJAS ESCOLARES: ANÁLISIS DESDE UN CONTEXTO NEOLIBERAL

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ABSTRACT: This work deals with conceptions about children with reports and learning difficulties. The objective was to analyze the speeches about the reports as a solution to complaints of learning difficulties. Interviews were carried out with teachers and support professionals from the public school system in a city in the interior of Goiás. The interviews were transcribed and, subsequently, a content (thematic) analysis was performed. From the selection of central themes in the interviewees' discourse, six categories were created and the category "Conceptions about reports and children with learning difficulties" will be presented here. In the speeches, a strong influence of the medical and biological conception of learning problems was observed, in addition to stereotypes and prejudices in relation to children with mental disorders and/or learning difficulties. A critical look on the part of professionals who are involved in education are necessary, so that they can overcome decontextualized conceptions of the subject from the social, economic, political and educational scenario to achieve inclusive education.

KEYWORDS: Mental disorders. Learning difficulty. Inclusive education. Stigma. Neoliberalism.

RESUMO: Esse trabalho buscou compreender concepções sobre as crianças com laudos. O objetivo foi analisar os discursos sobre os laudos como solução para queixas de dificuldades de aprendizagem. Foram entrevistados professores e profissionais de apoio da rede pública de ensino em uma cidade no interior de Goiás. As entrevistas foram transcritas e, na sequência, foi feita uma análise de conteúdo (temática). A partir das temáticas centrais nos discursos dos entrevistados, foram criadas seis categorias e aqui será apresentada a categoria "Concepções sobre laudos e crianças com dificuldades de aprendizagem". Observou-se, nos discursos, forte influência da concepção médica e biológica dos problemas de aprendizagem, além de

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estereótipos e preconceitos em relação às crianças com transtornos mentais e/ou dificuldades de aprendizagem. É necessário um olhar crítico dos profissionais que se inserem na educação para superar concepções de sujeito descontextualizadas do cenário social, econômico, político e educacional para, então, alcançar uma educação inclusiva.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Transtornos mentais. Dificuldade de aprendizagem. Educação inclusiva. Estigma. Neoliberalismo.

RESUMEN: Este trabajo buscó comprender las concepciones acerca de los niños con informes y dificultades de aprendizaje. El objetivo fue analizar los discursos sobre los informes como solución a las quejas de dificultades de aprendizaje. Fueron entrevistados docentes y profesionales de apoyo del sistema escolar público de un municipio del interior de Goiás. Las entrevistas fueron transcritas y, posteriormente, se realizó un análisis de contenido (temático). A partir de los temas centrales en el discurso de los entrevistados, se crearon seis categorías y aquí se presentará la categoría "Concepciones sobre relatos y niños con dificultades de aprendizaje". En los discursos se observó una fuerte influencia de la concepción médica y biológica de los problemas de aprendizaje, además de estereotipos y prejuicios en relación con los niños con trastornos mentales y/o dificultades de aprendizaje. Es necesaria una mirada crítica de los profesionales que están involucrados en la educación, para superar concepciones descontextualizadas del sujeto desde el escenario social, económico, político y educativo, para obtener una educación inclusiva.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Trastornos mentales. Dificultad de aprendizaje. Educación inclusiva. Estigma. Neoliberalismo.

Introduction

Inclusive Education (IE) policies have marked, since the 1990s, an advance in the education of children and adolescents with disabilities. The Salamanca Declaration (BRASIL, 1994) is a milestone for the introduction of these policies, arguing that all children should have access to regular education, and it is up to the school to adopt a pedagogy that meets the needs of each child. It also affirms inclusion as an effective instrument in the fight against discrimination and capable of promoting an Education for All (BRASIL, 1994). Inclusive Education is not restricted to the insertion of students with disabilities, but presupposes a concept of democratic and quality education that is not based on principles of differentiation and exclusion (MARINHO; OMOTE, 2017).

Despite the increase in enrollment in regular education classes between 1998 and 2013, in the Brazilian context (BRASIL, 2014), there is a continuity of a process of exclusion of children who do not have the learning characteristics expected by the school. These

expectations have been based on criteria of productivity and development of competencies as provided for in the pedagogy of competencies.

It should be noted that legal provisions ensure the implementation of inclusive policies in institutions, however they do not guarantee the real functioning of an inclusive school. Oliveira e Araújo (2017), in research on the production of the disabled subject, realized that, although the discourse of inclusion was adopted by teachers, practices, in general, are based only on a physical insertion of the student in the classroom that does not promote an effective inclusion in the teaching and learning processes. Thus, the authors question the practices that are under the discourse of inclusive education, which, however, end up masking processes of exclusion of students with disabilities (OLIVEIRA; ARAÚJO, 2017).

In addition to students with disabilities, another class of children has grown in inclusive education: students classified with mental disorders and/or learning disabilities. Studies indicate a frequent production of psychological and/or psychiatric reports for children who supposedly have learning difficulties, which have been used in the field of education as an attempt to respond to behavior and learning problems without, however, considering broader aspects such as socioeconomic, pedagogical and schooling processes in the production of school failure (BAUTHENEY, 2011; BENEDETTI *et al.*, 2018; RAMOS, 2014; SILVA; MOLERO; ROMAN, 2016). These studies have focused especially on the relationship between two fields of knowledge: Education and knowledge "Psi" (psychiatry, psychopediatrician, psychology, neuropsychology, psychopedagogy). Such studies have shown that the reports and the application of psychological and/or psychiatric treatments indicated to children with learning difficulties act in the modification and containment of child behaviors that bother in the school environment.

Resolution no. 6 of 2019 of the Federal Council of Psychology - CFP defines the psychological report as a document resulting from a process of psychological evaluation and whose purpose is "to support decisions related to the context in which the demand arose" (CFP, 2019, n.p.). Also in this article, it is found that the psychological report "presents technical and scientific information of psychological phenomena, considering the historical and social conditions of the person, group or institution attended" (n.p.).

The effect is that, through this psychopathological classification undertaken in the health field, the school is dismembered from its teaching relationship with this student. The discourse on school failure ends up falling on the child and being legitimized by medical knowledge through the reports (BAUTHENEY, 2011), which corroborates the process of exclusion of these children.

Based on these discussions, the research problem was formulated as follows: how does the discourse about reports and their relationship with school complaints interfere in the education of children within the neoliberal context? With this problem in mind, the objective of this work was to analyze the discourses of teachers and support professionals about the reports as a solution to the complaints of learning difficulties of students in early childhood education, taking into account the context of a neoliberal society.

Método

This is a registered and approved research by the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Goiás (UFG), under opinion 1,702,878, organized as an exploratory study based on the qualitative approach of research (TRIVIÑOS, 2017), having as a method of data collection the semi-structured interview in a city in the interior of Goiás.

The participants of the interview were selected according to the following criteria: being a teacher and teaching in a public school or being a support professional in a public school; accept the conditions set out in the Informed Consent Form (TCLE). Two pedagogues and two support professionals working in public schools with children presenting a medical and/or psychological report diagnosed in the field of mental disorders described in chapter V of the Tenth Revision of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10) (WHO, 1993) or in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5th edition (DSM-V) (APA) participated in the study. 2014). Participants were linked in two different schools, one teacher and a support professional from school A and one teacher and a support professional from school B. They all worked in classes of 3rd and 4th grade of elementary school I, in which there are children with the following types of reports: mild autism, unspecified conduct disorder, moderate mental retardation³, spastic quadriplegic cerebral palsy⁴, infantile autism, and epilepsy⁵. In addition to these, there are also those who, even if they do not present any report, are called by teachers "students with learning difficulties" (sic.).

Semi-structured interviews were used so that the interviewees answered freely according to their knowledge and experiences. The interview was applied individually with each of the participants in a meeting, obeying and respecting the precepts established by the Ethics Committee. It was recorded in audio through a voice recorder and later transcribed.

³ Currently called intellectual disability (DI).

⁴ Set of conditions that affect movement and posture, characterized by muscle stiffness and difficulties in movement.

⁵ These classifications were found in the school archives, and some children have more than one diagnosis.

Data analysis was based on content analysis (CA) proposed by Bardin (2016). From the exploratory reading of the data, key words that summing up the interviewees' perceptions about the subjects were marked, creating categories from their analysis. This thematic-category analysis led to the creation of six categories, which present relevant aspects shown in the transcribed discourses of the participants, totaling six categories. The category "Conceptions about reports and children with learning difficulties" will be presented in this paper. The discussion of the results is done qualitatively, dialoguing with the theoretical references presented.

Results and Discussion

Conception of teachers and support professionals on reports and children with learning difficulties

Table 1 presents conceptions about children with "learning difficulties", implicit in the discourses of teachers and support professionals. The analysis of this theme is one of the most relevant aspects of the research, since a biological conception about learning and a univocal view of the subject, rooted in prejudice against children from the lower layers of society, was delineated throughout the participants' discourses. Below is the table with the participants' conceptions on the subject.

Table 1 – Thematic analysis of the conceptions of teachers and support professionals about reports and children with learning difficulties

Participants	Thematic analysis
P1	Children with a report can learn, despite their difficulties. They can keep up with the rest of
	the class.
	Although they can learn, the support professional is necessary for children with attention
	deficit.
P2	The main reasons for the non-learning of some children are: teacher failure, student's own
	characteristic and/or educational system failures. Children have learning difficulties even if
	they do not have a disorder and/or disability.
	Even "ordinary" children (sic) are coming "weaker" (sic).
	Some children with a report can do their activities on their own.
	The child with learning disabilities has a "blockage" (sic). The brain can't keep the information
	learned in class.
	Teachers perceive when the child has cognitive difficulties.
PA1	When the student is giving trouble at school, parents are asked and instructed to seek help
	from a professional to find out what the child has. If the student does not do the treatment he
	does not learn and can fail.
	The report provides the diagnosis and, thus, the beginning of treatment (drug, psychological,
	among others), which favors the child's school development.
	Parents should seek knowledge about the child's disorder and/or disability.
	Students with disabilities are slower in learning and will not acquire the same skills as the
	children. If they acquire responsibility skills, learning some content and knowing how to read
	and write would be enough.
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PA2	He perceives his students as smart and can make things on their own, but they wait for your	
	help to have him around.	
	It considers that the problem of its students is behavioral and not learning.	
	Adapts activities by reducing the amount so that the child can keep track of colleagues.	
	Students with learning disabilities are those who know, but take longer to learn the content.	

Source: Castro (2021)

To begin this analysis, the following are excerpts from the pa1 and P2 statements that denote an organic conception of learning:

PA1: "They were students who were already in the second year in the same grade and having the same difficulties. And they were bad students? No, they were great students, caring, paying attention, but unfortunately it doesn't help, the brain doesn't help. So, you have to know what it is."

P2: "It's like you didn't work it out, it looks like he's got a blockage, his brain can't[...] it seems that his memory only has the instant, does not stay for the other day, so this I consider a learning difficulty."

In addition to both of which make it clear that learning depends on the student's brain, in his speech, PA1 reinforces the need to "know what it is" (sic.), that is, to identify what problem this child has, what is done by referral to the health professional, doctor and/or psychologist.

Participants also expressed the notion that students with difficulty have a slower pace of learning compared to other peers, as can be seen in the discourses below:

PA1: "[...] I think what's really out there is because they have a slow learning process, everyone who has syndrome, a slow process. "

P1: "Some children go in a click, as they say, others already take longer to learn, I see it this way."

PA2:"The teacher had passed 15 lines to the others, I said 'we'll do five' that gave him time to accompany the other colleagues. "

Teacher P2 when comparing her work in private school and public school comes to the conclusion that public school students are slower:

P2: "And here if you go to work the same content the kids have difficulty, I take content that I worked, if you put for them to do, they do not. I have to go slow with them."

At the beginning of the interview, when talking about the reasons why all students are not able to be learning as they would like, the teacher had presented a more comprehensive view, taking into account other factors besides the individual aspects of the student:

P2: "There are several factors, it can also be the teacher's fault, sometimes he did not know, did not find out what is the way that student has to learn and also comes from the student from home too, has students who have a block, already comes with himself that and also the system itself, there is time that the room is super crowded, have students who have several problems inside the room and don't have the support, so are *multiple* problems. So, I can't say it's just teacher failure, it's a whole system's failure. "

Nevertheless, throughout the interview, the teacher presented an a-historical conception of education, disconnected from the broader social context. Comparing the performance of students from the public network with that of private school students as if they were on equal terms shows a decontextualized perspective of the situation. Patto (1997), in his criticism of the practices of evaluation of children in schools, lists several aspects of social, political and economic order that are hidden, under penalty that its revelation deconstructs a set of ideas that support the practice of a science with a bourgeois ideological bias. The author points out that there is no knowledge of reality that is uncompromised, therefore, every analysis, every way of thinking (and teaching) is anchored in a conception about this reality and when this conception Disregards the process of historical constitution of certain knowledge, to which and to whom it serves, the consequences are disastrous.

An alienated educational practice, which is unaware of its foundations, is incoherent and contradictory. The work became disinvested from its essential characteristic, teaching, and learning (or learning difficulties) assumed the leading role, as proposed by the escolanovista model. In the answer below, the teacher's difficulty in basing the child learning process is noted:

P1: "How does learning take place? Learning takes place through what he gradually learns, that we pass on to them, they will... those who have more facility will learn faster, those who do not have us will have to develop it in them for more... given time. Some children go in a click, as they say, others already take longer to learn, I see it this way."

Despite this difficulty, the aspects related to learning stand out in his discourse. It is observed the great emphasis it gives on learning questions, as if the condition of learning or not learning was a characteristic of the student, while the teaching processes are not mentioned:

P1: "So it's a difficult thing for us to teach because we teach him a certain thing, tomorrow he doesn't know, so every day we have to be coming back, it gives the impression that we will never follow, that we will always be coming back with that student. Now I have others, because I have three reports in the room, while the others do not, the others have their limitations, their difficulties, but we realize that they go, they manage to have a little learning. And then there's one who learns, he has a certain difficulty, but he likes to play a lot, he likes to talk, but he is able to learn, to accompany the class. So just one that I see that every day we have to go back, we can never walk with it forward. "

Another contradiction that appears in this excerpt of the interview is the report that the student "[...] is able to learn, to accompany the class." If it accompanies, why the differentiated look? Shouldn't he be in the "group of those who learn"? This "certain difficulty" (sic) that he presents and the very like to play and talk is what justifies the report? It is important to note that in the use of the expression "I have three reports in the room" (sic), the teacher refers to children using the substantive "reports", which mischaracterizes children as subjects and reinforces the stigma of *diagnosed children*.

Freitas and Garcia (2019) highlight the use of the word report in everyday school life, which serves a variety of purposes: not only to ensure rights (if they do, and at what price!), but also to justify segregation, the differential treatment. In addition, instead of a pedagogical analysis, the idea of overcoming obstacles is superimposed when the student advances and, when there is delay, this is justified by the fact that the child is praised (FREITAS; GARCIA, 2019). This polarized discourse between overcoming or lagging behind also hides the social, economic and political relationships that constitute the process of schooling individuals and places the focus on learning again to the detriment of teaching.

In the speech of a participant who, although she answered the interview as a support professional, is also a teacher in another shift, it is possible to notice this difference between "diagnosed" (sic.) and "normal" (sic.):

PA1: What happens: children who are diagnosed seek the same thing as other children, but in a different way, we have to see this difference in them. Sometimes we succeed and sometimes we don't, but what do I expect from them [...] When I go to work with a child, first I test them as much as possible, and I'm like that with my normal students too.

In addition to the "diagnosed" children, the "normal" ones also have problems. In two moments, one with a teacher and the other with a support professional, they reveal a conception about children today: they are "weak" and "accelerated". The support professional also points out that this acceleration comes "by nature". Therefore, there is no way out, because all children have characteristics that hinder their learning process. This conception can be noted in the speeches transcribed below:

P2: "[...] with each passing day, children are coming to weaker people, I've been noticing that, even more so since I worked a long time in private and came to public, I felt the shock, for me it was a shock."

PA1: "The children of today are very accelerated, not only those with syndrome, but all children are accelerated nowadays. In the old days, when I had my daughters, my eldest daughter was born quietly, my youngest daughter was born, for you to have an idea, stretching her arms everywhere, she even turned over in bed two days after she was born. So, I always say, these are children who are accelerated by nature."

In this way, the focus on the learning condition is outlined in the participants' speeches and, thus, the obstacles in the child's school path are interpreted from their deficits. The propagation of a discourse whose focus is on the individual conceals the variety of vicissitudes that compete in the schooling processes and leaves aside the aspect subject to intervention: teaching.

The speeches also show a separation between normal and abnormal categories. In this sense, Patto (2017, p. 88, our translation) alerts to the rooted conceptions that constitute human subjectivity and that need to be continually contested:

> Attention not only to external obstacles imposed by educational policy, but also to the inevitable contradictions of all of us, rooted in our subjectivity as products that we are of a society guided by a worldview undermined by stereotypes and prejudices of various types, including a conception of abnormality that has as reference a definition of normality that has been and needs to continue to be contested.

Another aspect raised in the thematic analysis is the belief of the teacher/support professional that he can identify which children have learning difficulties or some disability/disorder that justifies treatment with health professionals. One of the interviewees tries to explain how she manages to have such a perception:

P2: "The teacher notices, we don't know, I can't tell you exactly how we notice, but in everyday life you can see a child who is lazy and a child who really can't handle it. You have to be on top, easy to get to know, if you stay with the child for a month, you already notice that in him."

The same occurs with a support professional who reports having two dyslexic students who do not have a report. When asked how she knows this, since they have not yet been evaluated by the health professional, she justifies based on her experience in inclusive education:

PA1: "What happens, you work with the children, you understand a little bit because you read, you start to chase, you start looking. Why does the student learn like this and then forget? So, I say dyslexic, even though I'm not a doctor (laughs), I don't know anything, I'm just a teacher, but, like, watching others who have a report that had the same difficulty and you

get tired, almost begging your father and mother take, did not take. Didn't take it to the doctor to confirm, but, well, in that sense."

That is, it is as if the teacher/support professional made a prior diagnosis, which stigmatizes the child even before it is classified by the report. This speech also presents a stigma in relation to the teaching profession: "I don't know anything, I'm just a teacher". In addition to the stigma that falls on the student, there is also a stigma in relation to the work of a teacher, as if he were a professional of a lower category in relation to other professionals and, still, as if pedagogical knowledge was not capable of helping the teacher or the support professional to deal with the presented obstacle. This point sheds light on why teachers look to health professionals for answers to problems faced in the classroom, since medical knowledge has a status in our society.

It is also interesting to point out another stigma that appears in the reports, that of the lazy child. That is, if the student does not do what is expected, it is because he cannot do it, he has learning difficulties, or because he is lazy. Below, the report of the support professional 2 about one of the children that he accompanies and who has a report:

PA2: "[...] he's smart, he can do things, but laziness won't let him. Because he comes home and wants to do other things, he wants to play video games, he wants to use his cell phone and ends up forgetting to do his homework."

Teacher 2 talks about the ability to differentiate lazy children from those with learning difficulties:

P2: "Now, there are those lazy children, the teacher recognizes, the lazy ones, I'll be honest, there are some children, they are lazy. He is lazy, because when you call his attention, there are children who can even leave without recess, then the next day he comes and does it, because you recognize and know that he has no difficulty, he is lazy, that the teacher recognizes easily in the student, the student who is lazy and the one who is not lazy, which is why he really has difficulties."

The analysis of this theme showed the marked presence of stereotypes about children with mental disorders and with "learning difficulties", biological, medical, psychological conceptions, about social phenomena and prejudiced views regarding poverty and the family background of these children. In addition, this analysis points to the lack of knowledge by teachers and support professionals of a historical and economic context that surrounds the development of the Brazilian school with its inequalities.

In many moments, the speeches of the participants refer to the concept of "banking" education by Paulo Freire (2019) according to which "[...] the only margin of action offered to Doxa: Rev. Bras. Psico. e Educ., Araraquara, v. 23, n.00, e022008, 2022.

students is to receive deposits, keep them and archive them." (p. 80-81). The children's learning process would then be summarized in this ability to archive the contents that were passed on.

Thus, the discourse on the need for reports to diagnose, "discover" what the student has, does not seem to favor the school path of children as the current discourse tries to justify. On the contrary, what is presented is a growing process of blaming individuals for their failure.

Neoliberal ideology infiltrates his discourse of talent, aptitude and the pursuit of success in the most varied contexts, including education. This scenario of constitution of subjectivities focuses on a competitive labor market in which workers are valued for their productivity and ability to perform multiple tasks.

Saviani (2005) points out that this productivist vision of education was developed in two moments: in the first (between 1950 and 1970) technical pedagogy gained prominence, which deepened trends that were already being developed in the escolanovismo. This pedagogy tried to transfer to the school the characteristics of objectifying work, as it happened in factories, based on a Taylorist-Fordist model.⁶ In the second period, at the end of the 1980s, with the neoliberal reforms, the education model should meet a Toyotist functioning⁷ of market: flexibility and diversification of the school organization, aiming at an adaptable worker to carry out multiple tasks for a diversified production according to demand.

In both moments, the objective is to achieve maximum results with minimum expenses, thus increasing profits. In this Neoliberal State, educational services are financed and organized by large companies in the area of education, while the State assumes greater control of institutional evaluations to guarantee a minimum education that trains the workers needed for this scenario. Thus, Saviani emphasizes the transformations in the world of work and education caused by the transformations in capitalism (SAVIANI, 2005).

In this productivist context, the objective is employability, so the individual must acquire the knowledge, skills and competencies that make him a good candidate for the job market, but that do not actually guarantee employment. With this, individuals need to become employable and, if they do not succeed, they will be solely responsible for their condition of failure, that is, the subject is responsible for not achieving inclusion, since he or she has been offered numerous possibilities. This process Saviani (2011) called "pedagogy of exclusion" (p. 431). Therefore, following this line, the discourses on the reports point to an adaptive

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⁶ This model was characterized by the mass production of homogeneous goods that required workers to mechanically perform a single task.

⁷ Toyotism is characterized by a more "personalized" production that aims to meet individual consumer demands, therefore it expects a versatile worker who can perform multiple tasks.

conception of the subjects, since diagnosed and undergoing treatment they can become the appropriate student for the neoliberal education project.

The stereotypes present in the speeches: Some considerations

It is noticed that many adjectives and nouns used to refer to students appeared in the reports, not only those who have a report, but students who have difficulties in general. By means of Chart 2, it is possible to observe more clearly how much and how many stereotypes have marked the school life of these children.

Quadro 2 – Termos usados na descrição dos alunos⁸

Words used to describe/qualify students with or without learning difficulties	Number of times they appear in the interviewees' discourse
Aggresive	21
Inclusive / Inclusion	12
Syndrome	12
Lazy	11
Delayed	8
(not)Normal	8
Slow	6
Euphoric	6
Nervous	5
Intelligent	4
Diagnosed/ Reported	4
Costly	3
Accelerated	3
Clever	2
Deficiency	1
Inattentive	1
Stressed	1
Weak	1

Source: Castro (2021)

These words demonstrate that the teacher's view of the student is fixed on these characteristics, making it difficult for the student to be seen beyond his diagnosis. In addition, they demonstrate a series of expectations that are fed in relation to these children and their performance and behavior at school.

In the field of Psychology, the use of psychopathological classification through manuals, such as the DSM-V, for the early diagnosis of children, has been the subject of strong criticism by some authors. The nosographic categories become the means by which the child will be

⁸ All forms in which the same word appeared were counted: masculine (plural and singular), feminine (plural and singular), diminutive, noun, adjective. The word was only counted when used in context that specifically referred

classified, starting from a symptomatological description based on a medical conception. Added to this is the fact that the child's later development will be marked by this diagnosis, which will direct the gaze of the adults who surround this individual.

In this sense, it is believed that the role of psychology cannot be to favor exclusion processes, nor even to seek to align individuals with socially established standards of normality, but to seek a look at the subject taking into account its uniqueness. School/educational psychology cannot be committed to a medical conception of man that attributes the causes of educational phenomena to supposed deficiencies of the student. On the contrary, psychology must be based on a critical and historically grounded conception of social reality and also contribute to the deconstruction of fixed ideas and stereotypes that subject individuals.

Therefore, it is important to understand inclusion as a multidetermined process, including the historical, social and economic aspects involved. However, what is observed in current neoliberal trends is the focus on the individual, the "problem child" diagnosed by psychology/psychiatry and who needs to be adapted. Under the discourse of consideration for individual differences, what is processed in the background is the veiled exclusion of the child who, supposedly, does not learn.

Final considerations

From the data analyzed in this research, it was observed that the reports are not at the service of a better learning of the children, since the speeches about them point to a medical purpose, and not a pedagogical one. Contrary to promoting the inclusion of the child and assisting in learning advances, what was observed was the growth of a stereotype, with the "diagnosed" student being identified as less capable.

Based on the previously discussed conceptions of science and the individual, neoliberal society presents a relationship between the economic interests present in capitalist society and inclusive education policies, which are based on proposals from international organizations. Thus, an ideological use of education is characterized, as observed in the Escola Nova Movement.

Therefore, the neoliberal ideology reinforces, through education itself, the idea that the subject is responsible for his success or failure; reinforces the conception of a productive individual, who "runs after" and who is finally rewarded for his effort. This is the model of the individual that neoliberal thought aims to build. In this way, an instrument such as the report, which is based on individual characteristics, can serve as a justification for blaming the subject for his failure, but also for applying the appropriate treatments that can "correct the flaws" and make this individual useful to the market. of work as a workforce.

Although the educational policy and the economic-social structure in which today's society is inserted are not interested in guaranteeing a democratic education that reaches all Brazilians, this does not prevent education professionals, psychologists, doctors, among other professionals, assume a position contrary to the status quo and contribute to a more humane education. It is only with a critical look at reality and placing a question mark on issues that are naturalized in everyday life that one can promote any change, considering that change takes place within a historical process composed much more of questions than answers.

Also considering the historicity of this research, it has some limitations regarding the research universe, since it was carried out in a pandemic period and access to teachers and support professionals was compromised. Thus, the presented narratives may present some biases in relation to the studied population, since only professionals from public schools were consulted.

Despite this, believing in the possibility of changes, this work points to the importance of developing research in the field of inclusive education that demonstrate the repercussions and impact of neoliberalism in the education of children with alleged mental disorders and/or learning difficulties who suffer from socially imposed stereotypes. Thus, this research takes a provocative look at the theme, aiming at the continuity of this study and instigating the opening of questions that produce a greater number of future researches.

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