brock

international prize in education

2013 Brock International
Prize in Education Nominee

Thomas M. Skrtic

Nominated by Michael Riendeau

Tom Skrtic, Pioneer in Disability Studies

Thomas M. Skrtic, Ph.D., is professor of education in the Department of Special Education at the University of Kansas. His academic interests are classical pragmatism, institutional theory, and democratic social reform. These interests inform several of his published works, including *Behind Special Education: A Critical Analysis of Professional Culture and School Organization* (1991), *Disability and Democracy: Reconstructing (Special) Education for Postmodernity* (1995), and more recently, his contributions to *Challenging Orthodoxy in Special Education: Dissenting Voices* (Gallagher, Heshusius, Iano, & Skrtic, 2004). His work also has appeared in journals such as the *Harvard Educational Review*, *Exceptional Children*, *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis*, and *Disability Studies Quarterly*. In 2004 he was recognized in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Leadership* as one of the two most influential figures in reconceptualizing the philosophy and practice of special education, and in 2009 he received the Senior Scholar Award of the Disability Studies in Education interest group of the American Educational Research Association for his pioneering work in disability studies, as well as Syracuse University's William Pearson Tolley Medal for distinguished leadership in lifelong learning.

Professor Skrtic's pioneering work examining the nature of the modern professions, with a special interest in education, has formed the basis for a fundamental critique of contemporary special education theory and practice. That critique has also led many in the field to reconsider educational practices more broadly. Skrtic's detailed analysis of the ways in which bureaucratic structures, in schools and beyond, determine our view of disability and shape our society as a whole has provided an invaluable framework for rethinking educational practice.

Tom Skrtic is widely recognized as a pioneer in the field now commonly identified as "disability studies." His work is grounded in his interest in philosophical pragmatism, and he urges that school reform be based on the notion of strong democracy, both in terms of its objectives and its discursive practices. Strong democracy, a concept explored by Benjamin Barber (2003) and others, recognizes the heterogeneous nature of contemporary society and envisions self-governing communities based on education for civic values rather than enclaves of private interests. Strong democracy is participatory and responsive.

Among Skrtic's many contributions to education reform is his careful examination of contemporary views of disability and their historical/cultural underpinnings. Of particular interest to me as an educator working with students identified as learning disabled is Skrtic's critique of prevailing models of disability. His lucid account of the development of categories of disability—learning disability in particular—as socially constructed is among the most powerful of critiques of contemporary educational practice. Beyond critique, however, Skrtic offers serious recommendations for reform.

Very briefly, Skrtic's fundamentally important insight is this:

> Given the inevitability of human diversity, a professional bureaucracy can do nothing but create students who do not fit the system. In schools, all forms of tracking, including compensatory, bilingual, migrant, gifted, and special

> education, are organizational artifacts, unintended consequences of using specialization and professionalization to divide and coordinate work, consequences that are compounded by misguided attempts to rationalize and formalize teaching (1995, p. 248).

Skrtic explores the far-reaching consequences of these aspects of contemporary educational practice, including school organization, curriculum and pedagogy, and teacher preparation and evaluation. Skrtic urges that school reform should include the development of schools as adhocratic learning organizations that respond to the needs of their communities and the individuals within those communities and suggests that education adopt the model of civic professionalism.

Most important for me—as someone who has spent a career working with students described as "learning disabled"—is Skrtic's perspective on the locus of disability. If we understand Skrtic's critique, we must recognize disability as the outcome of our institutional practices rather than as a simple fact of neurobiology. In doing so, we have the chance to avoid the creation of an educational underclass, and the importance of that perspective for individuals described as learning disabled is truly life-altering.

References

Barber, B. R. (2003). *Strong democracy*. (20th Anniversary ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Skrtic, T. M. (1995). *Disability and democracy: Reconstructing (special) education for postmodernity*. New York: Teachers College Press.

THOMAS M. SKRTIC

Professor of Education, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

B.S. Special Education, California University of Pennsylvania, California, PA, 1969
M.S. Educational Psychology, California State University, Long Beach, CA, 1972
Ph.D. Special Education, University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA, 1976

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Gene A. and Gretchen Budig Teaching Professor in Special Education, 2005-06
Chair, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1998-2002
Professor, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1990-present
Associate Professor, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1981-1990
Associate Professor, Department of Curriculum & Instruction, University of Kansas, 1981-83
Assistant Professor, Departments of Special Education and Curriculum & Instruction, University of Kansas, 1976-1981
Fellow, Online Academy, Center for Research on Learning, University of Kansas, 1998-2002
Fellow, Transition Studies Program, Institute for Public Policy & Business Research, University of Kansas, 1997-2002
Senior Scholar, Glenda B. and Forrest C. Shaklee Institute for Improving Special Education, 1996-2002
Coordinator, Special Education Policy and Administration Doctoral Program, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1993-present
Coordinator, Special Education Administration Certification Program, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1999-07
Director, Interdisciplinary Training, University Affiliated Program, University of Kansas, 1994-96
Intra-University Visiting Professor, University of Kansas, 1985-86
Member Researcher, Learning Disabilities Research Institute, University of Kansas, 1977-1990
Research Associate, Bureau of Child Research, University of Kansas, 1981-1990
Fellow, Danforth Foundation, St. Louis, Missouri, 1978-1984
Teaching Assistant, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 1975
Graduate Assistant, Division of Special Education, University of Iowa, 1973-1976
Teacher, Children's Reading Clinic, University of Iowa, 1973-1974
Special Education Resource Teacher, Fountain Valley School District, Fountain Valley, CA, 1972-73
Graduate Fellow, Educational Psychology, California State University, Long Beach, 1971-72
Teacher, Secondary Intellectual Disabilities, Magnolia High School, Anaheim, CA, 1969-71
Teacher, Elementary Intellectual Disabilities, Allegheny County Schools, West Mifflin, PA, 1968-69

AWARDS/HONORS

William Pearson Tolley Medal for Distinguished Leadership in Adult Education, Syracuse University, 2009
Senior Scholar Award, 9th Annual Second City Conference on Disability Studies in Education, 2009
Faculty Achievement Award for Teaching, School of Education, University of Kansas, 2008
Gene A. Budig Teaching Professorship in Special Education, 2005-06
Faculty Achievement Award for Service, School of Education, University of Kansas, 2003
Administrative Service Award, School of Education, University of Kansas, 2002
Gordon R. Alley Partnership Award, Center for Research on Learning, University of Kansas, 2002
Research Award, Council for Exceptional Children, Kansas Federation, 1995

Faculty Achievement Award for Scholarship, School of Education, University of Kansas, 1994
Meritorious Service, California State Department of Education, 1994
Meritorious Service, Illinois State Board of Education, 1989
Intra-University Visiting Professorship, University of Kansas, 1985-86
Danforth Associate, Danforth Foundation, St. Louis, Missouri, 1978-84

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

Skrtic, T. M. (in press). Review of *Comparing Special Education: Origins to Contemporary Paradoxes*, by John G. Richardson and Justin J. W. Powell. *Contemporary Sociology*.

Knight, J., Bradley, B. A., Hock, M., Skrtic, T. M., Knight, D., Brasseur-Hock, I., Clark, J., Ruggles, M., & Hatton, C. (2012). Record, replay, reflect: Videotaped lessons accelerate learning for teachers and coaches. *Journal of Staff Development, 33*(2), 18-23.

Skrtic, T. M., & McCall, Z. (2010). Ideology, institutions, and equity: Comments on Christine Sleeter's *Why Is There Learning Disabilities? Disability Studies Quarterly, 30*(2).

Skrtic, T. M. (2010). Review of *Distinguishing Disability: Parents, Privilege, and Special Education*, by Colin Ong-Dean. *Contemporary Sociology, 39*(2), 188-190.

McCall, Z., & Skrtic, T. M. (2009). Intersectional needs politics: A policy frame for the wicked problem of disproportionality. *Multiple Voices for Ethnically Diverse Exceptional Learners, 11*(2), 3-23.

Skrtic, T. M. (2008). Egon Guba, gentleman and scholar. *Qualitative Inquiry, 14*(8), 1377-1378.

Skrtic, T. M. (2005). A political economy of learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities Quarterly, 28*(2), 149-155.

Reprinted in V. Tsoupidi (Ed.), *Democratizing pedagogy: The challenge of special education*, pp. 48-66. Athens, Greece: Pedion, 2012.

Skrtic, T. M. (2003). An organizational analysis of the overrepresentation of poor and minority students in special education. *Multiple Voices for Ethnically Diverse Exceptional Learners, 6*(1), 41-57.

Andrews, J. E., Carnine, D. W., Coutinho, M. J., Edgar, E. B., Forness, S. R., Fuchs, L. S., Jordon, D., Kauffman, J. M., Patton, J. M., Paul, J., Rosell, J., Rueda, R., Schiller, E., Skrtic, T. M., & Wong, J. (2000). Bridging the special education divide. *Remedial and Special Education, 21*(5), 258-260, 267.

Kalyanpur, M., Harry, B., & Skrtic, T. (2000). Equity and advocacy expectations of culturally diverse families' participation in special education. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, 47*(2), 119-136.

Reprinted in D. Mitchell (Ed.), *Special educational needs and inclusive education: Major themes in education*, pp. 358-378. London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

Skrtic, T. M. & Sailor, W. (1996). School-linked services integration: Crisis and opportunity in the transition to postmodern society. *Remedial and Special Education, 17*(5), 271-283.

Sailor, W. & Skrtic, T. M. (1996). School/community partnerships and educational reform: Introduction to the topical issue. *Remedial and Special Education, 17*(5), 267-270, 283.

Skrtic, T. M., Sailor, W. & Gee, K. (1996). Voice, collaboration and inclusion: Democratic themes in educational and social reform initiatives. *Remedial and Special Education, 17*(3), 142-157.

Reprinted in D. Mitchell (Ed.), *Special Educational Needs and Inclusive Education: Major Themes in Education*, pp. 214-246. London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991). The special education paradox: Equity as the way to excellence. *Harvard Educational Review, 61*(2), 148-206.

Reprinted in T. Hehir & T. Latus (Eds.), *Special education at the century's end: Evolution of theory and practice since 1970*, pp. 203-272. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Reprinted in D. Gallagher, L. Heshusius, R. Iano, & T. Skrtic (Eds.), *Challenging orthodoxy in special education: Dissenting voices*, pp. 91-166. Denver, CO: Love Publishing, 2004.

Reprinted in L. Katzman, A. Gruner Gandhi, W. Harbour, & J. LaRock (Eds.), *Special education for a new century*, pp. 197-257. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 2005.

Reprinted in P. Hick & G. Thomas, *Inclusion and diversity in education*. San Francisco, CA: Sage Publications, 2008.

Skrtic, T. M. (1990). Counter-hegemony: A radical's attempt to demystify special education ideology. (Review of *Radical analysis of special education: Focus on historical developments and learning disabilities*, by S. Sigmon). *Contemporary Psychology, 35*(1), 54-55.

Skrtic, T. M. (1990). In J. Thousand (Ed.), Organizational perspectives on teacher education and school renewal: A conversation with Tom Skrtic. *Teacher Education and Special Education, 13*(1), 30-35.

Skrtic, T. M. (1989). Is special education for "the mildly handicapped" justifiable? (Review of *Handbook of special education research and practice, Volume 1: Learner characteristics and adaptive education*, by M. Wang, M. Reynolds, and H. Walberg). *Contemporary Psychology, 34*(7), 660-661.

Skrtic, T. M. (1988). Expanding and enriching the special education discourse: A Response to the Executive Director's Editorial Commentaries. *Exceptional Children, 54*(5), 475-476.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). The national inquiry into the future of education for students with special needs. *Counterpoint, 8*(1), 6.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). Social consequences of P.L. 94-142 and the new mainstreaming debate. (Review of *Mainstreaming handicapped children: Outcomes. controversies, and new directions*, by C. Meisel). *Contemporary Psychology, 32*(5), 419-420.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). An organizational analysis of special education reform. *Counterpoint, 8*(2), 15-19.

Skrtic, T. M. (1986). The political culture of mainstreaming. (Review of Achieving the complete school: Strategies for effective mainstreaming, by D. Biklen). *Contemporary Psychology, 31*(8), 576-577.

Skrtic, T. M. (1986). The crisis in special education knowledge: A perspective on perspective. *Focus on Exceptional Children, 18*(7), 1-16.

Reprinted in E. Meyen, G. Vergason, & R. Whelan (Eds.), *Challenges facing special education*, pp. 165-192. Denver: Love Publishing, 1993.

Reprinted in B. Franklin (Ed.), *Deconstructing disability: Essays in the history and theory of special education*, pp. 35-72. Barcelona: Edicones Pomares, 1996.

Reprinted in S. Danforth & S. Taft (Eds.), *Crucial readings in special education*, pp. 80-95. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2004.

Skrtic, T. M., Kvam, N. E., & Beals, V. L. (1983). Identifying and remediating subtraction errors of learning disabled adolescents. *Pointer, 27*(2), 32-38.

Nowak, R. F., Bolland, K. A., Clark, F. L., & Skrtic, T. M. (1982). Training educators to design, develop, and deliver inservice education. *Exceptional Education Quarterly, 3*(3), 9-16.

Skrtic, T. M. & Sepler, H. J. (1982). Simplifying continuous monitoring of multiple-response/multiple-subject classroom interactions. *Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 15*(1), 183-187.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., & White, W. J. (1982). Modification of attitudes of regular education preservice teachers toward visually impaired students. *Journal of Visual Impairment and Blindness, 76*(1), 49-52.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., & Bolland, K. A. (1981). Teacher planned inservice for vocational educators. *Pointer, 25*(3), 25-27.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., & Bolland, K. A. (1981). Free and appropriate education for all teachers in the least restrictive environment. *Education Unlimited, 3*(4), 54-56.

Skrtic, T. M., Knowlton, H. E., & Clark, F. L. (1979). Action versus reaction: A curriculum development approach to inservice education. *Focus on Exceptional Children, 11*(1), 1-16.

Skrtic, T. M. (1978). Attitude change: The underlying principle, promise and problem of mainstreaming. *Learner in the Process, 1*(1), 15-25.

Lazar, A. L., Sigler, G. R., & Skrtic, T. M. (1977). A study of attitudes toward instructional goals on an affective/cognitive continuum. *Mental Retardation Bulletin, 5*(1), 34-41.

Skrtic, T. M., Sigler, G. R., & Lazar, A. L. (1975). Attitudes of male and female trainable mentally retarded teachers toward the handicapped. *The Journal for Special Educators of the Mentally Retarded, 11*(3), 171-174.

Sigler, G. R., Skrtic, T. M., & Lazar, A. L. (1974). A study of sex differences in the attitudes of male and female teachers of the trainable mentally retarded. *Research in Education, 2*(5), 71.

Books

Skrtic, T. M., Horn, E. M., & Clark, G. M. (2008). *Taking stock of special education policy and practice: A retrospective commentary*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M., Harris, K. R., & Shriner, J. G. (2005). *Special education policy and practice: Accountability, instruction, and social challenges*. Denver, CO: Love Publishing.

Gallagher, D. J., Heshusius, L., Iano, R. P., & Skrtic, T. M. (2004). *Challenging orthodoxy in special education: Dissenting voices*. Denver, CO: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1995). *Disability and democracy: Reconstructing (special) education for postmodernity*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Meyen, E. L. & Skrtic, T. M. (1995). *Special education and student disability: Traditional, emerging, and alternative perspectives*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991). *Behind special education: A critical analysis of professional culture and school organization*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Meyen, E. L. & Skrtic, T. M. (1988). *Exceptional children and youth: An introduction*, 3rd edition. Denver: Love Publishing.

Chapters

Skrtic, T. M. & Kent, J. R. (in press). Rights, needs, and capabilities: Institutional and political barriers to justice for disabled people. In A. Kanter & B. Ferri, *Righting educational wrongs: Disability studies in law and education*. Syracuse University Press.

Skrtic, T. M. (2012). Disability, difference, and justice: Strong democratic leadership for undemocratic times. In J. Crockett, B. Billingsley, & M. L. Boscardin (Eds.), *Handbook of Leadership and Administration for Special Education* (pp. 129-150). New York: Routledge.

Smith, R., Gallagher, D., Owen, V., & Skrtic, T. M. (2009). Disability studies in education: Guidelines and ethical practice for educators. In J. Andrzejewski, M. Baltodano, & L. Symcox (Eds.), *Social Justice, Peace, and Environmental Education: Transformative Standards*. London: Routledge.

Skrtic, T. M. (1999). Disability and democracy: Voice, collaboration, and inclusion in education and society. In A. F. Ramírez (Ed.), Contemporary policy on diversity: Rethinking (special) education in the third millennium. Málaga, Spain: Grupo de Investigación Hum 181 de la Junta de Andalucía.

Skrtic, T. M. (1999). Learning disabilities as organizational pathologies. In R. J. Sternberg & L. Spear-Swerling (Eds.), *Perspectives on learning disabilities: Biological, cognitive, contextual*, pp. 193-226. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Skrtic. T. M. (1997). Special education and student disability: A social/political perspective. In A. Kylén (Ed.), *Special education research in an international and interdisciplinary perspective*, pp. 49-81. Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm Institute of Education.

Skrtic, T. M. (1996). The crisis in special education knowledge: A perspective on perspective. In B. Franklin (Ed.), *Deconstructing disability: Essays in the history and theory of special education*, pp. 35-72. Barcelona: Edicones Pomares.

Skrtic, T. M. (1996). School organization, inclusive education and democracy. In J. Lupart, A. McKeough & C. Yewchuck (Eds.), *Schools in transition*, pp. 81-118. Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada.

Sailor, W., Kleinhammer-Tramill, J., Skrtic, T., & Oas, B. K. (1996). Family participation in new community schools. In G. Singer, L. Powers, & A. Olson (Eds.), *Redefining family support: Innovations in public-private partnerships*, pp. 313-332. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Skrtic, T. M. (1995). Theory/practice and objectivism: The modern view of the professions. In T. Skrtic (Ed.), *Disability and democracy: Reconstructing (special) education for postmodernity*, pp. 3-24. New York: Teachers College Press.

Sailor, W. & Skrtic, T. M. (1995). American education in the postmodern era. In J. Paul, R. Roselli, & D. Evans (Eds.), *Integrating school restructuring and special education reform*, pp. 418-432. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.

Skrtic, T. M. (1993). The crisis in special education knowledge: A perspective on perspective. In E. Meyen, G. Vergason, & R. Whelan (Eds.), *Challenges facing special education*, pp. 165-192. Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. & Ware, L. P. (1992). Reflective teaching and the problem of school organization. In G. McCutcheon, E. Ross, & J. Cornett (Eds.), *Teacher personal theorizing: Connecting curriculum, practice, theory and research*, pp. 199-210, 290-295. New York: Teachers College Press.

Skrtic, T.M. (1991). Students with special educational needs: Artifacts of the traditional curriculum. In M. Ainscow (Ed.), *Effective schools for all*, pp. 20-42. London: David Fulton Publications.

Skrtic, T.M. (1990). Power/knowledge and the professions. In P. Leone (Ed.), *Understanding troubled and troubling youth*, pp. 7-12. San Francisco: Sage Publishing.

Skrtic, T.M. (1990). Social accommodation: Toward a dialogical discourse in educational inquiry. In E. Guba (Ed.), *The paradigm dialog: Options for inquiry in the social sciences*, pp. 125-135. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1985). Doing naturalistic research into educational organizations. In Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *Organizational theory and inquiry: The paradigm revolution*, pp. 185-220. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M., Summers, J. A., Brotherson, M. J., & Turnbull, A. P. (1984). Severely handicapped children and their brothers and sisters. In J. Bacher (Ed.), *Severely handicapped young children and their families: Research in review*, pp. 215-246. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Skrtic, T. M. (1981). Objectives-based program evaluation. In E. K. Thompson (Ed), *Using student*

change data to evaluate inservice education, pp. 37-45. Bloomington, IN: National Inservice Network.

Skrtic, T. M. (1981). Multiple baseline time-series designs. In E. K. Thompson (Ed.), *Using student change data to evaluate inservice education,* pp. 53-60. Bloomington, IN: National Inservice Network.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., & Bolland, K. A. (1981). Training teachers as inservice providers. In C. A. MacArthur & C. Allen (Eds.), *Vocational education for the handicapped: Models for preparing personnel*, pp. 113-150. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., Bolland, K. A., Begun, W. H., & Bullis, M. D. (1980). A response to the dual training mission of regular education inservice projects: Training educators to design, develop, and deliver inservice education, pp. 49-61. In Author (Ed.), *What works in inservice*. Bloomington, IN: National Inservice Network.

Skrtic, T. M., Clark, F. L., & Knowlton, H. E. (1980). Effective inservice education. In J.G. Herlihy & M. T. Herlihy (Eds.), *Mainstreaming in the social studies*, pp. 76-81. Arlington, VA: National Council for the Social Studies.

Kleinhammer, J., Chaffin, J., & Skrtic, T. M. (1978). The University of Kansas Dean's Grant Project: A case study. In J. K. Grosenick & M. C. Reynolds (Eds.), *Teacher education: Renegotiating roles for mainstreaming,* pp. 143-159. Minneapolis: Council for Exceptional Children.

Skrtic, T. M. (1978). Managing your classroom. In O. Haugh (Ed.), *Educating students in least restrictive environments: Instructional preparation for teachers,* pp. 92-116. Lawrence, KS: Dean's Grant Project.

Skrtic, T. M. (1978). Formative evaluation in the classroom. In O. Haugh (Ed.), *Educating students in least restrictive environments: Instructional preparation for teachers,* pp. 117-130. Lawrence, KS: Dean's Grant Project.

Skrtic, T. M. (1978). Maintaining records of daily progress. In O. Haugh (Ed.), *Educating students in least restrictive environments: Instructional preparation for teachers,* pp. 131-153. Lawrence, KS: Dean's Grant Project.

Technical Reports: Research, Program Evaluation, Policy Analysis

Saatcioglu, A., & Skrtic, T. (2012). Categorical manipulation in the reproduction of organizational inequality: The case of disability categorization in schools. Conference paper, American Sociological Association, January 2012, 43 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., & Kleinhammer-Tramill, P. J. (2004). Building-Level Special Education Leadership: Preparing School Principals in IDEA Implementation and Alignment with Standards-Based, School Unification, and Full-Service School Reform Efforts (Final Report, Grant No. H325D990069). U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84.325D, September 2004, 21 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., & Sailor, W. (2004). Special Education Policy Integration: Leadership Training in IDEA Implementation and Alignment with Standards-Based, School Unification, and Full-Service School Reform Agendas (Final Report, Grant No. H325D980037). U.S. Department of

Education, Office of Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84.325D, March, 2004, 17 pages.

Brownell, M. & Skrtic, T. (2002). Assuring an adequate supply of well qualified teachers to improve the educational outcomes of students with disabilities. Invited testimony submitted to the President's Commission on Excellence in Special Education, 23 pages.

Odom, S., Skrtic, T., Lewis, L., Kaufman, M, & Neff, N. (2002). Research in Special Education and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Invited testimony submitted to the President's Commission on Excellence in Special Education by the Higher Education Consortium for Special Education, 4 pages.

Skrtic, T., Levitt, D., & Reith, H. (2002). Policy, program, and funding recommendations for the preparation of qualified personnel under Part D of IDEA. Policy statement of the Higher Education Consortium for Special Education, 8 pages.

Baker, B., Wortman, J., & Skrtic, T. (2002). Kansas special education funding options. Policy brief prepared for the Kansas Special Education Advisory Council, 4 pages.

Smith, C. L., Alexander, L., Skrtic, T. M., & Sailor, W. (1998). A cross-case cnalysis of critical issues in two communities implementing school-linked service integration. Final Report, Field Initiated Research, Grant No. H023D40024, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Volumes I & II, 343 pages.

Fulton, D. & Skrtic, T. M. (1997). Participant constructions of an established service integration project. Field Initiated Research, Grant No. H023D40024, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, 21 pages.

Simpson, R., & Skrtic, T. (1997). Department of special education curriculum redesign: Modified preliminary report. Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, 31 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1996). School restructuring, social constructivism, and democracy: Implications for special education in a postindustrial age. Research Institute of Special Education and Rehabilitation, Taegu University, Korea, 48 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1996). Special education and student disability: A social/political perspective. Stockholm Institute of Education, Stockholm University, Sweden, 54 pages.

Buchele-Ash, A., Skrtic, T. M., & Sailor, W. (1996). Barriers and bridges to inclusive education: An analysis of Kansas special education policies on least restrictive environment. University Affiliated Program, University of Kansas, 36 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Green, S., Hiner, R., Lichtenberg, J., Mahlios, M, Sheldon, J., & Zebas (1996). Final proposal for reorganizing the University of Kansas School of Education. School of Education, University of Kansas, 26 pages.

Ware, L., Beegle, G., & Skrtic, T. (1996). Lawrence school-linked community services project: Formative evaluation. Kansas State Board of Education, Title VI-B, Discretionary Special Project, 7 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Sailor, W., & Buchele-Ash, A. (1995). Barriers and bridges to inclusive education: An

analysis of Georgia special education policy. University Affiliated Program, University of Kansas, 34 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Wyatt, F., Hamilton, M. L., Gee, K., Moran, M. R., Thompson, B., Knowlton, H. E., Friedman, R., & Erb, T. (1994). Collaborative development of teacher competencies and practicum sites for inclusive education. Kansas State Board of Education, Kansas Project Partnership, 29 pages.

Oas, B., Egnor, D., Beegle, G., Kaff, M., Doktor, J., & Skrtic, T. (1994). The Corporation for Change: Facilitating reform in child and family services. Interdisciplinary Policies Study Program, University Affiliated Program/Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 26 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1993). School organization and cultural diversity in postindustrial America. California Research Institute on Special Education and Cultural Diversity, University of California at Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, California, 35 pages.

Skrtic, T.M. (1993). Merging special and regular education: Accountability in the restructured system. Centre for Gifted Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 32 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. & Sailor, W. (1993). Barriers and bridges to inclusive education: An analysis of Louisiana special education policy. University Affiliated Program, University of Kansas, 23 pages.

Clark, G., Chaffin, J., Harrod, C., Meyen, E., Neilsen, Rodriguez, F., Skrtic, T., Tollefson, N. & Whelan, R. (1991). Policy suggestions on the application of outcomes-based accreditation to special education. School of Education, University of Kansas, 85 pages.

Skrtic, T.M. (1990). Efficacy of P.L. 94-142 and the implementation of the least restrictive environment concept. Reston, VA: ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, 109 pages.

Skrtic, T.M. (1990). The Regular Education Initiative: Rationales for and against. Reston, VA: ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, 89 pages.

Skrtic, T.M. (1990). Practices consistent with the Regular Education Initiative. Reston, VA: ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, 101 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Deshler, D. D., & Kea, C. (1988). Instructional accessibility for post-secondary learning disabled students: Final report. U.S. Department of Education, Regional Education Programs (Grant No. G008101354), 81 pages.

Skrtic, T.M., Blackhurst, A.E., Burke, P.J., Gaffney, J.S., Hoover, J.J. & Johnson, L.J. (1988). Report of the Ad Hoc Task Force on a Research Agenda for the Teacher Education Division of the Council for Exceptional Children. Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children, 21 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). Kansas inservice project; Training administrators for inservice leadership. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs (Grant No. G008401748), 102 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). School organization and the myth of exceptional children and youth. Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, 68 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). Preconditions for merging regular and special education: An organizational analysis of special education reform. American Educational Research Association, 63 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1985). Interorganizational special education programming in rural areas: Technical report on the multi-site naturalistic field study. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 4 Vols., 800 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G. & Knowlton, H. E. (1983). Case study 2: The Midland Regional Education Agency. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 124 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1983). Case study 3: The Foothills Area Service Agency. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 66 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1983). Case study 4: Seaside Education Service Agency. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 134 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1983). Case study 5: The Northern Slope Service Agency. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 43 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1982). Case study 1: The Riverhill Country Educational Cooperative. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 88 pages.

Skrtic, T. M., Bolland, K. A., & Nowak, R. F. (1982). Training educators to design. develop, and deliver inservice education: Final report. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs (Grant No. G007901388), 125 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. & Guba, E. G. (1981). Special education in rural America: Revised research plan. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 54 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1981). Special education in rural America: Purposive sampling. National Institute of Education (Contract No. 400-81-0017), 60 pages.

Clark, F. L., Skrtic, T. M., & Hudson, F. G. (1980). The development of instrumentation to measure regular classroom teachers' attitudes toward mildly handicapped students. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education (Grant No. G007902250), 212 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1980). The regular classroom interactions of learning disabled adolescents and their teachers. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education (Contract No. 300-770494), 85 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1980). The regular classroom interactions of learning disabled adolescents and their teachers. Research in Brief, #6, pp. 1-2. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas.

Skrtic, T. M. (1980). Formal reasoning abilities of learning disabled adolescents: Implications for mathematics instruction. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education (Contract No. 300-77-0494), 34 pages.

Skrtic, T. M. (1980). Formal reasoning abilities of LD adolescents. Research Digest, 1(3), pp. 1-4. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas.

Skrtic, T. M. (1980). Formal reasoning abilities of learning disabled adolescents. Research in Brief, #7, pp. 1-2. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas.

Monographs and Non-refereed Articles

Skrtic, T. M. (2006). *Civic professionalism and the struggle over needs*. Endowed Lecture, 2005-06 Gene A. Budig Teaching Professorship in Special Education. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas School of Education.

Skrtic, T. M. (2006). Strong democratic leadership. *The Jayhawk Educator*, Fall 2006, 6-7.

FUNDED GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

External Funding Sources

Categorical Inequality in Organizations: The Case of High-Incidence Disability Categorization in Public Schools. National Science Foundation, Sociology Program, Division of Social and Economic Sciences, 2012-2014, $194,177. (with A. Saatcioglu)

Improving Instruction through Implementation of the Partnership Instructional Coaching Model. U.S. Department of Education, Institute for Education Sciences (Goal 2: Development), 2007-2011, $1,640,325. (with J. Knight, M., Hock, D. Deshler)

District-Level Special Education Leadership: Preparing Superintendents for Coordinated IDEA-NCLB Implementation Premised on the Principles of Standards-Based Education and School Unification. U. S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84.325D, 2005-10, $800,000. (with J. Klienhammer-Tramill, C. Walther-Thomas)

Building-level Administration of Special Education Services: Preparing Principals for Leadership in IDEA Implementation and Alignment with NCLB and Best Practice Principles of Standards-Based Education, School Unification, and Positive Behavior Support. U. S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84.325D, 2003-08, $800,000. (with J. Klienhammer-Tramill, G. Crawford, H. Ebmeier)

Building-Level Special Education Leadership: Preparing School Principals in IDEA Implementation and Alignment with Standards-Based, School Unification, and Full-Service School Reform Efforts. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84.325D, 1999-03, $800,000. (with G. Crawford, J. Kleinhammer-Tramill)

Special Education Policy Integration: Leadership Training in IDEA Implementation and Alignment with Standards-Based, School Unification, and Full-Service School Reform Agendas. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs. Preparation of Leadership Personnel, 84. 029D, 1998-02, $894,246. (with W. Sailor)

Supervised Evaluation Study for the Kansas State Department of Education. Kansas State Department of Education, Research Contract No. 652-98-1128, 1998, $12,000. (with D. Fulton)

Analysis of Barriers to Inclusion in Kansas' Special Education Policy. Kansas State Board of Education, 1995-96, $6,000. (with W. Sailor)

Analysis of Barriers to Inclusion in Georgia's Special Education Policy. Georgia Department of Public Instruction, 1994-95, $6,000. (with W. Sailor)

Advanced Systems and Services in Secondary Transitioning. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Special Education Programs, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1995-99, $455,995. (with J. Kleinhammer-Tramill, G. Clark, W. Sailor)

Kansas University Affiliated Program at Lawrence's School-Linked Services Research Project. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Research in Education of Individuals with Disabilities Program, 1995-98, $539,841.(with W. Sailor, J. Kleinhammer-Tramill)

Collaborative Development of Teacher Competencies and Practicum Sites. Kansas State Board of Education, Special Education Outcomes Team, Kansas Project Partnership, 1994, $18,480. (with R. Friedman, K. Gee, M. Hamilton, M. Moran, B. Thompson, F. Wyatt)

From Special Education to Supported Education: Policy Leadership in School-Linked Service Integration and School Restructuring. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Special Education Programs, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1993-98, $581,386. (with W. Sailor)

A System for Facilitating the Linkage of Community Services with the Family and the School. Kansas State Board of Education. Discretionary Special Project, Title VI, Part B, IDEA, 1994-97, $ 178,912. (with D. Herbel, W. Sailor)

Kansas Inservice Project: Training Administrators for Inservice Education Leadership. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1983-85, $277,872.

Preservice Special Educator Preparation. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1983-85, $171,160.

Program Assistance Grant: Severely/Profoundly Handicapped and Early Childhood Education of the Handicapped. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1982-85, $109,695.

Program Assistance Grant: General Special Education. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1982-85, $188,484.

Habituating Building-Based Inservice Training: Secondary and Vocational-Technical Educators. U.S. Department of Education, Special Education Programs, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1982-85, $100,860.

Instructional Accessibility for Learning Disabled Postsecondary Students. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education, Regional Education Programs, 1981-84, $181,222.

Habituating Building-Based Inservice Training: Elementary and Middle School Educators. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1981-84, $148,431.

Special Education in Rural America: Field Study and Research Synthesis. National Institute of Education (Research Contract No. 400-81-0017), 1980-82, $217,000.

The Effects of a Structured Informational Program on the Attitudes of Regular High School Students Toward the Handicapped. The School District of St. Joseph, St. Joseph, Missouri, 1980-81, $2,200.

The Development of Instrumentation to Measure Teacher Attitudes Toward Mildly Handicapped Populations. U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, Division of Innovation and Development, 1979-80, $9,678.

Regular Education Inservice--Comprehensive Vocational Education for All Handicapped Persons: Training Educators to Design, Develop, and Deliver Inservice Education. U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, Division of Personnel Preparation, 1979-82, $217,000.

Internal Funding Sources

Community Based Systems Change. Research Development Fund, University of Kansas, 1993-94, $30,000. (with W. Sailor)

Synchronicity of Higher Education Professional Training and Research with State and Federal Policy Reform in School-Linked Social and Health Services. Research Development Fund, University of Kansas, 1992-93, $ 50,000. (with W. Sailor)

A Political History of Special Education: 1840-1910. General Research Fund, University of Kansas, 1987-88, $5,400 (with D. Kiel).

Portrayal of the Handicapped in Children's Literature. General Research Fund, University of Kansas, 1982-83, $3,167 (with E. Gilbert).

Mathematics Interventions for Learning Disabled Adolescents: Problem Solving. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, 1981-82, $4,000.

Mathematics Interventions for Learning Disabled Adolescents: Computation. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, 1981-82, $4,000.

Teaching Mathematics Concepts to Learning Disabled Adolescents: Generalization across Stimulus Response Modes. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, 1979-80, $8,000.

Mathematics Interventions for Learning Disabled Adolescents. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas Research, 1978-79, $6,803.

Teacher-Student Relationships. Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, 1978-79, $17,710.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS

Invited Keynotes, Addresses, and Plenary Papers: International/National/Regional

"Civic Professionalism." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southeast European Regional American Studies Conference, Southeast European University, Tetovo, Macedonia, August 2012. (Keynote)

"Civic Progressivism: The Role of Professionalism in Dewey's Vision of Participatory Democracy." Southeast European University, Tetovo, Macedonia, July 2012. (Invited Address)

"Institutionalized Injustice: Construction and Use of Disability in Schools." Paper presented at the 4th International Seminar, *School as an Object of Study: School, Inequalities, and Diversity*, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, November 2011. (Plenary)

"Structural Changes in School Systems for Educational Inclusion: A Critical Analysis of U.S. Practice." University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia, January 2011. (Keynote)

"Capabilities and Disability: What Global Justice Requires." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Disability Studies, Philadelphia, PA, June 2010. (Plenary)

"An Institutional Frame for Deconstructing Special Education." Paper presented at the University Center for Excellence in Developmental Disabilities Education, Research, and Service, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, May 2010. (Keynote)

"Rights, Capabilities, and Disability Needs Politics: Institutional Barriers to Social Justice in School and Society." Paper presented at the annual meeting of Disability Studies in Education, Syracuse University, May, 2009. (Keynote)

"Intersectionality as a Policy Frame for Disproportionality and Other Wicked Problems." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Exceptional Children, Division for Diverse Exceptional Children, Seattle, WA, April, 2009. (Keynote)

"Pursuing Quality through Collaborative Teaching in Educational Administration: Preparing Building and District Level Special Education Leaders." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Teaching in Educational Administration SIG, Chicago, Illinois, April, 2007 (with D. Quinn, J. Crockett, M. Militello, C. Lashley). (Featured paper)

"General Education Use of Special Education Funds." Paper presented at the annual Research Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., July, 2004. (Featured paper)

"Future Directions for Special Education Research: Challenges and Opportunities." Paper presented at the annual Research Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., July, 2004. (Featured paper, with D. Deshler, C. Greenwood, and R. Horner)

"Civic Professionalism and the Struggle over Needs." Paper presented at the annual Leadership Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., July, 2000. (Keynote)

"Diversity, Inclusion and the Struggle over Needs." Paper presented at the annual International Congress, Spanish Association for Special Education, Madrid, Spain, December, 1999. (Keynote)

"Epistemological Perspectives on Special Education." Paper presented at the annual International Congress, Spanish Association for Special Education, Madrid, Spain, December, 1999. (Featured paper)

"Reconstructing (Special) Education for Postmodernity." Paper presented at the 3rd annual Research Conference, Nordic Network on Disability Research, Trondheim, Norway, September, 1999. (Keynote)

"Ideology and the Politics of Needs Discourses." Paper presented at the International Research Colloquium on Inclusive Education, Spencer Foundation and Margaret Warner Graduate School, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, June, 1999. (Featured paper)

"Disability and Democracy: Voice, Collaboration and Inclusion in Schools and Society." Paper presented at the International Seminar on Special in the Third Millennium, Grupo de Investigación Hum 181 de la Junta de Andalucía, University of Córdoba and University of Málaga, Malaga, Spain, May, 1999. (Keynote)

"Restructuring and Reculturing Schools for Authentic Collaboration." Paper presented at the National Conference on English Language Learners and Disabilities, U.S. Department of Education (Office for Civil Rights, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Office of Educational Research and Improvement), Arlington, VA, September, 1998. (Keynote)

"Postmodernism: Implications for Educational Theory and Practice." Paper presented at the annual Summer Institute (Building and Supporting Schools for Diversity), New Brunswick Ministry of Education, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada, July, 1998. (Keynote)

"Postindustrialism: Implications for School Restructuring and Special Education Reform." Paper presented at the annual Summer Institute (Building and Supporting Schools for Diversity), New Brunswick Ministry of Education, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada, July, 1998. (Featured paper)

"Policy Frames: Accountability in Adhocratic Schools." Paper presented at the annual Summer Institute (Building and Supporting Schools for Diversity), New Brunswick Ministry of Education, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada, July, 1998. (Featured paper)

"Reconstructivist Inquiry: Self-Study Approaches to Reculturing Schools." Paper presented at the annual Summer Institute (Building and Supporting Schools for Diversity), New Brunswick Ministry of Education, St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada, July, 1998. (Featured paper)

"Multiculturalism and Special Education in the Postmodern Era," Paper presented at the20th annual Meeting of Fiesta Educativa, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, May, 1998. (Featured paper)

"Reconstructing School Systems for Inclusion." Paper presented at the Seoul International Conference on Disability, Seoul, Korea, September, 1997. (Keynote)

"School Restructuring, Social Constructivism, and Democracy: Implications for Special Education in a

Postindustrial Age." Paper presented at the Taegu University Research Institute of Special Education and Rehabilitation, Kyoungju, Korea, November, 1996. (Keynote)

"Reconstructing Schools for Adaptability and Continual Renewal." Paper presented at the 2nd annual Directors' Academy, New Jersey Association of Pupil Services Administrators and New Jersey Department of Education, Absecon, New Jersey, June, 1996. (Keynote)

"Special Education and Disability from a Social/Political Perspective," Stockholm Institute of Education, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden, May, 1996. (Featured paper)

"Barriers and Bridges to Change in Louisiana Education," Louisiana State Department of Education, Monroe, Louisiana, February, 1996 (Keynote)

"Restructuring Special Education for Postmodernity," School Restructuring Conference, Institute on Disability, University of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire, March, 1995. (Keynote)

"Paradigms and Possibilities: Special Education and Student Disability in the Postmodern Era," Annual Conference, National Association of Private Schools for Exceptional Children, Sanibel Island, Florida, January, 1995. (Keynote)

"Restructuring Schools and Schools of Education for Student Diversity," Annual Meeting of the Multicultural Education Infusion Center, San Diego State University, San Diego, California, January, 1995. (Keynote)

"Changing Paradigms in Special Education," First International Conference on Inclusive Education, Canadian Association for Community Living and Roeher Institute, Toronto, Canada, August, 1994. (Keynote)

"Restructuring Schools for Excellence and Equity," Annual Conference, Canadian Council for Exceptional Children, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, November, 1994. (Keynote)

"Restructuring Schools for the New Political Economy," Annual Special Education Conference, California Department of Education, October, 1994, Keynote.

"Restructuring Schools for the Postindustrial Political Economy," Annual Special Education Conference, Michigan Department of Education, October, 1994. (Keynote)

"Changing Paradigms in Special Education," First International Conference on Inclusive Education, Canadian Association for Community Living and Roeher Institute, Toronto, Canada, August, 1994. (Keynote)

"Special Education, Pupil Diversity, and Reform," Annual Special Education and Cultural Diversity Symposium, jointly sponsored by the California Research Institute on Special Education and Cultural Diversity (UC Santa Cruz), Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement (CSU San Francisco), and the Unified School Districts of San Diego, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, San Diego, California, June, 1994. (Keynote)

"Restructuring Schools for Student Diversity," Annual meeting of the Connecticut Council of Administrators of Special Education, Waterbury, Connecticut, May, 1994. (Keynote)

"Restructuring Schools for Student Diversity: Structural and Cultural Perspectives," Annual Conference,

Office of Compensatory Education, Idaho Department of Education, Boise, Idaho, March, 1994. (Featured paper)

"Organizational Barriers to Implementation of Disability Legislation in the United States," Seminar on Legislative Issues in the Education of Students with Disabilities, Russian Ministry of Education, Moscow, Russia, March, 1994. (Featured paper)

"'Exceptional' Children: Artifacts of Traditional School Organization," 25th Anniversary Conference and Reunion, Department for the Education of Exceptional Children, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, January, 1994. (Keynote)

"Inclusive Education and the Postindustrial Economy," Seventh Samuel Laycock Memorial Lecture, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada, January, 1994. (Endowed lecture)

"The Possibility of Inclusive Education in the 21st Century," Annual Conference on Exceptional Children, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, November, 1993. (Featured paper)

"Reorganizing Schools and Schools of Education for Student Diversity: A Structural Perspective," Annual Bilingual Special Education Training of Trainers Institute, Bueno Center for Multicultural Education, Boulder, Colorado, August, 1993. (Keynote)

"Rethinking Special Education for the 21st Century," Canadian Association for Community Living and the Roeher Institute, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, July, 1993. (Keynote)

"From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy: Restructuring Schools for the 21st Century," Annual Conference, Louisiana Association of School Executives, St. Francisville, Louisiana, June, 1993. (Keynote)

"Structuring Schools and Schools of Education for Student Diversity," Bilingual/Multicultural Personnel Training Alliance, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May, 1993. (Keynote)

"Equity as the Way to Excellence: School Organization and Multiculturalism in Postindustrial America," California Research Institute on Special Education and Cultural Diversity, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, May, 1993. (Keynote)

"Inclusion: A Real Possibility in the Post-Industrial Era," Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, San Antonio, Texas, April, 1993. (Featured paper)

"Special Education and Cultural Diversity" Annual Convention, National Association for Bilingual Education, Houston, February, 1993. (Featured paper)

"Merging Special and Regular Education: Accountability in the Restructured System," Annual Fall Colloquium, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, December, 1992. (Featured paper)

"Merging Special and Regular Education: Accountability in the Restructured System," Annual Fall Colloquium, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, December, 1992. (Featured paper)

"Should There Be a Next Generation of Special Education?" 4th Annual Initiatives Conference, Illinois

State Board of Education and Illinois Special Education Leadership Academy, Rosemont, Illinois, March, 1992. (Featured paper)

"The Crisis in Professional Knowledge: Implications for School Psychology and Educational Reform," Annual Convention, National Association of School Psychology, Dallas, March, 1991. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Change: From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," Annual Convention, Saskatchewan Federation Council for Exceptional Children, Yorkton, Saskatchewan, Canada, April, 1991. (Keynote)

"School Psychology and the Revolution in Modern Knowledge," 98th Annual Convention, American Psychological Association (Division 16, School Psychology), Boston, August, 1990. (Keynote)

"Students With Special Educational Needs: Artifacts of the Traditional Curriculum," International Special Education Congress, Symposium 3, Cardiff, Wales, July, 1990. (Keynote)

"From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy: Special Education and School Restructuring," 18th Annual Conference, British Columbia Federation, Council of Administrators of Special Education, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November, 1990. (Keynote)

"Equitable and Excellent Schools: From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," Calgary Teachers' Convention, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, February, 1990. (Featured paper)

"Adhocratic School Organization: Change Strategies and Modes of Accountability," Calgary Teachers' Convention, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, February, 1990. (Featured paper)

"Collaboration and Possibility," Pre-Convention Academy, 68th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Toronto, Canada, April, 1990. (Keynote)

"Collaborative Inquiry," Pre-Convention Academy, 68th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Toronto, Canada, April, 1990. (Featured paper)

"PL 99-457: Danger and Possibility," Early Childhood Leadership Institute, New Hampshire State Department of Education, Laconia, New Hampshire, December, 1989. (Keynote)

"Alternative Views of Special Education and Disability," 17th Annual Conference, British Columbia Federation, Council of Administrators of Special Education, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November, 1989. (Keynote)

"Models of School Organization and Their Impact On the Concept of 'Disability' and the Delivery of Special Education," 17th Annual Conference, British Columbia Federation, Council of Administrators of Special Education, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November, 1989. (Keynote)

"The Regular Education Initiative, School Organization, and Special Education Reform," 17th Annual Conference, British Columbia Federation, Council for Exceptional Children, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November, 1989. (Featured paper)

"The Regular Education Initiative and School Organization," Annual Special Education Administrators' Conference, Missouri Council of Administrators of Special Education, Lake of the Ozarks, Missouri, September, 1989. (Keynote)

"Excellence and Equity: From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," Regular Education Initiative Summer Institute, Keene State College, Keene, New Hampshire, June, 1989. (Keynote)

"Historical Overview of the Regular Education Initiative," Partnership for Teaching Conference, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June, 1989. (Keynote)

"Save the Babies: Law, Bureaucracy, and the Aims of PL 99-457," Early Childhood Leadership Institute, New Hampshire State Department of Education, Laconia, New Hampshire, June, 1989. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Democracy in Post-Industrial America," Annual ERIC Directors Meeting, Educational Resources Information Centers, Rosslyn, Virginia, May, 1989. (Keynote)

"Four Paradigms of Social Scientific Thought: Multiple Views of Special Education and Disability," Pre-Convention Academy, 67th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, San Francisco, California, April, 1989. (Keynote)

"Special Education and Disability From the Functionalist Perspective: The Traditional Outlook," Pre-Convention Academy, 67th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, San Francisco, California, April, 1989. (Featured paper)

"Toward a Dialogical Theory of School Organization and Adaptability: Special Education and Disability As Organizational Pathologies," Pre-Convention Academy, 67th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, San Francisco, California, April, 1989. (Featured paper)

"Improving Regular Education: Can David Slay Goliath Again?" 67th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, San Francisco, California, April, 1989. (Featured paper)

"Partnerships for Achievement: Quality Education for All Students," First Annual Illinois Initiative Conference, Illinois State Board of Education, Chicago, Illinois, March, 1989. (Keynote)

"The Future of Special Education," Annual Special Education Administrators' Conference, Ministry of Education, Province of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, February, 1989. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Special Education: Disabilities as Organizational Pathologies," Educational Service District 112, Annual Special Education Directors' Conference, Vancouver, Washington, February, 1989. (Keynote)

"Shifting from the Disintegrated to the Integrated School: A Move from Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," New Hampshire State Department of Education, Concord, New Hampshire, November, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and the Problem of Legalistic/Bureaucratic Modes of Accountability," Fifth Annual Pacific Northwest Institute on Special Education and the Law, University of Washington Institute for Special Education Law and Policy, Yakama, Washington, September, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and the Regular Education Initiative: Implications for Excellence and Equity in Public Education," Jefferson County Schools, Denver, Colorado, August, 1988. (Keynote)

"The Integrated School: From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," Educational Service District 20, San Antonio, Texas, June, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Adaptability: Implications for a Post-Mainstreaming Reform of Special Education," Colorado State Department of Education, Denver, Colorado, May, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and the Regular Education Initiative: An Opportunity for a Post-Mainstreaming Reform of General and Special Education," School City of Hammond, Michigan City, Indiana, May, 1988. (Keynote)

"Change Strategies: Moving from Bureaucracy to Adhocracy", School City of Hammond, Michigan City, Indiana, May, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization, Reform and the Post-Mainstreaming Debate," Educational Service District, Washington State Department of Education, Ripling River, Washington, April, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Adaptability: Implications for the Future of Education for Students with Special Needs," Ohio State Department of Education, Special Education Futures Forum, Columbus, Ohio, April, 1988. (Keynote)

"School Organization and the Regular Education Initiative: Implications for a Post-Mainstreaming Reform of General and Special Education," Massachusetts Council for Exceptional Children Annual Conference, Boston, Massachusetts, April, 1988. (Keynote)

"Post-Mainstreaming Special Education Reform and the Problem of School Organization," New Mexico Federation Council for Exceptional Children Annual Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March, 1988. (Keynote)

"Interpretive and Dialectical Inquiry Systems: Consensus and Conflict in Special Education Policy Analysis," California State Department of Education, January, 1988. (Keynote)

"An Overview of the Issues Embodied in the Regular Education Initiative," Indiana Special Education Administrators' Conference, Indiana Special Education Administrator's Services, Indiana State University, Indianapolis, Indiana, November, 1987. (Keynote)

"Organizational Structures and Special Education Reform," Indiana Special Education Administrators' Conference, Indiana Special Education Administrator's Services, Indiana State University, Indianapolis, Indiana, November, 1987. (Featured paper)

"School Organization and Special Education Reform," Blueprint for Change: National Conference on the Future of Special Education, Council for Exceptional Children, Orlando, Florida, November, 1987. (Featured paper)

"The National Inquiry into the Future of Education for Students with Special Needs," Council for Exceptional Children, National Conference on the Future of Special Education, Orlando, Florida, November, 1987. (Featured paper)

"An Organizational Analysis of Special Education Reform," National Inquiry Into the Future of Education for Students with Special Needs, Arlington, Virginia, November, 1987. (Keynote)

"Interpretive/Dialectical Policy Analysis: Capitalizing on Conflict," Institute for the Study of Exceptional Children and Youth, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, November, 1987. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Adaptability: Implications for the Past, Present, and Future of Special Education," Annual Special Education Directors' Retreat, Educational Service District 113 (Olympia), Seattle, Washington, October, 1987. (Keynote)

"Beyond Empiricism: The Case for Interpretive and Critical Perspectives in Special Education Research," Annual Research in Education of the Handicapped Project Directors' Conference, Division of Innovation and Development, Special Education Programs, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C., July 1987. (Keynote)

"School Organization and Special Education Professional Knowledge: Implications for Special Education Teacher Education," West Virginia Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children, Morgantown, West Virginia, May, 1987. (Keynote)

"School Organization and the Necessary Restructuring of Special Education: A Dialogue with Maynard Reynolds," Wisconsin Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children, Whitewater, Wisconsin, April, 1987. (Keynote)

Invited Faculty Research Colloquia: International/National

"School and Disability: A Critical Theoretical Approach to Problems in Special and Inclusive Education," Graduate Program in Education: History, Politics and Society, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil, November, 2011.

"Educational Perspectives on Disability, Social Services and Public Policy," Nordic Academy for Special Education Doctoral Studies, Trondheim, Norway, September, 1999.

"Policy Frames and Needs Discourses: Implications for Special Education Policy Research and Professionalism," International Seminar on Theoretical Perspectives on Special Education, Research Council of Norway, Alesund, Norway, May, 1997.

"Restructuring Special Education for a Postindustrial Age," Department of Special Education, Taegu University, Taegu , Korea, November, 1996.

"Restructuring Schools of Education for Inclusion and Innovation," Faculty of the School of Education, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana, February, 1996.

"Restructuring Schools of Education for Student Diversity," Faculty of the College of Education, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, February, 1996.

"Organizational Requirements for Inclusive Education," Faculty of the School of Education, McNeese State University, Lake Charles, Louisiana, March, 1996.

"Organizing Schools and Schools of Education for Inclusive Education," Faculty of the School of Education, Southeastern State University, Hammond, Louisiana, March, 1996.

"Critical Pragmatism and Democratic Education," Institute of Educational Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, November, 1995.

"Restructuring Schools and Schools of Education for Diversity and Democracy," College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, June, 1995.

"School Organization and Diversity: Implications for Teacher Education," Faculty of the College of Education, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, Lincoln, Nebraska, September, 1994.

"Restructuring Systems and Cultures for Unified Education," 18th Annual Kephart Special Education Symposium, University of Northern Colorado, Vail, Colorado, July, 1994.

"Restructuring Schools for Student Diversity," Faculty of the School of Education, University of Nebraska at Kearney, Kearney, Nebraska, December, 1993.

"Critical Pragmatism: Social Science Without Foundations," Faculty of Social Science and Faculty of the Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, April, 1993.

"Special Education: Foundational Problems and Antifoundational Possibilities," Faculty of Special Education, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, March-April, 1993.

"Restructuring Schools and Schools of Education for Student Diversity," Faculty of the School of Education, California State University at Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, December, 1993.

"Disciplinary Power: Special Education as Foucault's Nightmare," Faculty of the College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, October, 1993.

"Postmodernism: Implications for Educational Inquiry," Faculty of Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, December, 1992.

"Educational Inquiry in Transition," Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, December, 1992.

"Alternative Paradigms for Educational Inquiry," Faculty of Education, Cambridge Institute of Education, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, November, 1991.

"Structural Perspectives on Special Education in the United States," Faculty of Education, University College-Swansea, Swansea, Wales, November, 1991.

"Naturalistic and Critical Inquiry in Education," Faculty of Education, Cambridge Institute of Education, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, July, 1989.

"Naturalistic Inquiry and Educational Research," Faculty of the School of Education, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, April, 1989.

"Alternative Paradigms for Special Education Research," Faculty of Education, College of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, February, 1989.

Competitive Papers: International/National

“Categorical manipulation in the reproduction of organizational inequality: The case of disability categorization in schools. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Denver, CO, August 2012 (with A. Saatcioglu).

“Applying intersectionality and intersectional needs politics to special education research.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver, BC, Canada, April 2012 (with Z. McCall).

“Measuring the impact of instructional coaching: Evidence from classroom observation.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver, BC, Canada, April 2012 (with D. Knight, J. Knight, D. Deshler, M. Hock, & B. Bradley).

“Examining racial bias in high-incidence disability categorization.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Sociology of Education Association, Pacific Grove, CA, February 2012 (with A. Saatcioglu)

“The irony of access: Intersectional needs politics and the stratifying practices of special education.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Disability Studies in Education SIG, American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL, May 2011 (with Z. McCall).

“Professional development practices of school-based instructional coaches: A naturalistic inquiry.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA, April 2011 (with J. Cornett, S. Harvey).

“Employing design research to improve instructional coaching practices.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA, April 2011 (with B. Bradley, S. Harvey)

"Understanding attributes of effective coaches." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA, April 2010. (with J. Knight, J. Cornett, M. Kennedy, L. Novosel & B. Mitchell)

“Linking equity policies, leadership, and collaborative partnerships to innovative practices.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Exceptional Children, Nashville, TN, April 2010. (with M. L. Boscardin, J. Crockett, & B. Billingsley)

"Disability studies and ethical practice: Standards for researchers." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Division G), San Diego, CA, April 2009.

"Principals and superintendents as special education leaders: A capacity building approach to IDEA/NCLB implementation." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Exceptional Children, Boston, MA, April 2008.

"Principals and superintendents as special education leaders: Capacity building in response to disappearing special education administration." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the University Council for Educational Administration, Washington, DC. November 2007.

"Principals and superintendents as special education leaders and disability advocates." Paper presented at the annual Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, DC, July 2007.

"Preparing principals and superintendents as special education leaders: A capacity-building approach to the elimination of special education administrators." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Exceptional Children, Louisville, KY, April, 2007.

"Disability Studies and Ethical Practice: Proposed Standards for Educators." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Second City Conference on Disabilities Studies in Education, Chicago, IL,

April, 2007 (with R. Smith, D. Gallagher, V. Owen).

"Strong Democratic Leadership in the Face of Global Neoliberalization," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the University Council for Educational Administration, San Antonio, TX, November, 2006.

"Advancing Leadership Training and Research in Special Education Administration," Paper presented at the annual Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., July-August, 2006 (with M. L. Boscardin).

"Democratic Leadership," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Council for Exceptional Children, Salt Lake City, UT, April, 2006.

"Advancing Leadership Training and Research in Special Education Administration," Paper presented at the annual Project Directors' Conference, U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., July, 2005 (with M. L. Boscardin).

"Critical Perspectives on Leadership for the Success of All Children," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the University Council for Educational Administration, Nashville, TN, November, 2005.

"Deconstructing Special Education: A Strong Democratic Framework," University Council for Educational Administrators, Kansas City, Missouri, November, 2004.

"Inclusive Education in Rural Schools: Systems Change in a Special Education Cooperative," American Council on Rural Special Education, Orlando, March, 2004. (with D. Fulton)

"Ethical Impact Standards for Disability Studies in Education: Comments on the Standards for Teacher Education in Higher Education Institutions," American Educational Research Association, San Diego, April, 2004. (with R. Smith, V. Owen, S. Peters, M. Sapon-Shevin)

"Preparing School Principals in IDEA Implementation," Annual Meeting of the International Association for Educational Planning, Indianapolis, Indiana, October, 1999. (with G. Crawford and J. Kleinhammer-Tramill)

"The Shaklee Institute for Improving Special Education: A Collaborative Effort for Positive Change," Annual Convention of the Council for Exceptional Children, Minneapolis, Minnesota, April, 1998.

"Philosophical Pragmatism as an Epistemological and Moral Framework for Postmodern Disability Research," Annual Conference of the International Association for the Scientific Study of Intellectual Disabilities, Helsinki, Finland, July, 1996.

"Inclusive Education: Organizational Requirements and Policy Implications," Annual Conference of the International Association for the Scientific Study of Intellectual Disabilities, Helsinki, Finland, July, 1996.

"Reconstruction and Empowerment: New Interpretations of Evaluation Applied to Economic Development, Welfare Reform, and Higher Education," First International Evaluation Conference, American Evaluation Association and Canadian Evaluation Society, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, November, 1995.

"A Political and Economic Justification for Inclusive Education," Annual Meeting of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps, Atlanta, Georgia, December, 1994.

"Public Education and the Conditions of Pragmatism," Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, April, 1994.

"Disciplinary Power as Vulgar Pragmatism: The Case of Special Education in Industrialized Democracies," 31st Congress of the International Institute of Sociology, the Sorbonne, Paris, June, 1993.

"Critical Pragmatism and the Special Education Discourse" (Paper presented in the Symposium, "Inquiry in Special Education: Three Perspectives on Tom Skrtic's Critical Pragmatism"), Annual Meeting, American Educational Research Association, Division G (Social Context of Education), San Francisco, California, April, 1992.

"Good Criticism, Wrong Target: In Defense of Critical Pragmatism" (Discussant response in the Symposium, "Inquiry in Special Education: Three Perspectives on Tom Skrtic's Adoption of Critical Pragmatism"), Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Division G (Social Context of Education), San Francisco, California, April, 1992.

"Special Education Practices in the Post-Industrial World," 2nd Biennial Conference, International Association of Special Education, Milwaukee, May, 1991.

"A Naturalistic Study of the Reform Process of An Educational Administration Program," Annual Convention of the University Council for Educational Administration, Paradise Valley, Arizona, October, 1989 (with J. Scheurich & G. Crawford).

"An Opportunity for Grass Roots Revolutions in School Organization with Supporting Dollars Through Post-Mainstreaming Special Education Reform." Annual Conference of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Boston, Massachusetts, March, 1988.

"New Directions in Special Education Research." 66th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Washington, D.C., March-April, 1988.

"Preconditions for Merger: An Organizational Analysis of Special Education Reform," Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., April, 1987.

"School Organization and the Regular Education Initiative," 65th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1987.

"Learning Strategies Instruction for Post-Secondary Learning Disabled Students." 5th International Conference on Learning Disabilities, Council for Learning Disabilities, San Francisco, California, October, 1983.

"The Application of Learning Strategies Instruction in Post-Secondary Settings." 6th National Conference, Association on Handicapped Student Service Programs in Post-Secondary Education, Oakland, California, July, 1983.

"Meaningful Remediation of Computational Errors in Learning Disabled Adolescents." 4th International Conference on Learning Disabilities, Council for Learning Disabilities, Kansas City,

Missouri, October, 1982.

"Teaching Teachers to Teach Teachers: The First Phase of a New Approach to Inservice Education." Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Los Angeles, California, April, 1981.

"Mathematic Intervention for Learning Disabled Adolescents: Generalization Across Stimulus Modes." 59th Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, New York, New York, April, 1981.

"The Learning Disabled Adolescent in the Secondary School: Research On Student Abilities and Setting Constraints" (Research Symposium Chairperson), 59th Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, New York, New York, April, 1981.

"A Method for Frequency-Within-Interval Recording of Eighteen Interactional Behaviors Across Classroom Activities." Annual Meeting of the Association for Behavior Analysis, Dearborn, Michigan, May, 1980.

"Inservice for Career/Vocational Education of the Handicapped: Training Educators to Design, Develop and Deliver Inservice Education." 58th Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April, 1980.

"A Forgotten Attribute: Cognitive Level of Formal Reasoning." 17th Annual International Convention, Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February, 1980.

"Basic Skills: Two Alternatives." Sixth National Conference of the Research Council for Diagnostic and Prescriptive Mathematics, Tampa, Florida, April, 1979.

"Mathematics Instruction: The Laboratory Approach". 56th Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Kansas City, Missouri, May, 1978.

"Attitudes of Regular Grade Youngsters Toward the Integration of Special Education Students in Their Schools." 52nd Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, New York, New York, April, 1974.

"Attitudes of Male and Female Trainable Mentally Retarded Teachers Toward the Handicapped." 51st Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Dallas, Texas, April, 1973.

"A Study of Sex Differences in the Attitudes of Male and Female Teachers of the Trainable Mentally Retarded." 51st Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Dallas, Texas, April, 1973.

"Crackerbarrel Session." 51st Annual International Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, Dallas, Texas, April, 1973.

<u>Invited Papers: International/National/Regional</u>

"Diversity and Democracy: Reconstructing Schools for a Postmodern World," James E. Smith Midwest Conference on World Affairs, University of Nebraska, Kearney, NE, March, 1997.

"Student Diversity and Democratic Education," San Diego City Schools, San Diego, California, November, 1994.

"Restructuring Schools for the New Political Economy," Annual Forum on Change, Michigan Department of Education, Lansing, Michigan, October, 1994.

"Special Education, Student Diversity, and Democratic Education," Ninth Annual Special Education Fall Conference, California Department of Education, Sacramento, California, October, 1994.

"Restructuring Schools and Schools of Education for Student Diversity," Annual meeting of Kansas Comprehensive System of Personnel Development and Kansas Project Partnership (Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa), Kansas State Board of Education, Kansas City, Kansas, January, 1994.

"Restructuring Schools for Student Diversity," Regional SEA Leadership and Networking Conference (Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa), Mountain Plains Regional Resource Center, Kansas City, Kansas, May, 1994.

"Barriers and Bridges to Inclusive Education in Louisiana," Learning Disabilities Association of Louisiana and Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana, October, 1993.

"Inclusive Education: Organizational Requirements and Social Implications," Experimental Education Unit, University of Washington, Seattle, October, 1993.

"Reactions to 'Policy and Planning Conference on Special Education in Multicultural California,'" California Research Institute on Special Education and Cultural Diversity, University of California, Santa Cruz, September, 1993.

"The Relationship Between School Organization and Educational Equity," Symposium on "Structures and Strategies for Leadership," Boston Public Schools, Boston, August, 1993.

"Interdependence, Old and New," School of Education and Human Services, Eastern Montana College, May, 1993.

"The State of the Onion: Special Education Reform in 20th Century America," Cambridge Institute of Education, Cambridge University, Cambridge, England, November, 1991.

"School Restructuring: Implications for Special Education," Special Education Administrators' Conference, Chicago Public Schools, April, 1991.

"Equity as the Way to Excellence in the Adhocratic School Organization," Annual Convention, National Association of School Psychology, Dallas, March, 1991.

"The Revolution in School Organization," Special Education Outcomes Retreat, Kansas State Board of Education, Division of Special Education, May, 1991.

"Excellence and Equity in Public Education: The Adhocratic School Organization," Oral testimony presented to the National Council on Disability, Washington, D.C., July, 1989.

"Quality Education for All Students: Moving From Bureaucracy to Adhocracy," Achievement

Partnership Conference, Wayne County Intermediate School District, Wayne, Michigan, June, 1989.

"Organization Theory and School Renewal Strategies," Education Development Center, Newton, Massachusetts, June, 1989.

"Naturalistic Inquiry: Axiomatic Implications for Research Practice," Colorado Department of Education, Denver, Colorado, April, 1989.

"Social Accommodation: Toward a Dialogical Discourse in Educational Inquiry," Pre-Convention Conference on Alternative Paradigms of Inquiry, American Educational Research Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, California, March, 1989.

"Naturalistic Inquiry: Paradigmatic Axioms," Colorado Department of Education, Denver, Colorado, November, 1988.

"Naturalistic Inquiry: Sociological and Philosophical Foundations," Colorado Department of Education, Denver, Colorado, October, 1988.

"School Organization and Special Education Reform," National Conference of the Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children, Atlanta, Georgia, November, 1986.

"Doing Naturalistic Research into Educational Organizations." National Career Development Seminar, University Council for Educational Administration, Overland Park, Kansas, November, 1983.

"Personnel Data Management Systems: Considerations for Implementation." Comprehensive System of Personnel Development Workshop for State Education Agency Personnel, Project on Cooperative Manpower Planning in Special Education, Reno, Nevada, February, 1980.

"Teacher Education Materials Development." Midwest Region Dean's Grant Annual Conference, Kansas City, Missouri, December, 1979.

"Social Integration of the Handicapped." Multi-State Regular Education Inservice Consortia, Des Moines, Iowa, July, 1979.

"Comparative Practices and Problems in Special Education." Second Annual Anglo-American Conference, Oxford Division of the Association of Professions for the Mentally Handicapped and the American Association of Special Educators, Crowthorne, Berkshire, England, July, 1978.

"Entering the Mainstream or the Most Responsive Alternative." School of Education and Psychology, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, February, 1978.

"Mainstreaming Roles and Responsibilities." School of Education and Psychology, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, February, 1978.

"The University of Kansas' Dean's Project: Procedures for Faculty and Curriculum Develop-ment." School of Education and Psychology, Southwest Missouri State University, Springfield, Missouri, February, 1978.

"Faculty and Curriculum Development in Response to Mainstreaming." College of Education,

University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, November, 1977.

"Higher Education's Response to Mainstreaming." College of Education, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, November, 1977.

Competitive Papers: Regional/State

“Capabilities and Disability: What Justice Requires.” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Mid-America American Studies Association, Lawrence, KS, March, 2010.

"An Appropriate Education for the Handicapped: A Generic Staff Development Model." Kansas Federation Council for Exceptional Children, Topeka, Kansas, March, 1979.

"Meeting the Promise of PL 94-142: A Responsive Staff Development Model." Kansas National Education Association Convention, Wichita, Kansas, March, 1979.

"Changing Attitudes of Regular Elementary Teachers Toward Learning Disabled Children: An Inservice Model." Kansas Federation of the Council for Exceptional Children, Wichita, Kansas, March, 1977.

"Dean's Project Update." Kansas Federation Council for Exceptional Children, Wichita, Kansas, March, 1977.

Invited Keynote Addresses and Featured Papers: State/Local

"Civic Professionalism and the Struggle over Needs," Endowed lecture associated with receiving the 2005-06 Gene A. Budig Teaching Professorship in Special Education, Lawrence, KS, March, 2006, Endowed Lecture.

"History of Special Education: An Overview," Board of Directors, Eagle Hill School, Newport, Rhode Island, November, 2004, Invited Address.

"Disability, Democracy, and Special Education Reform," Eagle Hill School, Hardwick, MA, October, 2003, Invited Address.

"Paradigms and Possibilities: Reconfiguring Public Education for the 21st Century," Seventh Annual Special Education Spring Symposium, College of Education and Allied Professions, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina, May, 1998, Keynote.

"School Organization, Special Education, and Diversity," Annual Bilingual Education Conference, Utah Department of Education, Salt Lake City, Utah, December, 1997, Keynote.

"The Future of Special Education: Crisis and Opportunity in the Transition to Postmodern Society," Annual Conference of the Indiana Council of Administrators of Special Education, Indianapolis, Indiana, February, 1997, Keynote.

"State Leadership in Restructuring Schools and Schools of Education for Inclusion," Division of Special Education, Louisiana State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, March, 1996, Invited Address.

"Restructuring Schools for Diversity and Democracy," Ottawa Area Intermediate School District,

Holland, Michigan, December, 1995, Featured Paper.

"Restructuring Schools for Inclusive Education," Ottawa Area Intermediate School District, Holland, Michigan, December, 1995, Keynote.

"Restructuring Education for the Postmodern Era," Performance and Instruction Center, Oakland County Schools, Waterford, Michigan, November, 1995, Keynote.

"Organization Design for Unified Schools," Annual Administrative Council Retreat, Walled Lake Consolidated Schools, Walled Lake, Michigan, August, 1995, Keynote.

"Organizational Requirements of Unified Schools," Annual Administrative Retreat, School District of the City of Royal Oak, Royal Oak, Michigan, August, 1995, Keynote.

"Postmodernism: Implications for Professional Education in and Across Human Services Fields," Ecology of Human Performance Summit, Leadership in Occupational Therapy Service Systems and Department of Occupational Therapy Education, University of Kansas, Kansas City, Kansas, May, 1995, Keynote.

"Restructuring Education for the Postmodern Era," Topical Conference, Division of Special Education, Oakland County Schools, Waterford, Michigan, May, 1995, Keynote.

"Restructuring Special Education," Special Education Local Plan Area, Monterey County, California, March, 1995, Featured Paper.

"Inclusive Education and Special Education Restructuring," Special Education Local Plan Area, Monterey County, California, March, 1995, Keynote.

"Collaborative Development of Teacher Competencies and Practicum Sites for Inclusive Education: Status and Impact of a Kansas Partnership Project," School of Education Project Partnership Management Conference, University of Kansas, February, 1995, Invited Address.

"Restructuring Schools for Diversity and Democracy," Annual Meeting of Special Education Administrators and Supervisors, Southwest Cook County Cooperative for Special Education, Oak Forest, Illinois, February, 1995, Keynote.

"Restructuring Special Education for the Postmodern Era," Annual Meeting of Special Education Administrators of Oakland County, Oakland County Schools, Waterford, Michigan, February, 1995, Keynote.

"School Restructuring for the 21st Century: Implications for Technological Innovation," Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, June, 1994, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Change: Implications for Bilingual and Multicultural Education," Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, April, 1994, Invited Address.

"Facilitating Change through Qualitative Program Evaluation," Interdisciplinary Research Forum, Child Development Unit, University of Kansas Medical Center, Kansas City, Kansas, November, 1994, Invited Address.

"Inclusion: Historical Perspectives," Annual meeting of the Kansas Alliance of Professional Development Schools, Lawrence, Kansas, August, 1994, Invited Address.

"Postindustrial Schooling," National Advisory Board, School of Education, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, November, 1993, Invited Address.

"Restructuring Schools for the Postindustrial Political Economy," Summer Institute, Kansas Alliance of Professional Development Schools, Lawrence, Kansas, August, 1993, Invited Address.

"Restructuring Kansas Schools for the Postindustrial Economy," Kansas State Board of Education, July, 1993, Invited Address.

"Public Education in Postindustrial America," Kansas State Board of Education, Special Education Outcomes Team, Topeka, Kansas, May, 1993, Invited Address.

"Organizational Implications of Inclusion," Parents Advisory Committee, Leavenworth Special Education Cooperative, Leavenworth, Kansas, April, 1993, Invited Address.

"Recent Developments in Social Inquiry: Implications for Research in Learning Disabilities," Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, September, 1991, Invited Address.

"An Organizational History of United States Public Education in the Twentieth Century," AED International Seminar, American Studies Program, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, October, 1989, Invited Address.

"School Organization and the Myth of Gifted Education," Topeka Association for the Gifted, Topeka, Kansas, October, 1989, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Adaptability: A Structural Perspective On Equity and Excellence," Summer Institute on School Improvement, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, June, 1989, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Adaptability: The Cultural Perspective," Summer Institute on School Improvement, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, June, 1989, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Accountability," Summer Institute on School Improvement, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, June, 1989, Invited Address.

"American Education and Reform in the Twentieth Century," AED International Seminar, American Studies Program, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, March, 1989, Invited Address.

"The Nature of Organizations and Their Impact On Special Education," Organizational Meeting for Long-Range Study of Special Education, Shawnee Mission School District, Shawnee Mission, Kansas, February, 1989, Invited Address.

"An Overview of the Metatheoretical Assumptions Underlying Various Research Paradigms," Colloquium on Alternative Research Paradigms in the Social Sciences, Department of Counseling Psychology, University of Kansas, March, 1988, Invited Address.

"School Organization, P.L. 94-142 and the Post-Mainstreaming Special Education Reform

Movement," Northeast Kansas Council for Exceptional Children, Overland Park, Kansas, October, 1987, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Adaptability: Implications for Educational Change and Staff Development," Project on Building Effective School Transitions, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, October, 1987, Invited Address.

"School Organization and Adaptability: Implications for Diffusion of Instructional Innovations, " Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, March, 1987, Invited Address.

"Attitude Toward Individual Differences." Workshop for Kansas Teacher Trainers Providing General Education Inservice Training, Comprehensive Personnel Planning for the Handicapped in Kansas, Emporia, Kansas, May, 1980, Invited Address.

"Responsible Choices in Disseminating Research Findings: Messages and Media." Committee for the International Year of the Child and Early Childhood Institute, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, November, 1979, Invited Address.

"Learning Disabled Students in Regular Classrooms: Barriers and Bridges." Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, Ottawa, Kansas, September, 1979, Invited Address.

"A Generic Staff Development Model in Response to PL 94-142." Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, April, 1979, Invited Address.

"The Effects of Learning Disabilities on the Family: A Personal Perspective." Johnson County Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, Overland Park, Kansas, April, 1979, Invited Address.

"Kansas University Dean's Grant Project: Preservice Preparation of Regular Educators for Mainstreaming." Shawnee Mission Parent Advocacy Group, Shawnee Mission, Kansas, November, 1978, Invited Address.

"Attitudes Toward the Orthopedically Handicapped: Can They be Changed in School and Society?" Capper Foundation for Crippled Children, Topeka, Kansas, January, 1978, Invited Address.

"Mainstreaming." Multi-Institutional Teacher Education Center, Shawnee Mission, Kansas, November, 1977, Invited Address.

"Mainstreaming: Implications for Regular Educators." Multi-Institutional Teacher Education Center, Shawnee Mission, Kansas, November, 1976, Invited Address.

"Competencies Needed by Regular Teachers for Mainstreaming." College of Education, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, April, 1976, Invited Address.

"Current Status of the Field of Learning Disabilities." Kirkwood Community College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April, 1976, Invited Address.

"Secondary Mainstreaming" (video tape). College of Education, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, April, 1976, Invited Address.

"Non-Categorical Education at Fountain Valley." Division of Educational Psychology, California State University, Long Beach, California, November, 1972, Invited Address.

COURSES TAUGHT: UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Department of Special Education (current/recent)

"Civic Professionalism," a required graduate course for special education doctoral students

"Democracy and Education in America," a graduate course for special education doctoral students (cross-listed in the American Studies Program).

"Public Policy and Civic Professionalism," a graduate course for special education doctoral students (cross-listed in the American Studies Program).

"Professionalization and the Origins of the American Welfare State," a graduate course for special education doctoral students (cross-listed in the American Studies Program).

"Interdisciplinary Policy Research," a graduate course for special education doctoral students.

"Organization and Administration of Services for Exceptional Children and Youth," a graduate course for special education doctoral students (cross-listed in the Department of Teaching & Leadership).

"Problems of Exceptionality: Issues and Trends," a required graduate course for special education doctoral students.

"Naturalistic Research," a graduate course for doctoral students in special education, education, and other disciplines

"Power/Paradigms/Professions," a graduate course for students in human services professional schools and the social sciences and humanities (co-taught with Gary Shapiro and Ann Weick and cross-listed in the Department of Philosophy and the School of Social Welfare).

Department of Curriculum & Instruction (1976-1994)

"Teaching Mathematics in the Elementary and Middle School," an undergraduate course for general education majors.

"Diagnosis and Remediation in Elementary Mathematics," a graduate course for general education professionals.

"Critical Perspectives on Instructional Leadership," a core graduate course for doctoral students in the Instructional Leadership Program.

Department of Educational Policy and Leadership (1986-87)

"Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational Policy and Administration," a research methodology course for doctoral students in educational administration and practicing administrators.

Department of Psychology and Research in Education (1988-1997)

"Naturalistic Interpretive Inquiry," a research methodology course for doctoral students in the human services professional schools.

COURSES TAUGHT: VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS

"Pragmatism: A Postmodern Metaparadigm for Educational Inquiry," Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, Fall, 1995.

"Special Education: Social, Political, and Theoretical Foundations," Institute of Special Education, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, Spring, 1993.

"Organization and Leadership for Inclusive Schools," Department of Educational Administration, School of Education, Syracuse University, Summer, 1991.

"Methods of Educational Research," Cambridge Institute of Education, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, Fall, 1991.

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Editorships

Co-Editor, *Focus on Exceptional Children*, Love Publishing, 1999-2002.
Co-Editor, Topical Issue on "School-Community Partnerships and Educational Reform," *Remedial and Special Education*, Pro-Ed Journals, Inc., 1995-1996.
Column Editor, *Counterpoint*, Counterpoint Communications Company, 1982-1986.

Editorial Boards

Editorial Board, *Exceptionality Education International*, University of Alberta, 2009-present.
Editorial Board, *British Educational Research Journal*, Routledge, 2008-present.
Editorial Board, *Remedial and Special Education*, Pro-Ed Journals, 2006-present.
Editorial Board, *American Educational Research Journal: Social/Institutional Analysis*. American Educational Research Association, 2005-2008.
Editorial Advisor, *The Sage Handbook of Special Education*, L. Florian (Ed.), 2007, Sage Publications, 2004-2006.
Editorial Board, *Disability, Culture, and Education*, Information Age Publishing, 2000-2004.
Editorial Board, *In Case*, Council for Administrators of Special Education, Council for Exceptional Children, 1998-present. (previously Case in Point)
International Editorial Board, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. Taylor & Francis Ltd., London, England, 1996-present.
Board of Editors, *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps, 1995-present.
Editorial Board, *Qualitative Inquiry*, Sage Publications, 1994-2003.
Distinguished Board of Advisors in Special Education, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1989-present.
Editorial Board, *Journal of Special Education Leadership*, Council of Administrators of Special Education, Council for Exceptional Children, 1990-present.
Editorial Board, *Exceptionality*, Division for Research, Council for Exceptional Children, 1989-92.
Editorial Board, *Remedial and Special Education*, Pro-Ed Journals, Inc., 1988-1991.
Associate Editor, *Journal for Special Educators*, Journal for Special Educators, Inc., 1980-1985.

Associate Editor, *Counterpoint*, Counterpoint Communications Company, 1982-1987.
Associate Editor, *Exceptional Children*, Council for Exceptional Children, 1978-1981.

Regular Journal Field Reviewer

Remedial and Special Education, Pro-Ed Journals, Inc., 1988-1991, 2006-present.
American Educational Research Journal (Social/Institutional Analysis), AERA, 2004-present.
International Journal of Inclusive Education, Taylor & Francis, 1996-present.
Teacher Education and Special Education, Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children, 1995-present.
Qualitative Inquiry, Sage Publications, 1994-2006.
Journal of Special Education Leadership, Council of Administrators of Special Education, Council for Exceptional Children, 1990-present.
Exceptionality, Division for Research, Council for Exceptional Children, 1989-present.
Counterpoint, 1982-1987.
Journal for Special Educators, Journal for Special Educators, Inc., 1980-1985.
Exceptional Children, Council for Exceptional Children, 1978-1981.

Occasional/Invited Journal Field Reviewer

Sociology of Education. American Sociological Association, 2003-present.
Educational Policy. Corwin Press, 2001-present.
Journal of Learning Disabilities. Pro-Ed Publishing, 2001-present.
American Educational Research Journal. American Educational Research Association , 1998-present.
International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education. Taylor & Francis, 1997-present.
Review of Educational Research. American Educational Research Association, 1997-present.
Mental Retardation. American Association on Mental Retardation, 1994-present.

Professional Development

Organizer/Developer, Pre-convention Training Academy, 68th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, 1989-1990.
Organizer/Developer, Pre-convention Training Academy, 67th Annual Convention, Council for Exceptional Children, 1988-1989.

Professional Board Memberships

Member, Executive Board, Higher Education Consortium in Special Education, 1999-2002.
Member, Advisory Board, Networking System for Training Education Personnel, National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Washington, D.C., 1993-94.
Member, Licensure and Certification Task Force, National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Washington, D.C., 1993-94.
Advisory Board, ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, Council for Exceptional Children, 1988-92.
Chairperson, ERIC Special/Regular Education Partnership Task Force, ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, Council for Exceptional Children, 1988-92.
Chairperson, ERIC Task Force on the Regular Education Initiative, ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, 1988-90.
Chairperson, Research Committee, Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children,

1988-90.
Chairperson, The National Inquiry into the Future of Education for Students with Special Needs, Fairfax, Virginia, 1986-1989.
Member, Task Force on Research and Publications, Council for Exceptional Children, 1987-1989.
Member, Professional Development Committee, Council for Exceptional Children, 1987-1989.
Member, Tomorrow's Schools Seminar, The Holmes Group, Michigan State University, 1988-1989.
Member, National Elections Credentials Committee, Division for Children with Learning Disabilities, Council for Exceptional Children, 1976.

Referee

American Educational Research Association, Division D (Measurement and Research Methodology), Qualitative Research Special Interest Group, 1993-94, 1996-97, 1999.
American Educational Research Association, Division K (Teaching and Teacher Education), 1993-94, 1996-97.
American Educational Research Association, Division K (Teaching and Teacher Education), Teacher Cognition Special Interest Group, 1999.
American Educational Research Association, Division D (Measurement and Research Methodology), Special Education Research Special Interest Group, 1993-97.
American Educational Research Association, Division B (Curriculum Studies), 1993.
American Educational Research Association, Division G (Social Context of Education), 1993.
American Educational Research Association, Division L (Educational Policy and Politics), 1996-97, 1999.
American Educational Research Association, Division H (School Evaluation and Program Development), 1996-97.
American Educational Research Association, Division C (Learning and Instruction), 1981.

Consultancies

Faculty of Rehabilitation and Education, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia, 2010-present (Development of a disability studies program doctoral program)
College of Educational Studies, Chapman University, Orange, CA, September, 2009. (Development of a disability studies program doctoral program)
Center for Research on Learning, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, November-December, 2006. (Qualitative research applications)
Department of Educational Leadership & Policy Analysis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, September, 2006. (Development of OSEP leadership grant application)
Institute for Effective Instruction, Center for Research on Learning, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, August, 2006. (Review and critique of research strands)
American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., 2005-06. (Developmental reviewer for Volume 30 of *Review of Research in Education*).
Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA, 2004-06. (member of Panel of Advisors for the *Handbook of Special Education*)
Educational Policy Research Reform Institute, University of Maryland, 2005. (Research auditor for national qualitative study of accountability reforms and students with disabilities)
U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, Washington, D.C., March, 2002. (Personnel development in special education)
Spanish Association for Special Education (AEDES), Madrid, Spain, August-September, 1999. (Conceptualizing an international seminar on the future of special education policy and services)

Grupo de Investigación Hum 181 de la Junta de Andalucía, University of Córdoba and University of Málaga, Córdoba and Malaga, Spain, February-March, 1999. (Conceptualizing an international seminar on the politics of special education)

Nordic Network for Disability Research, Oslo, Norway, July-September, 1999. (Conceptualizing an international seminar on theoretical perspectives on special education)

Nordic Academy for Special Education Doctoral Studies, Oslo, Norway, July-September, 1999. (Conceptualizing and organizing a doctoral course on alternative research methodologies to study social services and disability policy)

Office for Civil Rights, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, and Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, June-July, 1998. (Conceptualizing a conference on English language learners and disability)

New Brunswick Ministry of Education, Frederick, New Brunswick, Canada, May-June, 1998. (Conceptualizing a training institute on restructuring schools for diversity)

Fiesta Educativa, Inc., Los Angeles, California, April, 1998. (Conceptualizing a conference on alternative perspectives for improving services for Latino students with special needs)

Nordic Network for Disability Research, Oslo, Norway, January-February, 1998. (Conceptualizing an international seminar on theoretical perspectives on special education)

Nordic Academy for Special Education Doctoral Studies, Oslo, Norway, January-February, 1998. (Conceptualizing a course on alternative research methodologies)

Indiana Council of Administrators of Special Education, Indianapolis, Indiana, January-February, 1997. (Future of special education; implications for special education policy and administration)

Bueno Center for Multicultural Education, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, November-December, 1997. (Conceptualization of a conference on school organization and teacher assistance teams)

Academy Linking Teacher Education to Advances in Research, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, October-December, 1997. (Organization, administration, and evaluation of the Academy work scope)

Research Council of Norway, Oslo, Norway, February-May, 1997. (Conceptualization of an international seminar on theoretical perspectives on special education)

Research Institute of Special Education and Rehabilitation, Taegu University, Korea, September-November, 1996. (Research implications of social constructivism and inclusive education)

Stockholm Institute of Education, Department of Special Education, Stockholm University, Sweden, January-May, 1996. (Restructuring special education systems for inclusive education and participatory democracy)

New Jersey Association of Pupil Services Administrators, Rutherford, New Jersey, April-June, 1996. (Administrative implications of inclusive education)

School District of the City of Royal Oak, Royal Oak, Michigan, May, 1996. (Program evaluation of an inclusive education model demonstration site)

Walled Lake Consolidated Schools, Walled Lake, Michigan, May, 1996. (Program evaluation of an inclusive education model demonstration site)

Hazel Park Schools, Hazel Park , Michigan, May, 1996. (Program evaluation of an inclusive education model demonstration site)

School of Education, McNeese State University, Lake Charles, Louisiana, March, 1996. (Faculty development for inclusive education)

School of Education, Southeastern State University, Hammond, Louisiana, March, 1996. (Faculty development for inclusive education)

Division of Special Education, Louisiana State Department of Education, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, February-March, 1996. (Inclusive education policy development and implementation)

School of Education, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, Louisiana, February, 1996. (Faculty development for inclusive education)

College of Education, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, February, 1996. (Faculty development for inclusive education)
Glenda B. and Forrest C. Shaklee Institute for Improving Special Education, Wichita, Kansas, 1996-present. (Special education research agenda and policy reform)
Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, Moscow, Russia, 1994-1996. (School restructuring, special education law, and policy implementation)
Institute of Educational Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, October-November, 1995. (Reconceptualizing doctoral level training in research methodology)
Southwest Cook County Cooperative for Special Education, Oak Forest, Illinois, January-February, 1995. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
National Association of Private Schools for Exceptional Children, Washington, D. C., January, 1995. (Restructuring private schools to promote inclusive education)
Multicultural Education Infusion Center, San Diego State University, San Diego, California, January, 1995. (Restructuring schools of education for diversity)
Special Education Local Plan Area, Monterey County, California, February-March, 1995. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Bismarck, North Dakota, March-April, 1995. (Restructuring and integrating state and local special needs programs)
Department of Occupational Therapy Education, University of Kansas, Kansas City, Kansas, April-May, 1995. (Interdisciplinary professional education)
College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, May-June, 1995. (Evaluation of integrated general-special education teacher education program)
School District of the City of Royal Oak, Royal Oak, Michigan, July-August, 1995. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
Walled Lake Consolidated Schools, Walled Lake, Michigan, July-August, 1995. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
Ottawa Area Intermediate School District, Holland, Michigan, November-December, 1995. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
Heartspring, Wichita, Kansas, 1995-present. (Development of a "think tank" for reconceptualizing special education theory and practice)
Oakland County Schools, Waterford, Michigan, 1994-95. (School district reorganization and staff development for inclusion)
University Affiliated Program, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1994-95. (Special education policy reform for inclusive education)
Department of Educational Administration, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May-June, 1994. (Curriculum reform for certification of directors of special education)
President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D. C., April-May, 1994. (Implications of Clinton Administration reform agenda for persons with developmental disabilities)
Boston Public Schools, Division of Special Education, Boston, 1993-1996. (School restructuring and personnel development for inclusive education)
School of Education, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana, 1993-1996. (Restructuring school of education for inclusive education)
National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Washington, D. C., 1993-1997. (Comprehensive systems of personnel development)
School of Education, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana, 1993-present. (School restructuring and personnel development for inclusive education)
Teacher Education Division, Council for Exceptional Children, Reston, Virginia, 1988-89. (Research agenda for inclusive education teacher education.)
ERIC Clearinghouse on Handicapped and Gifted Children, Council for Exceptional Children, Reston, Virginia, 1988-present. (Merger of regular education and special education.)
Bueno Center for Multicultural Education, School of Education, University of Colorado, Boulder,

Colorado, 1993. (Faculty development for multicultural education)
Institute for Special Education, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, 1993. (Methods of special education policy research)
California Department of Education, Sacramento, California, 1993. (Policy options for restructuring special needs programs in California)
Experimental Education Unit, Program Development Services, University of Washington, Seattle, 1993. (School restructuring and personnel development for inclusive education)
School of Education, University of Nebraska at Kearney, Kearney, Nebraska, 1993. (School restructuring and personnel development for inclusive education)
Canadian Association for Community Living, Roeher Institute, York University, Toronto, Onterio, Alberta, Canada, 1993. (School restructuring for inclusive education)
Louisiana Association of School Executives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1993. (School restructuring for inclusive education)
Bilingual/Multicultural Personnel Training Alliance, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1993. (Faculty development on school restructuring for multicultural education and inclusive education)
California Research Institute on Special Education and Cultural Diversity, University of California, Santa Cruz, California, 1993. (Research agenda and methods of inquiry for policy research on special education and cultural diversity)
Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, 1993. (Methods of critical/theoretical educational inquiry)
School of Education, California State University at Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, 1993. (Faculty development for student diversity)
School of Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 1992. (Faculty development for inclusive education)
Faculty of Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 1992. (School restructuring for inclusive education)
Director of Special Education, Chicago Public Schools, 1991. (School restructuring and personnel development for inclusive education)
Cambridge Institute of Education, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, 1991. (Methods of critical/theoretical educational inquiry)
College of Education, University College-Swansea, Swansea, Wales, 1991. (Methods of critical/theoretical educational inquiry)
School District 42, Maple Ridge/Pittman, British Columbia, Canada, 1990-1991. (School restructuring for inclusive education)
British Columbia Federation, Council for Exceptional Children, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, 1989. (Policy implications of the regular education initiative)
Missouri Council of Administrators of Special Education, Columbia, Missouri, 1989. (Policy implications of the regular education initiative)
National Council on Disability, Washington, D.C., July, 1989. (Oral testimony presented on status of special education under P.L. 94-142 and recommendations for needed reforms)
Education Development Center, Newton, Massachusetts, 1989. (Technology implications of school restructuring and inclusive education)
Colorado Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Denver, Colorado, 1989. (School restructuring and personnel development for the regular education initiative)
Colorado Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Denver, Colorado, 1988. (Qualitative methods of program evaluation)
New Hampshire State Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Concord, New Hampshire, 1988. (School restructuring for the regular education initiative)
Council for Exceptional Children, Office of Professional Development, Reston, Virginia, 1988-1989. (Design of professional development academy for 1989 annual convention)

Council for Exceptional Children, Office of Professional Development, Reston, Virginia, 1989-1990. (Design of professional development academy for 1990 annual convention)

Mid-Continent Regional Educational Laboratory, Denver, Colorado, l991-1992. (School restructuring)

Chicago Public Schools, Division of Special Education, Chicago, Illinois, 1991 (Restructuring special education programs and services)

Ohio State Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Columbus, Ohio, 1988. (School restructuring for the regular education initiative)

Massachusetts Federation of the Council for Exceptional Children, Boston, Massachusetts, 1988. (Policy implications of the regular education initiative)

New Mexico Federation Council for Exceptional Children, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1988. (Policy implications of the regular education initiative)

California State Department of Public Instruction, General Education/Special Education Interface Task Force, 1988. (School restructuring and staff development for the regular education initiative)

Colorado State Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Denver, Colorado, 1988. (School restructuring)

Red Clay School District, Newark, Delaware, 1988. (Evaluation of school reorganization proposal for delivery of integrated special education services)

Ohio State Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Columbus, Ohio, 1988. (School organization and accountability systems)

Albuquerque Public Schools, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1988. (Alternative school organization for special education reform)

Colorado State Department of Education, Division of Special Education, Denver, Colorado, 1988. (Alternative school organization for special education reform)

Educational Service District 112, Vancouver, Washington, 1988. (Alternative school organization for special education reform)

California State Department of Education, Sacramento, California, 1988. (Alternative school organization for special education reform)

Council for Exceptional Children, Reston, Virginia, 1987-88. (Research and publication formats.)

Institute for the Study of Exceptional Children and Youth, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, November, 1987. (Alternative methods of policy analysis)

Educational Service District 113, Olympia, Washington, 1987. (Alternative school organization for special education)

West Virginia University, Department of Special Education, Morgantown, West Virginia, 1987. (Modification of teacher education programs relative to the regular education initiative)

Personnel Development Consortium and Wisconsin Teacher Education Division of the Council for Exceptional Children, Whitewater, Wisconsin, 1987. (Restructuring personnel development relative to the regular education initiative)

Indiana Special Education Administrators' Services, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana, November, 1987. (Alternative school organization for special education reform).

Indiana Special Education Administrators' Services, Indiana State University, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1987. (School restructuring and staff development for the regular education initiative)

Council for Exceptional Children, Reston, Virginia, 1987. (Planning for national conference on the future of special education)

Center for Research in Human Development and Education, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1987-1990. (Methods for research synthesis)

National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Washington, D.C., August, 1987. (Policy implications of the regular education initiative)

Council for Exceptional Children, Reston, Virginia, August, 1987. (Advocacy implications of the regular education initiative)

United States Department of Education, Special Education Programs, Division of Innovation and Development, Washington, D.C., 1987. (Qualitative research methodology)
Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, 1984. (Qualitative research design and data analysis)
United States Department of Education, Office of Special Education, 1980. (Career/vocational education for students with disabilities)
National Inservice Training Model for Educational Personnel Providing Music Education and Therapy to Severely/Profoundly Handicapped Children, University of Missouri, 1979-1982. (Design and evaluation of inservice teacher education programs)
National Learning Disabilities Mathematics Curriculum Development Project, University of Connecticut, 1976-1977. (Mathematics education for learning disabled adolescents)
University of Iowa, College of Education Ad Hoc Committee on Mainstreaming, 1977. (Preparation of federal grant application for a Dean's Grant Project)
Human Development Systems, University of Iowa, College of Education, 1976-1977. (Deinstitutionalization of adults with mental retardation)

STATE/REGIONAL SERVICE

Board and Committee Memberships

Member, Steering Committee, Kansas Continuous Improvement Monitoring Self-Assessment, Kansas State Department of Education, Division of Student Support Services, 2002-03.
Co-Chair, Task Force on Conditions of Special Education Practice, Kansas Special Education Advisory Council, 2000-04.
Chair, Task Force on Special Education Funding, Kansas Special Education Advisory Council, 2000-02.
Chair, Task Force on Special Education Administration, Kansas IHE Group, 2001-02.
Member, Kansas Special Education Advisory Council, Kansas State Department of Education, 1999-2006.
Member, Board of Directors, Natural Ties Student Organization, University of Kansas, 1997-present.
Member, Board of Directors, The Arc of Douglas County, 1995-2002.
Member, Vocational Special Needs Task Force, Kansas State Board of Education, 1979-83.
Member, Comprehensive System of Personnel Development Task Force, Kansas State Board of Education, 1979-80.
Member, Steering Committee, Comprehensive Personnel Planning for the Handicapped in Kansas, 1978-81.
Member, Special Education Master Planning Committee, Kansas State Board of Education, 1978-83.
Member, Least Restrictive Environment Task Force, Kansas State Board of Education, 1978-79.

Consultancies

Kansas State Department of Education, Division of Student Support Services, 2004. (Consultation on implications of school organization for IDEA implementation under a standards-based reform framework)
Eagle Hill School, Hardwick, MA, 2004. (Consultation on design and development of a field-based teacher education program)
Kansas State Department of Education, Division of Student Support Services, 2002-03. (Preparation for federal monitoring of IDEA implementation in Kansas)
Eagle Hill School, Hardwick, MA, 2003. (School restructuring for IDEA 97 implementation and standards-based education)

Department of Special Education, University of North Carolina Charlotte, Charlotte, North Carolina, December, 1999. (Developing a new special education doctoral program)
Margaret Warner Graduate School, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, April-May, 1999. (Conceptualizing an international seminar on the politics of inclusive education)
Academy Linking Teacher Education to Advances in Research, Department of Special Education, University of Kansas, January, 1998-April, 1999. (Organization, administration, and evaluation of the Online Academy work scope)
Commissioner of Education, Kansas State Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, 1993. (Organizational implications of school restructuring, inclusive education, and global economy)
Special Education Outcomes Team, Kansas State Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, 1993. (School restructuring and staff development for inclusive education)
Kansas State Board of Education, Division of Special Education, 1991. (School restructuring and staff development for the regular education initiative)
Kansas State Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas, 1990-1991. (School restructuring; evaluation of outcomes-based school accreditation system)
Shawnee Mission School District, Shawnee Mission, Kansas,1989-1990. (Long-range planning for design and evaluation of special education programs and services)
The School District of St. Joseph, Division of Special Services, 1979-1980. (Staff development and affective education)
Kansas State Board of Education, Competency Testing Program, 1979-1980. (Development and evaluation of mathematics assessment items)
Southwest Missouri State University, Dean's Grant Project, School of Psychology and Education, 1978. (Project implementation viz. curriculum revision and faculty development)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University

Member, Planning Committee for the *Inaugural Spring Symposium on the Scholarship of Diversity*, 2010-present.
Faculty Advisor, Best Buddies Student Organization, 2009-present.
Member, Edwards Campus Building Design Committee, 2002-03.
Member, Interpreter Education Committee, 2001-03.
Member, Keeler Professorship Selection Committee, 1994-98, 1999-00, 2001-06.
Member, Edwards Campus Building Design Users' Group, 2001-02.
Member, Steering Committee, Department Chairs Professional Development, 2000-02.
Member, Transition Studies Program, Institute for Public Policy & Business Research, 1997-2002.
Member, Board of Directors, Natural Ties Student Organization, 1997-2004.
Member, Graduate Council, 1997-1998.
Member, Work Group on School Restructuring, University Affiliated Program, 1994-1997.
Member, Steering Committee, Center for Social Science Research, 1993-1995.
Member, Constituency-Oriented R&D Committee, Beach Center, 1993-95.
Member, Steering Committee, Center for Applied Social Theory, 1992-1994.
Co-Chair, Work Group on Social Policy, University Affiliated Program, 1992-1995.
Member, Qualitative Research Group, 1992-1994.
Member, Postpositivist Group, 1986-1990.
Member, University Senate Human Relations Committee, 1979-1980.
Member, Research Development Committee, Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities, 1978-85.
Member, Recruitment and Retention of Students Task Force, 1979-1981.

School of Education

Member, General Research Fund Selection Committee, 2011-present.
Member, Member, Promotion & Tenure Task Group, 2007-08.
Member, Graduate Studies Committee, School of Education, 2006-09.
Member, Qualitative Research Task Force, School of Education, 2006-2007.
Member, Summer Session Salary Task Force, School of Education, 2005-2006.
Member, Faculty Awards Committee, School of Education, 2005-2006.
Chair, Faculty Awards Committee, School of Education, 2004-05.
Member, School of Education Summit Planning Committee, Fall 2004.
Co-Coordinator, School of Education State Improvement Grant, December 2003-April 2004.
Member, School of Education Senior Leadership Team, Fall 2004.
Chair, Tuition Scholarship Allocation Committee, School of Education, 2003-04
Member, Personnel Committee, School of Education, 2003-06.
Member, Administrative Council, School of Education, 1998-2002.
Member, Strategic Planning Committee, School of Education, 2001-02.
Member, Chair Search Committee, Department of Health, Sport and Exercise Science, 2001-02.
Member, Superintendents' Circle, School of Education, 2001-02.
Associate Deans Search Committee, School of Education, 1998-99.
Member, Executive Council, Institute for Educational Research & Public Service, 1998-2002.
Member, Graduate Studies Policy Committee, 1997-1998.
Chair, School of Education Reorganization Task Force, 1995-1996.
Member, Personnel Committee, 1992-1994.
Chair, Curriculum Committee, 1988-1989.
Member, Curriculum Committee, 1987-1989.
Member, Teacher Education Council, 1987-1989.
Member, Department Chairperson Five-Year Review Committee, 1987-1988.
Member, NCATE/Kansas State Board of Education Program Review Committee, 1987-1989.
Member, Teacher Education Council, 1982-1983.
Chair, School of Education Scholarship Committee, 1980-1981.
Member, Dean's Grant Performance Evaluation Development Committee, 1980.
Member, Committee on General Education and Teaching Specialties Requirements, 1980.
Member, School of Education Scholarship Committee, 1979-1980.
Member, Multi-Institution Teacher Education Center Coordination Committee, 1977-1978.
Member, Undergraduate Field Experience Committee, 1977-1981.
Member, Dean's Grant Teacher Competency Task Force, 1976-1977.
Member, Dean's Grant Project Steering Committee, 1976-1983.

Departmental: Special Education

Co-Chair, Chairperson Review Committee, 2009.
Co-Chair, Chairperson Search Committee, 2008
Member, Leadership Studies Committee, 2008-present.
Co-Chair, Personnel Committee, 2007-present.
Member, Chairs Advisory Committee, 2007-present.
Member, Personnel Committee, 2006-2007.
Member, 50th Anniversary Planning Committee, 2007-2008
Member, Admissions and Recruitment Committee, 2005-2008.
Faculty Advisor, Kansas University Professionals for Disability Student Organization, 2005-06.
Member, Honors and Awards Committee, 2004-2006.
Member, Leadership Studies Committee, 2003-05.

Member, Graduate Recruitment Strategies Task Force, 2003-04.
Member, Strategic Planning Committee, 1997-1998.
Co-Chair, Curriculum Redesign Task Force, 1996-1998.
Co-Chair, Program Planning Work Group, 1994-1996.
Member, Scholarship Committee, 1993-1998.
Chair, Curriculum Revision Committee, 1992-1994.
Chair, Extended Program Special Education Concentration Committee, 1986-1989.
Member, Curriculum and Resources Committee, 1983-1987.
Chair, Five-Year Program Committee, 1980-1983.
Member, Educational Specialist Program Development Committee, 1978-1980.
Member, Promotion and Tenure Committee, 1978-1979, 1983-1985.
Chair, Search Committee, Assistant Professor Faculty Position, 1977-1978.
Chair, Undergraduate Program Coordination Committee, 1978-1982.
Member, Search Committee, Assistant Professor Faculty Position, 1977.
Chair, Undergraduate Program Curriculum Revision Committee, 1977-1978.
Member, Graduate Program Curriculum Revision Committee, 1976-1978.

CHAPTER 9

Special Education and Student Disability as Organizational Pathologies:

Toward a Metatheory of School Organization and Change

Thomas M. Skrtic

Organizations are social tools, mechanisms that society uses to achieve goals that are beyond the reach of individual citizens (Parsons, 1960). In addition to doing things for society, however, organizations do things to society, undesirable things such as dominating the political process and causing alienation and overconformity (Argyris, 1957; Galbraith, 1967). But organizations have an even more pernicious effect on society: The nature and needs of organizations shape the very goals that society uses them to achieve (Allison, 1971; Scott, 1981). We seek "health" when we visit the hospital, but what we get is "medical care." Although we are encouraged to see these outcomes as synonymous, there may be no relation between them, or the relation may be negative; more care can result in poorer health (Illich, 1976). Like health, education is a social goal that is shaped by the medium of an organization. Society wants education, but what it gets is a particular kind of schooling, one that is shaped by the nature and needs of school organizations.

Although school organization should be an important topic in the field of education, until recently it received virtually no critical attention. Part of the problem is that for most of this century the question of school organization was left to the field of educational administration, which has tended to avoid research on the effects of schooling (Becker, 1983; Bridges, 1982; Erickson, 1977, 1979). A more serious problem, however, is that, even when educational administrators have studied schooling, they have taken an extremely narrow, functionalist view of schools as organizations. In this chapter I want to expand the view of schools as organizations by drawing on theories of organization and change that combine insights from each of the

four paradigms of modern social scientific thought introduced in Part 1. I treat each theory as an ideal type, an exaggerated heuristic. Then I integrate the separate ideal types into a larger, more comprehensive metatheoretical heuristic, which I use in this chapter to deconstruct special education as an institutional practice of public education, and in Chapter 10 to deconstruct the institution of public education itself. To set the stage for my metatheoretical reading of school organization and change, I begin with a brief genealogy of the knowledge tradition of educational administration that shows why the field has been so tied to the functionalist outlook (also see Skrtic, 1988, 1991a, 1995; Tyack & Hansot, 1982; Chapter 3).

TWO DISCOURSES ON SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The knowledge tradition of educational administration has been shaped by the broader discourse on organization, which is actually two discourses: the prescriptive and the scholarly. The prescriptive discourse is a purely functionalist undertaking, a form of naive pragmatism dominated by managers in business and industry who are concerned primarily with efficiency and thus with controlling people who work in organizations (Edwards, 1979; Chapter 2). The scholarly discourse emerged after World War II, when organization became an area of academic study in the social sciences, in what has become the multidisciplinary field of organization analysis (Scott, 1981). Although the scholarly discourse continues to be influenced by the needs of business and industry (Burrell & Morgan, 1979), it is concerned primarily with understanding the nature of organizations and their effects on people and society (Pfeffer, 1982). As we will see, the prescriptive discourse shaped the practices and discourses of educational administrators during the first half of the century and, following a failed attempt to ground the field in the scholarly discourse in the 1950s, largely has continued to do so until today.

The Prescriptive Discourse

Given its concern with efficiency, the prescriptive discourse gave rise to three schools of thought on organization and management during the first half of the twentieth century. The first school of thought was based on Fredrick Taylor's notion of "scientific management" (Taylor, 1911/1947), which is a detailed set of prescriptions for standardizing work processes in industrial organizations or factories (see Haber, 1964; Scott, 1981). It assumes that organizations are rational (prospective and purposeful or goal-directed) and yields the "machine bureaucracy" configuration, the familiar pyramid-shaped structure of formal control relations depicted in most organi-

Published by Teachers College Press, 1234 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Disability and democracy : reconstructing (special) education for postmodernity / edited by Thomas M. Skrtic.
p. cm. – (Special education series)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8077-3411-X. – ISBN 0-8077-3410-1 (pbk.)
1. Special education. 2. Handicapped students. 3. Postmodernism–Social aspects. I. Skrtic, Thomas M. II. Series: Special education series (New York, N.Y.)
LC3969.D57 1995
371.9–dc20 95-7268

ISBN 0-8077-3410-1 (paper)
ISBN 0-8077-3411-X (cloth)

Printed on acid-free paper

Manufactured in the United States of America

02 01 00 99 98 97 96 95 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

DISABILITY AND DEMOCRACY

Reconstructing (Special) Education for Postmodernity

Edited by
THOMAS M. SKRTIC

Foreword by
JONAS F. SOLTIS

TEACHERS COLLEGE PRESS

Teachers College, Columbia University
New York and London

zation charts (Mintzberg, 1979; below).[1] Although scientific management was meant for industrial organizations, during the progressive era it was vigorously promoted as a means of maximizing the efficiency of all organizations (Haber, 1964), particularly schools (Callahan, 1962). As a result, rather than social, moral, or instructional leaders, educational administrators became "experts in how to administrate and control organizations" (Spring, 1980, p. 100), treating schoolwork much like that of the factory (see Ayres, 1909; Bobbit, 1913).

Scientific management's lack of attention to the social dynamics of the workplace gave rise to its antithesis–the "human relations" approach to organization and management (Follett, 1924, 1940; Mayo, 1933; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939). In this view, an informal (social, cultural, or nonrational) structure of unofficial worker relations exists within the formal (rational) structure of organizations, the message for managers being that worker behavior is determined by the norms and value orientation of workers rather than the official specifications of the organization. Although on the surface managers, including educational administrators (see Campbell, 1971), began to pay greater attention to the social needs of workers, the human relations approach was short-lived, giving way to the third school of thought–Chester Barnard's (1938) synthesis of the rational and nonrational perspectives.

Barnard (1938; Simon, 1947) characterized organizations as essentially cooperative (rational) systems that can become uncooperative (nonrational) unless managers condition the behavior and attitudes of workers through training, indoctrination, and the manipulation of incentives. Ultimately, Barnard (1938) saw humans as inherently cooperative, regarding those who were "unfitted for co-operation" (p. 13) as "pathological cases, insane and not of this world" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 149). Although the human relations movement contained the seeds for what were to become nonrational-cultural theories of organization (see below), these insights were lost in Barnard's synthesis, which is a purely functionalist formulation (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Barnard's approach to management became extremely influential in the prescriptive discourse (Perrow, 1972) and subsequently in educational administration (Campbell, Fleming, Newell, & Bennion, 1987; Griffiths, 1979).[2] Given the dominance of the prescriptive discourse, by mid-century the field of educational administration was firmly grounded in the mutually reinforcing functionalist theories of organizational rationality and human pathology (Clark, 1985; Griffiths, 1983; Skrtic, 1991a).

The Scholarly Discourse

The scholarly discourse on organization began with the English publication of Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy (Weber, 1922/1946, 1924/1947)

in the late 1940s (Scott, 1981). Writing in German in the 1920s, Weber chronicled the advance of bureaucratic administration, focusing particularly on the way its rational-legal authority relations were replacing more traditional (nonrational) forms. It is true, of course, that today "the terms bureaucracy and bureaucrat are epithets–accusations connoting rule-encumbered inefficiency and mindless overconformity" (Scott, 1981, p. 23), but when Weber's work first appeared the bureaucratic form was held in high regard within the prescriptive discourse, given its functionalist outlook. Although Weber meant to warn his readers of the negative effects of bureaucracy, the irony is that, given the functionalist orientation of the social sciences (see Chapter 2; below) and the prescriptive discourse, his ideal-typical analysis was misinterpreted by social scientists (Mommsen, 1974) and educational administrators (Clark, 1985) as endorsing bureaucracy as the "ideal" organizational structure, which further reinforced the functionalist theory of organizational rationality. As a result, the misreading of Weber's work spurred interest in that of Taylor and Barnard, among others, and together these works became the basis of the knowledge tradition in the field of organization analysis in the 1950s (Scott, 1981).

Forty years of theory building in organization analysis has produced what appears to be a bewildering array of competing and contradictory theories of organization (Pfeffer, 1982). One source of variability is the multidisciplinary character of the field of organization analysis (see Scott, 1981). A more important source, however, is that, given the multiple paradigm status of the social science disciplines, the field is also a multiparadigmatic intellectual endeavor. As such, the theories it has produced reflect the various modes of theorizing found in the social disciplines–functionalism, interpretivism, radical structuralism, and radical humanism (see Chapter 2; below). In the 1950s, however, when the field began to take form, organization analysis was a largely functionalist undertaking, given the functionalist grounding of the social sciences at that time, as well as the influence of Taylor and Barnard, and the misreading of Weber (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Scott, 1981).

This is important for education because it was at this point that several leading professors of educational administration rejected the prescriptive discourse and proposed grounding the field's practices and discourses in the emerging scholarly discourse of organization analysis (see Griffiths, 1959, 1983). Given the initial grounding of organization analysis, of course, this meant that what was adopted from it was the functionalist mode of theorizing, an extremely narrow view of organization, which, although still dominant, has been radically enriched over the past 30 years by theoretical insights from the other three paradigms (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979; below).[3] Although there are professors of educational administration who have kept pace with these developments (e.g., Bates, 1980, 1987; Boyd & Crowson, 1981; Foster, 1986; Maxcy, 1991), most of the work on school organization

in the field has been done from the functionalist perspective (see Clark, 1985; Foster, 1986; Griffith, 1983, 1988). As a result, educational administration remains today largely as it was in the 1950s (see Bates, 1980; Clark, 1985; Foster, 1986; Griffiths, 1988), firmly grounded in functionalism and thus in the theories of organizational rationality and human pathology.[4]

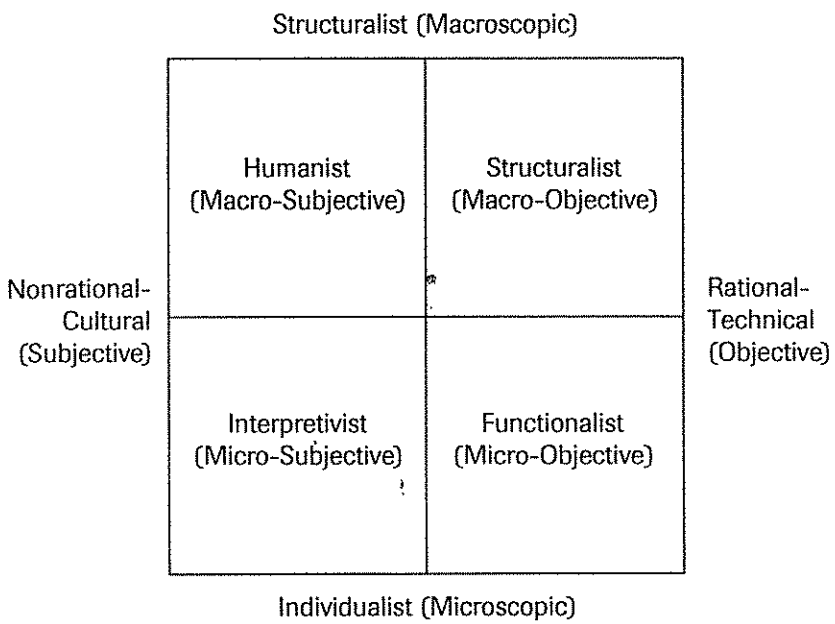
TOWARD A METATHEORY OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE

Although the multiple paradigm status of organization analysis adds to the confusion in the field, it also provides a source of analytic clarity because the body of theory produced by the field can be understood in terms of the four modes of theorizing found in the social disciplines. As we know from Chapter 2, the four paradigms of modern social scientific thought are formed by the interaction of two dimensions of metatheoretical presuppositions: an objective–subjective dimension about the nature of science, and a microscopic–macroscopic or order–conflict (hereafter simply microscopic–macroscopic) dimension about the nature of society. Applying the conceptual framework to theories of organization (see Figure 9.1), the objective–subjective dimension corresponds to metatheoretical presuppositions about the nature of action in and by organizations, ranging from the extremes of *rational action* (prospective and purposeful or goal-directed) to *nonrational action* (emergent within an evolving system of meaning or culture) (see Pfeffer, 1982; Scott, 1981).

The microscopic–macroscopic dimension corresponds to metatheoretical presuppositions about the level at which organizational activity is most appropriately analyzed. *Individualist* theories of organization emphasize the microlevel of individuals and small groups and are concerned with organizing processes within organizations; *structuralist* theories emphasize the macrolevel of total organizations and are concerned primarily with organization structure (Pfeffer, 1982; Scott, 1981). Referring to Figure 9.1, we can think of all modern theories of organization as being grounded in one (or more) of the four paradigms of modern social scientific thought, the functionalist (micro-objective), interpretivist (micro-subjective), structuralist (macro-objective), or humanist (macro-subjective) modes of theorizing. Each mode of theorizing produces a fundamentally different way to understand organization and change because each is premised on a different set of metatheoretical presuppositions about the nature of action in or by organizations and the appropriate level at which organizational activity is analyzed (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Morgan, 1983).

Because functionalism has been the dominant mode of theorizing in the

FIGURE 9.1. Four Paradigms of Modern Organization Theory



Source: Adapted from G. Burrell and G. Morgan, 1979, *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis*, p. 29, London: Heinemann Educational Books; J. Pfeffer, 1982, *Organizations and Organization Theory*, p. 13, Marshfield, MA: Pitman Publishing; and T. M. Skrtic, 1991, *Behind Special Education: A Critical Analysis of Professional Culture and School Organization*, p. 160, Denver: Love Publishing.

social sciences, most modern theories of organization are premised on the metatheoretical presuppositions of the micro-objective or functionalist paradigm. Over the past 30 years, however, there have been three shifts in emphasis that correspond to the paradigm shifts in the social sciences discussed in Chapter 2. The first shift took place in the 1960s within the rational perspective on action, from the micro-objective to the macro-objective paradigm (see Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Woodward, 1965). Two parallel shifts from the rational to the nonrational perspective on action occurred in the 1970s and 1980s—one at the individualist level of analysis, from the micro-objective to the micro-subjective perspective, and one at the structuralist level, from the macro-objective to the macro-subjective perspective (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Pfeffer, 1982; Scott, 1981).

As in the social sciences generally, one result of these shifts in perspective has been development of new theories of organization grounded in the other three paradigms, each of which previously had been underdeveloped in organizational studies (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Scott, 1981). More significantly, beginning in the late 1970s, theories of organization began to appear that bridge paradigms, or combine theoretical insights from more than one paradigmatic perspective (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988; below). Methodologically, the trend in organization analysis, as in the social sciences generally, has been away from the traditional foundational perspective of one best paradigm or theory for understanding organizations, and toward the antifoundational approach of using multiple perspectives in a single analysis. Although historically discourse in the field of organization analysis had been dominated by the functionalist perspective and premised on the modern or foundational view of knowledge, by the 1980s it was characterized by theoretical and paradigmatic diversity, if not pluralism (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Pfeffer, 1982; Scott, 1981), and at the margins by an antifoundational methodological orientation (see Morgan, 1983, 1986). Given these developments, today it is possible to study school organization and change dialogically by using multiple theories of organization within a single, antifoundational analysis (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a).

Epistemological and Moral Framework

Because organization analysis is a multiple paradigm science with no foundational criteria for selecting the correct paradigm or theoretical construction (see Chapter 2), in the following analysis I combine theoretical perspectives on organization and change from each of the four paradigms of modern social scientific thought. Drawing on the antifoundational epistemology of pragmatism (see Dewey, 1929/1988; Peirce, 1931–35; Chapter 2), I treat the various theories of organization as ideal-typical constructions of organization theorists, constructions shaped by their value assumptions with respect to the metatheoretical dimensions of the analytic framework illustrated in Figure 9.1. By reading each theory as an ideal type and combining them dialogically, my aim in this chapter is to form a metatheoretical heuristic or "pragmatic ideal type" of school organization and change and to use it to deconstruct special education as an institutional practice of public education.

As a pragmatist, of course, I do not expect to construct the ultimate, "true" theory of school organization and change. Given the antifoundational epistemology of pragmatism, I am interested in selecting theories that are useful for reconciling the institutional practice of special education—and ultimately the institution of public education itself (Chapter 10)—with the ideal of serving the best educational and political interests of education consumers and the democratic needs of society. And because there are no scientific rules for making these theoretical decisions objectively, I use values to guide my choices. As Dewey (1925/1981) noted, the selective emphasis that is inevitable in such decisions "is not an evil. Deception comes only when the presence and operation of choice is concealed, disguised, denied" (p. 34). In this regard, I want to promote the democratic values of justice, liberty, equality, and community. Like Dewey (1917/1981, 1931/1989; Chapter 2), I want to read democracy and social reform into the very nature of school organization because, more than as a form of government, I value democracy as a method of social inquiry, "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916/1980, p. 93), and education as the means by which citizens are prepared to enter the conversation (Dewey, 1899/1976, 1927/1988, 1929–30/1988). Moreover, I want to read democracy into school organization because reconstructing social practices and institutions is achieved in democratic dialogue, "in face-to-face relationships by means of direct give and take" (Dewey, 1927/1988, p. 371). Reconstructing special education and public education requires more than a method of democratic discourse; it requires democratic organizational conditions as well.

Because education is the principal means of preparing citizens for democratic life, educational policy in a democracy must be concerned with moral transactions and social relations. In deconstructing the institutional practice of special education, I want to probe the value assumptions that have shaped it as a separate system in the twentieth century and push them toward those that will lead to an integrative system in the twenty-first century, one that is justified by an appeal to identity and community (Boulding, 1967; Chapter 2). Beyond its implications for special education consumers, I am concerned with identity because alienation, its opposite, threatens community itself (Moroney, 1981). Humans must learn to be democratic; educational policy that emphasizes an integrative system promotes the type of institutional arrangements in which democratic identities, values, and communities are cultivated (Dewey, 1916/1980, 1927/1988; Gutmann, 1987). Moreover, I will argue in Chapter 10 that the economic and political contingencies of the emerging postindustrial era make possible and require just such an integrative system of public education.

Theoretical Frames of Reference

For ease of presentation, I divide the theoretical territory into two frames of reference, the *structural* and the *cultural*, each of which includes two theoretical perspectives that bridge two or more of the four paradigms. The structural frame of reference includes *configuration theory* (Miller & Friesen, 1984; Miller & Mintzberg, 1983; Mintzberg, 1979, 1983), which bridges the mi-

cro-objective and macro-objective paradigms; and *institutional theory* (Meyer, 1979; Meyer & Rowan, 1977, 1978; Meyer & Scott, 1983), which bridges the macro-objective and macro-subjective paradigms (refer to Figure 9.1).[5] By combining institutional theory and configuration theory, we can understand traditional school organization as a two-structure bureaucratic configuration that is inherently nonadaptable at both the micro-level of professional practice and the macro-level of organization structure (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1995).

The two theoretical perspectives within the cultural frame of reference are what I will refer to as *paradigmatic* theories of organization (Brown, 1978; Golding, 1980; Jonsson & Lundin, 1977; Rounds, 1979, 1981), which bridge the macro-subjective and micro-subjective paradigms; and *cognitive* theories of organization (Weick, 1979a, 1979b, 1985), which bridge three paradigms—micro-subjective, macro-subjective, and macro-objective.[6] Combining cognitive and paradigmatic theories of organization provides a way to understand school organizations as corrigible systems of meaning. Together, the structural and cultural frames of reference highlight the sources of stability and change in school organizations.

STRUCTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Every organized human activity gives rise to two fundamental and opposing requirements: the "*division of labor* into various tasks to be performed and the *coordination* of these tasks to accomplish the activity" (Mintzberg, 1983, p. 2). As such, the structure of an organization can be understood as "the sum total of the ways in which it divides its labor into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 2). The central idea in configuration theory is that organizations structure themselves into one of several regularly occurring configurations according to, among other things, the type of division of labor and means of coordination that they employ. Given their division of labor and means of coordination, traditional school organizations configure themselves as professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1979), even though in this century they have been managed and governed as if they were machine bureaucracies (see Callahan, 1962; Weick, 1982a; above).

According to institutional theory, organizations like schools deal with this contradiction by maintaining two structures: a material structure that conforms to the technical demands of their work, and a normative structure that conforms to the social norms or cultural expectations of their institutional environments. By combining configuration theory and institutional theory, we can understand school organization in terms of two organizations,

one inside the other, as it were. Their outer normative structure conforms to the machine bureaucracy configuration, the structure that educational administrators strive for because of their grounding in the prescriptive discourse of scientific management, and that society expects because of the social norm of organizational rationality. However, the inner material structure of school organizations conforms to the professional bureaucracy configuration, the structure that corresponds to the technical demands of their work.[7]

Differences Between the Machine and Professional Bureaucracy

Ultimately, the difference between the two configurations stems from the type of work that school organizations do, which is important because the nature of an organization's work limits managers' choices for dividing labor and achieving coordination. Organizations configure themselves as machine bureaucracies when their work is simple, that is, when it is certain enough to be *rationalized* into a series of relatively routine subtasks, each of which can be completely prespecified and done by a separate worker. Simple work can be coordinated by standardizing work processes through *formalization*, that is, by specifying precise rules for doing each subtask. Organizations configure themselves as professional bureaucracies when their work is too uncertain to be rationalized and thus formalized. Client-centered work, such as that of hospitals and schools, is uncertain because it requires judgment relative to applying general principles or theories to the particular and often variable needs of individual clients (see Schein, 1972). As such, division of labor in professional bureaucracies is achieved through *specialization*, a situation in which clients are distributed among the workers, each of whom specializes in the knowledge and skills presumed to be necessary to serve clients with a particular constellation of needs. Given a specialized division of labor, this type of work is coordinated through *professionalization*, that is, by standardizing the skills of the workers through intensive education and socialization carried out in professional schools (see Chapter 1).

The logic behind rationalization and formalization is premised on minimizing discretion and separating theory from practice. The theory behind the work in a machine bureaucracy rests with the engineers and technocrats; they do the thinking and the workers simply follow the rules. Conversely, specialization and professionalization are meant to increase discretion and to unite theory and practice in the knowledge and skills of the professional. In principle, professionals know the theory behind their work and have the discretion to adapt it to the actual needs of their clients (Mintzberg, 1979).

In practice, however, the standardization of skills is circumscribed in two ways. First, of course, it is circumscribed by the particular metatheoretical paradigm in which the profession's knowledge tradition is grounded (see

Chapters 1 and 2). Second, standardization of skills gives professionals a finite repertoire of standard practices that are applicable only to a limited set of contingencies or perceived client needs. As such, professional practice can be understood as a form of "pigeonholing" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 374), a process in which the professional matches a presumed client need to one of the standard practices in his or her repertoire. Given adequate discretionary space (see below), there is room for some adjustment, but when clients have needs that fall on the margins or outside the professional's repertoire of standard practices, they must be either forced artificially into one of the available practices or sent to a different specialist, one who presumably has the appropriate standard practices (Perrow, 1970; Simon, 1977; Weick, 1976). We will see below that a fully open-ended process—one that seeks a truly creative solution to each unique need—requires a problem-solving orientation. In principle, of course, professionals know the theory behind their practices and have the discretion to adapt them. In practice, however, professionals are performers, not problem solvers. They perfect the standard practices in their repertoires; they do not invent new ones for unfamiliar contingencies. Instead of accommodating heterogeneity, they tend to screen it out by forcing their clients' needs into one of their standard practices, or by forcing them out of the professional–client relationship altogether (Segal, 1974; Simon, 1977).

Finally, an organization's division of labor and means of coordination shape the nature of the *interdependence* or "coupling" among its workers (March & Olsen, 1976; Thompson, 1967; Weick, 1976, 1982b). Because machine bureaucracies coordinate their work through rationalization and formalization, their workers are *tightly coupled*. Like links in a chain, they are highly dependent on one another in the unreflective and mechanistic sense implied by rule-governed behavior. In a professional bureaucracy, however, the workers are *loosely coupled* (Bidwell, 1965; Weick, 1976). Professionals are only minimally dependent on one another; they share common facilities and resources but do their work alone with their assigned clients. Coordination in a professional bureaucracy, a loose form of coordination at best, is achieved by everyone knowing roughly what everyone else is doing, given their common education and socialization (Mintzberg, 1979).

Managing Professional Bureaucracies Like Machine Bureaucracies

Given the prescriptive discourse of educational administration and the social norm of organizational rationality, school organizations are managed and governed as if they were machine bureaucracies, even though the technical demands of their work configure them as professional bureaucracies. As

such, schools are forced by managers (Weick, 1982a) and the public (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Mintzberg, 1979) to adopt the management practices of the machine bureaucracy, particularly rationalization and formalization, even though they are ill-suited to the technical demands of complex work. In principle, the effect is that the professional bureaucracy configuration of schools is driven toward the machine bureaucracy configuration. As Weick (1982a) noted, when this occurs "effectiveness declines, people become confused, and work doesn't get done. That seems to be one thing that is wrong with many schools. They are managed with the wrong model in mind" (p. 673).

The most serious outcome of the drive toward machine bureaucracy is that it violates the discretionary logic of professionalization. Managing and governing schools as if they were machine bureaucracies misconceptualizes teaching as simple work that can be rationalized and formalized, which reduces teachers' discretion, thus minimizing the degree to which they can personalize their practices to the particular needs of their students. As Mintzberg (1979) noted, complex work cannot be formalized through rules and regulations, "except in misguided ways which program the wrong behaviors and measure the wrong outputs, forcing the professionals to play the machine bureaucratic game—satisfying the standards instead of serving the clients" (p. 377).

Fortunately, however, attempts to rationalize and formalize teaching do not work completely in schools because their formal, machine bureaucracy structure (where the rules and regulations are inscribed) is "decoupled" from the professional bureaucracy structure where the work is done (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, 1978). From the institutional perspective, schools' outer machine bureaucracy structure is largely a myth, an assortment of symbols and ceremonies that have little to do with the way the work is actually done. This decoupled, two-structure arrangement permits schools to do their work according to the localized judgments of teachers, while protecting their legitimacy by giving the public the appearance of the machine bureaucracy that it expects. As Meyer and Rowan (1977) explained, "Decoupling enables organizations to maintain standardized, legitimating, formal structures while their activities vary in response to practical considerations" (p. 357). But decoupling does not work completely either, because, from the configuration perspective, no matter how misguided they may be, rationalization and formalization require at least overt conformity (Mintzberg, 1979; cf. Dalton, 1959). Decoupling notwithstanding, managing and governing schools as if they were machine bureaucracies decreases professional thought and discretion, which in turn reduces even further the degree to which teachers can personalize their practices.

Professional Bureaucracies and Change

Even though they are different in these respects, machine and professional bureaucracies are similar in one important way: Both are premised on the principle of standardization, and thus both are inherently nonadaptable structures at both the micro-level of workers and the macro-level of organization structure. Because bureaucracies coordinate their work through standardization, they are performance organizations, structures configured to perfect the practices they have been standardized to perform. Of course, the standardization of skills is intended to allow for enough professional thought and discretion to accommodate client variability. But even with adequate discretionary space, there is a limit to the degree to which professionals can adjust their standard practices. A fully open-ended process of accommodation requires a problem-solving organization, a configuration premised on inventing new programs for unfamiliar client needs. But professional bureaucracies are performance organizations; they screen out heterogeneity by forcing their clients' needs into their existing practices, or by forcing them out of the system altogether (see Segal, 1974).

Because bureaucracies are performance organizations, they require a stable environment and, as such, are potentially devastated when they are forced to do something other than what they were standardized to do. Nevertheless, although it is a major undertaking, machine bureaucracies can change by restandardizing their work processes, a more or less rational-technical process of *re*rationalizing the work and *re*formalizing worker behavior. When their environments become dynamic, however, professional bureaucracies cannot respond by making rational-technical adjustments in their work because their coordination rests within each professional, not in their work processes. Nonetheless, because schools are managed and governed as if they were machine bureaucracies, attempts to change them typically follow the rational-technical approach (see Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; House, 1979), which assumes that changes or additions to existing rationalization and formalization will result in changes in the way the work gets done. This fails to bring about the desired changes because the existing rationalization and formalization are located in the decoupled machine bureaucracy structure. However, because the changes require at least overt conformity, they act to extend the existing rationalization and formalization in schools, driving the organization further toward machine bureaucracy, thus reducing teacher thought and discretion even further, and leaving students with even less effective services. As in the case of management by rules, the inner professional bureaucracy structure of schools cannot be changed by adding more rules, except in the misguided way of putting even more pressure on teachers to play the machine bureaucracy game—satisfying the standards instead of serving the students.

Even though schools are nonadaptable structures, their status as public organizations means that they must respond to public demands for change. From the institutional perspective, schools deal with this problem by signaling the environment that a change has occurred, which creates the illusion that they have changed when in fact they remain largely the same (see Meyer, 1979; Rowan, 1980; Zucker, 1981). One way that schools signal change is by building symbols and ceremonies of change into their outer machine bureaucracy structure, which, of course, is decoupled from the actual work. Another important signal of change is the addition of "ritual" subunits, separate classrooms and programs, which, because they are "decoupled" from the rest of the organization, make any substantive reorganization of activity unnecessary (see Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1981). This is possible in schools because specialization and professionalization create precisely this sort of loose or decoupled interdependence within the organization. Like symbols and ceremonies of change, decoupled subunits relieve pressure for change while, at the same time, buffering the organization from the need to actually change.

The Adhocracy Configuration

As we have seen, professional bureaucracies are nonadaptable structures because they are premised on the principle of standardization, which configures them as performance organizations that perfect their existing standard practices. Adhocracies are the inverse of the bureaucratic form. They emerge in dynamic markets, extremely uncertain environments in which innovation and adaptation are essential for survival (Burns & Stalker, 1966; Woodward, 1965). As such, adhocracies are premised on the principle of innovation; they are problem-solving organizations that invent new practices for work that is so ambiguous and uncertain that the knowledge and skills for doing it are completely unknown (Pugh et al., 1963; Toffler, 1970). As Mintzberg (1979) noted with regard to the adhocratic configuration, "At the outset, no one can be sure exactly what needs to be done. That knowledge develops as the work unfolds. . . . The success of the undertaking depends primarily on the ability of the [workers] to adapt to each other along their uncharted route" (p. 3).[8] Given the extreme ambiguity of its work, the structure of an adhocracy "must be flexible, self-renewing, organic . . . a 'tent' instead of a 'palace'" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 433). The advantage of an adhocratic configuration is that it

> exploits benefits hidden within properties that designers have generally regarded as liabilities. Ambiguous authority structures, unclear objectives, and contradictory assignments of responsibility can legitimate controversies and challenge tra-

ditions. . . . Incoherence and indecision can foster exploration, self-evaluation, and learning. (Hedberg, Nystrom, & Starbuck, 1976, p. 45)

According to Mintzberg (1979), the most well-known and successful example of an adhocracy is the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) during its Apollo phase in the 1960s. Given its mission to land an American on the moon by the end of the decade, it configured itself as an adhocracy because there were no established practices for manned space flight. NASA had to rely on its workers to invent these practices on an *ad hoc* basis, along their uncharted route to the moon, as it were. Although the Apollo Project employed professional workers, it could not use specialization and professionalization to divide and coordinate its work because there were no professional specializations that had perfected the knowledge and skills for doing the type of work that was required. Thus, division of labor and coordination of work within the Apollo Project were premised on *collaboration* and *mutual adjustment*, respectively.

Under the structural contingency of collaboration, division of labor is achieved by deploying professionals from various specializations on multidisciplinary project teams, a situation in which team members work collaboratively on the team's project and assume joint responsibility for its completion. Under mutual adjustment, coordination is achieved through informal communication among team members as they invent (and reinvent) novel problem solutions on an *ad hoc* basis, a process that requires them to deconstruct and reconstruct their conventional theories and practices relative to those of their colleagues and the team's progress on the task at hand (Chandler & Sayles, 1971; Mintzberg, 1979; Skrtic, 1991a; Chapter 10). Together, the structural contingencies of collaboration and mutual adjustment give rise to a *discursive coupling* arrangement that is premised on reflective problem solving through communication, and thus on the unification of theory and practice in the team of workers (see Burns & Stalker, 1966).

By contrast, during its Space Shuttle phase NASA has reconfigured itself as a professional bureaucracy (see Romzek & Dubnik, 1987), that is, as a performance organization that perfects a repertoire of standard launch and recovery practices, most of which were invented during its Apollo phase. The transformation from adhocracy to professional bureaucracy is a natural tendency that begins when uncertainty is reduced, as the organization's members begin to believe that they have solved their problems of practice, and thus that their current practices can be standardized as ready-made solutions for future use (see Mintzberg, 1979, 1983). The difference between the two configurations is that, faced with a problem, the adhocracy "engages in creative effort to find a novel solution; the professional bureaucracy pigeonholes it into a known contingency to which it can apply a standard [practice]. One engages in divergent thinking aimed at innovation; the other in convergent thinking aimed at perfection" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 436).

Finally, under the organizational contingencies of collaboration, mutual adjustment, and discursive coupling, accountability in the adhocracy is achieved through a presumed community of interests, a sense among workers of a shared interest in a common goal. Under this form of accountability, responsibility flows from the workers' common concern for progress toward their mission, rather than an ideological identification with a professional culture (professional bureaucracy) or a formalized relationship with a hierarchy of authority (machine bureaucracy) (see Burns & Stalker, 1966; Chandler & Sayles, 1971; Romzek & Dubnick, 1987). Thus, rather than the *professional-bureaucratic* mode of accountability that emerges in the professional bureaucracy configuration (Martin, Overholt, & Urban, 1976; Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Wise, 1979), the organizational contingencies of the adhocracy give rise to a *professional-political* mode of accountability. Work is controlled by professionals who, although they act with discretion, are subject to sanctions that emerge within a political discourse among themselves and between them and their consumers (Burns & Stalker, 1966; Chandler & Sayles, 1971; Romzek & Dubnick, 1987; Skrtic, 1991a; Chapter 10).

CULTURAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

Cultural theories of organization are premised on the subjectivist idea that humans construct social reality through intersubjective communication (see Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Theorists who operate from the cognitive and paradigmatic perspectives think of organizations as bodies of thought, as schemas, cultures, or paradigms. They are concerned with the way people construct meaning and how this affects the way thought, action, and interaction unfold over time in organizations. The difference is that whereas cognitive theories emphasize the micro-processes through which workers construct their organizational realities, paradigmatic theories emphasis the macro-processes by which existing organizational realities shape the thought and action of workers. Together, cognitive and paradigmatic theories reflect the interactive character of the cultural frame of reference—people creating culture; culture creating people (Pettigrew, 1979).

Organizations as Paradigms

Paradigmatic theorists conceptualize organizations as paradigms or shared systems of meaning and are concerned with the ways existing socially constructed systems of meaning affect thought and action in organizations.

From Kuhn (1970) we know that a paradigm is a general guide to perception, a conceptual map for viewing the world (see Chapter 1). Applied to organizations, a paradigm is a system of beliefs about cause–effect relations and standards of practice and behavior. Regardless of whether the beliefs are accurate, the paradigm guides and justifies action by consolidating the organization's inherent ambiguity into an image of orderliness (Brown, 1978; Clark, 1972).

Organizational change from this perspective is similar to a Kuhnian (1970) paradigm revolution, that is, long periods of stability maintained by the self-reinforcing nature of the organizational paradigm (the long period of normal science), and occasional periods of change in which irreconcilable anomalies eventually undermine the paradigm's legitimacy (revolutionary science) (see Golding, 1980; Jonsson & Lundin, 1977; Chapter 1). Change is a slow and traumatic process in an organization because, once in place, the prevailing paradigm self-justifies itself by distorting contradictory information in support of the conventional view (Golding, 1980). Nevertheless, when sufficient anomalies build up to undermine and eventually overthrow the prevailing paradigm, a new one emerges and action proceeds again under the guidance of the new organizing framework (Golding, 1980; Jonsson & Lundin, 1977).

One way that anomalies are introduced into organizational paradigms is when values and preferences change in society. In this case, the paradigm falls into crisis because the social theory underlying it changes. To the degree that the new social values are inconsistent with the prevailing paradigm, however, resistance emerges in the form of political clashes and an increase in ritualized activity, which together act to reaffirm the paradigm that has been called into question (Lipsky, 1976; Perrow, 1978; Rounds, 1979; Zucker, 1977).

Another way that anomolies are introduced is through the availability of technical information that the current paradigm is not working, which can bring about a paradigm shift in one of two ways (Rounds, 1981). The first way is through a confrontation between an individual (or a small constituency group) who rejects the most fundamental assumptions of the current paradigm on the basis of information that the system is not working, and the rest of the organization's members who act in defiance of the negative information to preserve the prevailing paradigm. The second way is when an initially conservative action is taken to correct a generally recognized flaw in what otherwise is assumed to be a viable system. Here, the corrective measure exposes other flaws, which, when addressed, expose more flaws until enough of the system is called into question to prepare the way for a radical reconceptualization of the entire organization. In this scenario, what initially were conservative attempts to protect the system act to undermine it and ultimately usher in a new paradigm (Rounds, 1981).

Organizations as Schemas

From the cognitive perspective, an organization is a human schema, "an abridged, generalized, corrigible organization of experience that serves as an initial frame of reference for action and perception" (Weick, 1979a, p. 50). The difference in emphasis between the cognitive and paradigmatic perspectives is perhaps best captured in Weick's (1979a) assertion that "an organization is a body of thought thought by thinking thinkers" (p. 42). Like the paradigmatic theorists, Weick recognizes that organizational paradigms orient the thought and action of the people who subscribe to them, but he also accounts for "the important role that people play in creating the environments that impose upon them" (1979b, p. 5). The cognitive perspective bridges the micro- and macro-subjective perspectives by emphasizing the active and creative role that workers play in constructing and reconstructing organizational paradigms. Through activity, selective attention, consensual validation, and luck, people in organizations unrandomize streams of experience enough to form a "sensemaking map" (Weick, 1979a, p. 45) or paradigm of the territory. Of course, the paradigm is not the territory; it is only a *re*presentation of it. For Weick (1979a), however, "the map *is* the territory if people treat it as such" (p. 45). The point is that, accurate or not, organizational paradigms structure the field of action sufficiently so that members can initiate activity in it, out of which may emerge a workable order.

Organizational members' sampling of the environment, and thus the paradigms they construct, are shaped by prior beliefs and values, which act as filters through which they examine their experiences (Weick, 1979a, 1979b, 1985). Although this assertion is consistent with the paradigmatic perspective, by emphasizing action as the pretext and raw material for sense making, Weick actually bridges the structural and cultural frames of reference. According to Weick (1979a), activity in organizations is shaped by material structures like rationalization, formalization, specialization, and professionalization. These structural contingencies shape members' construction of reality because they influence the contacts, communication, and commands that members experience, which in turn affect the streams of experience, beliefs, values, and actions that constitute their organizational paradigms. Furthermore, the process works the other way as well: "Maps, beliefs, and thoughts that summarize actions, themselves constrain contacts, communication, and commands. These constraints constitute and shape organizational processes that result in structures" (1979a, p. 48). From the cognitive perspective, organization is a mutually shaping circularity of structure and culture. Depending on where one enters the circle, organization is a continuous, mutually shaping process in which structural contingencies shape the activities of

organizational members, which in turn shape their value orientation and thus the nature of the paradigms they construct to make sense of the organization, that is, to interpret the very structural contingencies that shape their activities (see Weick, 1979b, 1985; Skrtic, 1995).

Although organization theorists have described schools as chaotic, unorganized, or anarchical systems (Cohen & March, 1974; Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972), Weick (1985) suggested that "underorganized systems" (p. 106) is a more useful characterization. This is so, he argued, because, although school organizations are ambiguous and thus appear to be disorderly, there is some order, most of which is supplied by the schemas or paradigms that its members use to make sense of the organization and their experiences in it. This is an important point for Weick because it is the basis of his explanation of the nature of change in school organizations. From the structural frame of reference, ambiguity in school organizations stems from two sources—the loosely coupled form of interdependence among professionals, and the decoupled (or loosely coupled) relationship between their formal and informal structures—both of which minimize the potential for meaningful change (see above). Building on these structural insights, Weick (1979a, 1982b, 1985) noted a third type of loose coupling that pervades school organizations—a loose or indeterminate relationship between cause and effect—and used it to explain change from the cognitive perspective.

For Weick (1985), "a loosely coupled system is a problem in causal inference" (p. 121). Actors in such systems find it difficult to predict and actualize cause–effect relations because the relations are indeterminate or "intermittent, lagged, dampened, slow, abrupt, and mediated" (p. 121). Given these cognitive conditions, actors in loosely coupled, underorganized systems

> rely on trust and presumptions, are often isolated, find social comparison difficult, have no one to borrow from, seldom imitate, suffer pluralistic ignorance, maintain discretion, improvise, and have less hubris because they know the universe is not sufficiently connected to make widespread change possible. (Weick, 1985, p. 121)

A loosely coupled system is not a flawed system, however (Weick, 1982b). It is a social and cognitive response to ambiguity, "to constant environmental change, to the impossibility of knowing another mind, and to limited information-processing capabilities. Loose coupling is to social systems as compartmentalization is to individuals, a means to achieve cognitive economy and a little peace" (Weick, 1985, p. 121).

Given his cognitive interpretation of loosely coupled systems, Weick (1982b, 1985) used the ideas of superstitious learning (cf. Hedberg, 1981) and self-fulfilling prophecy (cf. Jones, 1977) to explain change in underorganized systems such as schools. Superstitious learning occurs when actors mistakenly see a change in the environment as the effect of their action (cause). As a result, they build into their paradigm or "cause map" (Weick, 1985, p. 124) the belief that they are able to change environments. Although this is an incorrect interpretation of what actually happened, Weick argued that, in malleable environments, acting on a mistaken belief can set in motion a sequence of activities that allows people to construct a reality in which the belief is true. In underorganized systems, an apparent efficacy can transform a superstitious conclusion into a "correct" perception.

> An original prophecy is incorrect and may result from a mistaken perception that an environmental outcome was caused by an individual action. Later, when the person acts as if the prophecy were correct, the prophecy can become correct and the environment becomes responsive to the individual action rather than to some other exogenous factor. Thus, the incorrect theory of action becomes self-correcting. It sets into motion a set of events that validate what was originally an invalid belief. (Weick, 1985, p. 124)

Ambiguity in underorganized systems is reduced when actors incorporate—rightly or wrongly—into their paradigms an inference about cause and effect. When they act on the inference as if it were true, a previously loose relationship between cause and effect becomes tightened and the uncertainty surrounding the effect is reduced. For Weick (1982b, 1985) confident action based on a presumption of efficacy reinforces the inference about efficacy stored in the paradigm. In short, people in ambiguous, underorganized systems can make things happen.

The inherent structural and cognitive ambiguity in loosely coupled, underorganized systems such as schools increases the extent to which action is guided by beliefs, values, and ideology (Weick, 1979a, 1982b, 1985). Those who can resolve ambiguity gain power because their beliefs and values affect what the organization is and what it can become. Moreover, when ambiguity is increased, it sets the stage for ideology and values to be reshuffled, for a paradigm shift in which the people best able to resolve the crisis gain power because their view of the world reconstitutes the organization. According to Weick (1985), the recognition of an important, enduring ambiguity—an unresolvable anomaly in the prevailing paradigm—is an occasion when an organization may redefine itself. Those who resolve the ambiguity for themselves and others implant a new set of values in the organization, a new set of relevancies and competencies and thus a source of innovation.

Ambiguity sets the occasion for organizations to learn about themselves and their environments and allows them to emerge from their crisis in confidence in a different form. And behind it all are people with ideas that are

rooted in their values and vision of what can and should be. For Weick, the importance of presumptions, expectations, and commitments cannot be overestimated. Confident, forceful, persistent people, with their presumptions, expectations, and commitments, can span the breaks in loosely coupled, underorganized systems by encouraging interactions that tighten settings. "The conditions of order and tightness in organizations," Weick (1985) noted, "exist as much in the mind as they do in the field of action" (p. 128).

SPECIAL EDUCATION AS AN INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICE

In Chapter 3, my goal was to deconstruct special education as a professional practice. By exposing the inconsistencies, contradictions, and silences in the special education knowledge tradition, I tried to raise doubts in readers' minds about the legitimacy of the field's professional knowledge, practices, and discourses. Here, I want to deconstruct special education as an institutional practice of public education by reconsidering the four assumptions that have guided and justified its development and expansion within the institution of education over this century. As discussed in Chapter 3, the assumptions are that

1. Student disability is a pathological condition.
2. Differential diagnosis is objective and useful.
3. Special education is a rationally conceived and coordinated system of services that benefits diagnosed students.
4. Progress in special education is a rational-technical process of incremental improvements in conventional diagnostic and instructional practices.

In the discussion to follow I reconsider these assumptions from an organizational perspective, using the organizational insights developed above to ask whether the institutional practice of special education is a rational and just response to the problem of school failure.

The Nature of Disability and Diagnosis

From the structural frame of reference, schools are nonadaptable at the level of the professional because professionalization produces teachers with finite repertoires of standard practices matched to a limited set of predetermined student needs. This raises several questions relative to the nature of student disability and diagnosis, questions about the nature and source of

these practices, as well as the way they are applied in schools. As we know from Chapter 1, the positivist model of professional knowledge assumes that professional practices are objective, the end result of a rational system of applied science grounded in objective social knowledge. However, because knowledge of social reality is always knowledge from a particular point of view, professional practices cannot be considered inherently correct (or incorrect) in an objective sense; they are merely social constructions, the customs and conventions of a professional culture grounded in a particular paradigm-bound knowledge tradition of disciplinary science. Assuming for the sake of argument that these practices are the most effective ones available relative to the contingencies for which they have been engineered, another question is whether they are the practices that teachers actually use in schools.

In Part 1 my argument about the nature of professional induction stopped at the level of the professional culture. At this point, I can extend it by introducing the idea that a profession actually is composed of two largely discontinuous subcultures, that is, in the field of education, the subculture of applied scientists who work in schools of education (or research labs and centers) and that of professional practitioners who work in public schools (see Elliott, 1975; House, 1974; Rudduck, 1977; Schön, 1983). Teachers leave their professional education programs with a repertoire of standard practices grounded in the customs and conventions of the applied science subculture. Upon entry into the public schools, however, they are inducted into a practitioner subculture that, faced with a different set of relevancies, has developed different customs and conventions and thus a different set of standard practices that have little to do with what they learned in their professional education programs (Dornbusch & Scott, 1975; Schempp & Graber, 1992).[9]

Although the structural frame of reference assumes that the practices teachers use in schools derive from professionalization, from this perspective we can think of the source of these standard programs as acculturation. Professional behavior in schools is governed by institutionalized cultural norms; things are done in certain ways in schools because they have always been done that way, and to do anything else would not make sense. Like all professional work, teaching is a ritualized activity that takes place in an institutionalized environment (Zucker, 1977, 1981). Teachers learn to teach by modeling other teachers such as their former public school teachers and those under whom they serve as student teachers, professionals who got their standard practices in the same way from previous models (Gehrke & Kay, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Schempp & Graber, 1992). Teaching practices are passed on from one generation of teachers to another within an institutionalized context. There is nothing rational or inherently correct or incorrect about them; they are simply artifacts of a professional subculture. What is

important about these practices is whether they serve the best interests of students and society, a question that can be addressed by asking how they are applied in practice.

From the structural frame of reference, professional practice is a matter of pigeonholing a presumed client need into one of the standard practices in a repertoire of skills, a process that works until the client's needs do not match the skills that the professional has to offer. Although from the cultural frame of reference such an anomaly can lead to the construction of a new practice, a common problem associated with pigeonholing is that "the professional confuses the needs of his clients with the skills he has to offer them" (Mintzberg, 1979, p. 374). The problem of innovation at the level of the professional, or what Mintzberg called the "means–ends inversion" (p. 373), is rooted "in convergent thinking, in the deductive reasoning of the professional who sees the specific situation in terms of the general concept. In the professional bureaucracy this means that new problems are forced into old pigeonholes" (p. 375). Ultimately, pigeonholing preempts the need for problem solving and innovation in schools because, when the needs of the student do not match the teacher's repertoire of skills, the tendency is to force them artificially into one of the available standard practices. In principle, teachers know the theory behind their practices and have the discretion to adapt them. However, given the deductive and convergent nature of professional education (Chapter 1) and the misplaced rationalization and formalization in schools, teachers, like all professionals, are performers, not problem solvers. They tend to perfect the standard practice in their repertoires; they do not invent new practices for unfamiliar contingencies.

We can understand the means–ends inversion culturally by thinking of a teacher's repertoires of skills as a paradigm, a technology of standard practices premised on beliefs about cause–effect relations (Brown, 1978; Weick, 1979a). Regardless of whether the practices are effective, they persist because the paradigm guides and justifies the teacher's professional thought and action (Brown, 1978; Clark, 1972; Pfeffer, 1982). Once the paradigm is in place, it and its associated practices change very slowly because the self-justifying nature of the paradigm distorts instructional anomalies, making them consistent with the prevailing view (Jonsson & Lundin, 1977). Structurally, one source of distortion is professional pigeonholing, a process in which anomalies go unrecognized because of the deductive nature of professionalization. Another structural distortion arises from the relationship between professionalization and specialization, an organizational form of pigeonholing that occurs when a student's needs cannot be forced into any of the standard practices in a teacher's repertoire. Here, a potential anomaly is distorted by forcing the student out of the professional–client relationship altogether, and pigeonholing him or her into a new one with a different professional specialist who is

presumed to have the standard practices the student needs (see Perrow, 1970; Simon, 1977; Skrtic, 1988, 1991a; Weick, 1976).

Both forms of pigeonholing simplify matters greatly in professional bureaucracies because they eliminate virtually all anomalies, thereby preempting the need for problem solving and innovation. In effect, professional pigeonholing distorts instructional anomalies by simply ignoring them. Organizational pigeonholing distorts them by turning instructional problems into jurisdictional problems, which are resolved by reassigning students to a different teaching specialization (see Skrtic, 1987, 1991a, 1991b). Pigeonholing is not a dysfunction of school organizations; professional bureaucracies are structured to screen out heterogeneity and uncertainty by forcing their clients' needs into the standard practices of one or another of their professional specializations. The problem of innovation in schools is that innovative problem solving requires inductive reasoning, that is, the induction of new general concepts or practices from particular experiences. As Mintzberg (1979) noted, "That kind of thinking is divergent–it breaks away from old routines or standards rather than perfecting existing ones. And that flies in the face of everything the professional bureaucracy is designed to do" (p. 375).

Structurally, schools are nonadaptable at the classroom level because professionalization ultimately results in convergent thinking. Given a finite repertoire of skills, students whose needs fall outside a teacher's standard practices must be forced into them, or forced out of general education classrooms and into the special education system (or one of the other special needs programs such as compensatory, bilingual, migrant, or gifted education). Moreover, the situation is compounded by the rational-technical approach to school management, which, by introducing unwarranted rationalization and formalization, reduces professional thought and discretion. This minimizes the degree to which teachers can personalize their standard practices, thus forcing more students into the special education system than otherwise would be the case.

The same phenomenon can be understood culturally by thinking of teachers' repertoires of skills as a paradigm of practice that persists because anomalies are distorted to preserve its validity. The principal distortion is the institutional practice of special education, which, by removing students from the general education system, prevents teachers from recognizing anomalies in their conventional paradigm of practice. Without anomalies, of course, there is no way for the professional culture to see that there is something amiss with its paradigm and associated instructional practices. This acts in a mutually reinforcing way to strengthen teachers' belief in both the validity of their conventional practices and the notion that school failure is a human pathology. Moreover, misplaced rationalization and formalization compound and further mystify the situation because they conflict with the values that

ground the paradigm. This reduces professional thought and thus the degree to which general education teachers can personalize their practices, which forces more students into the special education system and further reinforces the view that conventional practices are valid and that students who fail to learn from them are pathological.

Whether we think of school organizations from the structural or the cultural frame of reference, the implication is that student disability is neither a pathological condition nor an objective distinction. School failure is an organizational pathology that results from the inherent structural and cultural characteristics of traditional school organizations. Being "handicapped" in school is a matter of not fitting the standard practices of the prevailing paradigm of a professional culture, the legitimacy of which is maintained and reinforced by the objectification of school failure as student disability through the institutional practice of special education.

The Nature of Special Education

As public organizations, schools must be responsive to what society wants them to be and do. Society is a constant source of pressure on schools in this respect, but when values and priorities in society change, additional demands are made that often require schools to change what they and their professionals are accustomed to doing (Mintzberg, 1979; Rounds, 1979). In some cases, schools are required to make incidental, add-on changes, which they are able to do quite easily because of their loosely coupled internal structure. In other cases, however, society demands more fundamental changes, ones that require professionals to do something other than what they were standardized (structural perspective) or acculturated (cultural perspective) to do.

Structurally, this is a problem for schools because of the convergent thinking and deductive reasoning of professionals. Culturally, it is a problem because the values that underwrite the demand that professionals do something different contradict the values of their prevailing paradigm of practice (Rounds, 1979, 1981). From the institutional perspective we know that schools deal with their inability to change through various forms of decoupling, such as simply adding decoupled programs and specialists. The greater significance of this form of decoupling is that it permits schools to respond to demands for fundamental change by converting them into incidental changes. That is, by adding separate programs and specialists to their existing operation, school organizations can respond to fundamental change demands without requiring their professionals to actually do anything fundamentally different.

The segregated special education classroom is the extreme case of this

form of decoupling. Earlier in the century when society required schools to serve children from working-class and immigrant families, the special classroom model emerged to deal with students whose needs could not be accommodated within the standard practices of public education's prevailing paradigm (see Bogdan & Knoll, 1988; Lazerson, 1983; Sarason & Doris, 1979; Chapter 3). From an organizational perspective, the special classroom served as a legitimating device, a means for schools to signal the public that they had complied with the demand to serve a broader range of students, while at the same time allowing the schools to maintain their traditional paradigm of practice. Once special classrooms were created, they simply were decoupled from the rest of the school organization, thus buffering schools from the change demand by buffering their teachers from the need to change the way they actually taught. Indeed, this decoupled relationship between the general education system and the special classroom was one of the major criticisms of the special classroom model within the mainstreaming debate of the 1960s and 1970s (see Christophos & Renz, 1969; Deno, 1970; Dunn, 1968; Johnson, 1962; Chapter 3).

Another special education example is the overrepresentation of minority students in special classrooms, a problem that emerged in the 1960s (Chandler & Plakos, 1969; Dunn, 1968; Janesick, 1988; MacMillan, 1971; Mercer, 1973; Wright, 1967) following *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954), and that, in special education generally, has continued into the present (Cummins, 1989; Harry, 1992; Heller, Holtzman, & Messick, 1982; Rueda, 1989), even though P.L. 94–142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (EHA) (now the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act) requires "racially and culturally nondiscriminatory testing and evaluation" (Turnbull, 1993, p. 85). From an organizational perspective, the overrepresentation of minority students in special classrooms and programs can be understood as a form of decoupling, a process in which school organizations use an existing decoupling device—the special classroom and the special education system *per se*—to maintain their legitimacy in the face of failing to meet the needs of disproportionate numbers of these students in general education classrooms.

Special education is not a rationally conceived system of services. From an organizational perspective, it is a legitimating device, a mechanism that school organizations use to cope with the change demands of their institutionalized environments. Moreover, special education is not a rationally coordinated system because, by design, it is decoupled from the general education system, as well as from the other special needs programs (see Reynolds & Wang, 1983; Reynolds, Wang, & Walberg, 1987), each of which has been added to traditional school organizations incidentally as values and priorities have shifted in society. I began this chapter by noting that the unintended

consequence of using organizations to provide services to society is that the services are shaped by the nature and needs of the organizations themselves. From an organizational perspective, student disability and the institutional practice of special education are unintended consequences of traditional school organizations.

From a structural perspective, the institutional practice of special education is an organizational artifact that emerged to protect the legitimacy of a nonadaptable bureaucratic structure faced with the changing value demands of a dynamic democratic environment. Even though schools are nonadaptable structures, they maintain their legitimacy under dynamic social conditions by signaling the public that changes have occurred, which includes the addition of decoupled subunits like special education and the other special needs programs. Moreover, from a cultural perspective, the institutional practices of special education and special needs programs generally distort the anomaly of school failure and thus preserve public education's prevailing paradigm of practice, which ultimately reinforces the theories of organizational rationality and human pathology in the profession and institution of education and in society at large.

The Nature of Progress

As we know from Chapter 3, the EHA is premised on the assumption that progress in special education is a rational-technical process of incremental refinements in conventional practices. When it was enacted, the EHA (and mainstreaming) was perceived to be a refined model of special education diagnostic and instructional practices, one that resolved the ethical and efficacy problems associated with the segregated special classroom model (see Abeson & Zettel, 1977; Gilhool, 1989; Turnbull, 1986). Although special educators criticized the EHA and mainstreaming on practical grounds throughout the 1980s (see Chapter 3), in this section I want to consider them from an organizational perspective relative to the question of the nature of progress in the field. [10]

Structurally, the problem with the EHA is that it requires professional bureaucracies to function as adhocracies by treating them as if they were machine bureaucracies. The ends of the EHA are adhocratic. Given its procedural requirements of interdisciplinary assessment and programming, parent participation, individualized educational plans, and least restrictive placements (see Turnbull & Turnbull, 1978), the EHA requires schools to become problem-solving organizations in which teams of professionals collaborate among themselves and with their clients to invent personalized practices. At the same time, however, the means by which the EHA seeks to achieve this transformation are completely consistent with the rational-technical approach to change. The EHA assumes that schools are rational machine bureaucracies, organizations in which worker behavior is controlled through formalization and thus subject to modification through revision and extension of existing rules and regulations (see Elmore & McLaughlin, 1982).

Moreover, because the ends of the EHA are adhocractic, they contradict the inner professional bureaucracy structure of schools, which has both structural and cultural implications. The structural contradiction arises from the fact that, whereas the EHA requires a problem-solving organization in which professionals work together to invent personalized instructional practices, the inner professional bureaucracy structure of schools configures them as performance organizations in which professionals work alone to perfect the standard practices in their repertoires. In turn, this produces a cultural contradiction, a conflict between the bureaucratic values that ground the performance-oriented paradigm of the professional culture and those that underwrite the adhocratic or problem-solving orientation of the EHA. This is a problem because the contradiction in values leads to resistance in the form of political clashes that undermine the goal of collaboration, and an increase in ritualized activity that intensifies the problem of professionalization (performance of standard practices or problem solutions) and thus deflects the goal of personalization (interdisciplinary problem solving) (see Bogdan, 1983; Lortie, 1978; Martin, 1978; Moran, 1984; Patrick & Reschly, 1982; Singer & Butler, 1987; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985; Weatherley, 1979).

Because the means of the EHA are completely consistent with the outer machine bureaucracy structure of traditional school organizations, they extend and elaborate the existing rationalization and formalization in schools. This creates two interrelated structural problems. The first problem is that more rationalization and formalization reduce professional thought and discretion even further. This intensifies the problem of professionalization and thus reduces the possibility of personalization, which results in even more students whose needs fall outside the standard practices of teachers. And because many of these students must be forced into the special education system, the bureaucratic means of the EHA ultimately lead to ever-greater numbers of students identified as handicapped (see Gerber & Levine-Donnerstein, 1989; United States Department of Education, 1988). The second problem stems from the fact that the outer machine bureaucracy structure of schools is decoupled from their internal professional bureaucracy structure, which means that the additional rationalization and formalization associated with the EHA have little to do with the way teachers actually teach students with special educational needs (see below). Ultimately, not only do the bureaucratic means of the EHA produce more students who must be identified as handicapped, but at the same time the two-structure bureaucratic configuration of schools largely deflects the law's adhocratic ends from

students identified as handicapped, the very students the law is intended to benefit.

Nevertheless, because the EHA requires at least overt conformity, a number of symbols of compliance have emerged to signal the public that the intent of the law is being achieved. For example, the symbol of compliance for programs that serve students labeled severely and profoundly handicapped is the traditional decoupled subunit—the segregated special classroom. Like the special classrooms of the 1960s, these programs are simply added incidentally to the loosely coupled internal structure of schools and, to one degree or another, decoupled from the general education program and other special education programs. Indeed, the decoupled nature of these programs is a key point of criticism in the inclusion debate (Gartner & Lipsky, 1987; Stainback & Stainback, 1984, 1987; Chapter 3).[11] The symbol of compliance for most students in the EHA's high-incidence classifications of learning disabilities, emotional disturbance, and mild mental retardation is the special education resource room, a new type of decoupled subunit associated with the mainstreaming model. From an organizational perspective, the resource room is even more problematic than the traditional special classroom because it violates the logic of the division of labor, means of coordination, and form of interdependence in the professional bureaucracy configuration.

Under the mainstreaming model, the responsibility for implementing a student's individualized educational plan (IEP) is divided among one or more general education teachers and a special education resource teacher. This contradicts the specialized division of labor and professionalized means of coordination in schools because it requires that the student's instructional program be rationalized and assigned to more than one professional, which is justified implicitly on the assumption that the professionals will work collaboratively to implement the IEP in an integrated manner. But the collaboration required to integrate the student's IEP contradicts the logic of specialization and professionalization, and thus the form of interdependence among professionals in schools. In theory, a team of teachers working collaboratively in the interest of a single student for whom they share responsibility violates both the logic of loose coupling and the sensibility of the professional culture and thus should not be expected to occur as a generalized phenomenon in schools (Bidwell, 1965; Mintzberg, 1979; Weick, 1976). By design, there is no need for collaboration or mutual adjustment in schools because specialization and professionalization locate virtually all of the necessary coordination within the roles of individual specialists. In practice, if it occurs at all in schools, collaboration within or across specializations is at best rare, fleeting, and idiosyncratic (see Bishop, 1977; Lortie, 1975, 1978; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985; Tye & Tye, 1984). Mainstreaming and the IEP process require a collaborative division of labor and a means of coordination premised on mutual adjustment, and thus ultimately on the discursive coupling arrangement of the adhocracy configuration.

Although the EHA requires placements in the general education classroom to the maximum extent possible, students are identified as handicapped under the law precisely because they cannot be accommodated within the existing standard practices in these classrooms (see Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985; Walker, 1987). Given the logic of specialization and the deductive reasoning of professionalization, mainstreaming for most of these students is largely symbolic and ceremonial (see Biklen, 1985; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985; Wright, Cooperstein, Reneker, & Padilla, 1982). Given the adhocratic ends of the EHA, it was intended to decrease the effects of student disability by increasing personalized instruction and general education integration. However, given its bureaucratic means and the bureaucratic nature of traditional school organizations, the EHA has resulted in an increase in the number of students classified as disabled (Gerber & Levine-Donnerstein, 1989; USDE, 1988), disintegration of instruction (Gartner & Lipsky, 1987; Walker, 1987; Wang, Reynolds, & Walberg, 1986, 1987), and a decrease in personalization in general education (Bryan, Bay, & Donahue, 1988; Keogh, 1988) and special education classrooms (Carlberg & Kavale, 1980; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985).

In Chapter 3, I deconstructed special education as a professional practice by exposing the inconsistencies, contradictions, and silences in the special education knowledge tradition. My aim was to raise doubts in readers' minds about the legitimacy of the field's practices and discourses by questioning the functionalist assumptions, theories, and metatheories in which they are grounded. In this chapter I questioned the legitimacy of special education from an organizational perspective. By exposing the inconsistencies, contradictions, and silences in the assumptions, theories, and metatheories that have guided and justified its development and expansion over this century, I deconstructed special education as an institutional practice of public education. In terms of the legitimacy of its grounding assumptions, special education cannot be considered a rational and just response to the problem of school failure. Moreover, as we will see in Chapter 10, the broader significance of deconstructing special education as an institutional practice is that it deconstructs the institution of public education itself, thus clearing the way for reconstructing it according to the ideal of public education in a democracy.

NOTES

1. The machine bureaucracy configuration actually resulted from the combination of scientific management and the so-called "principles of management" approach

to administration (Fayol, 1916/1949; Gulick & Urwick, 1937), which is premised on a detailed set of prescriptions (regarding, for example, the principles of "chain of command" and "span of authority") for bringing work under the formal control of managers. The synthesis of the notion of standardization of work processes (scientific management) with that of formal administrative authority (principles of management) yielded the machine model of organizational design and of management, both of which are premised on the notion of "man-as-machine" (Crozier, 1964; Mintzberg, 1979; Worthy, 1959).

2. Barnard's synthesis was imported into public education by way of the Getzels–Guba model of administration (Getzels & Guba, 1957), which is premised on Barnard's synthesis and subsequently became "the most successful theory in educational administration" (Griffiths, 1979, p. 50). In many of its essential features, total quality management (Deming, 1986) is also a synthesis of the rational and nonrational perspectives on organization and management. As an attempt to achieve efficiency and quality simultaneously by giving workers more of a voice in the control of work, total quality management is more of a synthesis than Barnard's approach or the Getzels–Guba model, but it falls far short of the "participatory" or "democratic" approaches to organization and management touched upon below and discussed more fully in the next chapter (see Chapter 10, note 15).

3. The leading professors of educational administration also urged the field to adopt positivism, which at that time was the dominant epistemology in the social sciences and thus in the field of organization analysis (see Griffiths, 1983; Chapter 2). Although the leading professors published several texts that attempted to appropriate the prevailing (functionalist) organizational and methodological insights of organization analysis into the field of educational administration (e.g., Campbell & Gregg, 1956; Coladarci & Getzels, 1955; Griffiths, 1959, 1964; Halpin, 1958), the idea of grounding their practices in theory never really captured the imagination of the professoriate or of practicing administrators, the vast majority of whom remained tied to the prescriptive discourse (see Campbell & Newell, 1973; Cunningham, Hack, & Nystrand, 1977; Halpin, 1970; Halpin & Hayes, 1977).

4. The most significant development in education relative to school organization was the emergence in the 1960s of a research tradition on educational change (see Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Skrtic, 1995). Over the past 30 years, the apparent inability to change schools in any meaningful way (Boyd & Crowson, 1981; Cuban, 1979) has forced educational change researchers to modify their perspective on change itself, a shift from an objectivist or rational-technical concern for the innovation to a subjectivist or nonrational concern for the culture of schools (see House, 1979), thus paralleling developments in the social sciences (see Chapter 2; below). The shift has provided new ways to understand schools as cultures and to influence practice through dialogical discourse (e.g., Bates, 1980, 1987; Foster, 1986; Gitlin, 1990; Lather, 1991; Maxcy, 1991; Sarason, 1982; Sirotnik & Oakes, 1986; Skrtic, 1985; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985). The problem, however, is that the new focus on culture and discourse pays too little attention to the material structure of schools and thus to the necessary organizational conditions of dialogical discourse (see Skrtic, 1991a; Chapters 3 and 10). In the analysis to follow I consider school organization and change dialogically, from both a structural and a cultural perspective within a single antifoundational analysis (also see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1995; Skrtic & Ware, 1992).

5. Configuration theory synthesizes the individualists' concern for organizing processes with the structuralists' concern for organizational structure, under the analytical concept of organizational structur*ing* (see below). It is important for analyzing school organization because it provides several ideal-typical (see Chapter 2) organizational configurations that are particularly helpful for understanding the structure and functioning of traditional school organizations, as well as the structure implied in both the school restructuring movement in general education and the inclusive education movement in special education (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1995; Skrtic & Ware, 1992; Chapter 10; below). Institutional theory synthesizes the macro-subjectivist concern for normative or cultural structures and the macro-objectivist concern for material structures, under the analytic notion that all organizations maintain both types of structures. It is important for understanding the nature and functioning of school organizations, particularly how they respond to change demands (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988; Chapter 10; below).

6. By synthesizing macro-subjective and micro-subjective theories of organization, paradigmatic theories provide a way to understand the mutually shaping relationship between organizational cultures or paradigms and the thought and action of their members. They are important for understanding schools as cultures or systems of meaning and how such systems change (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1995). By synthesizing micro-subjective, macro-subjective, and macro-objective theories of organization, cognitive theories provide a means to understand the ways in which organizational members construct and reconstruct organizational paradigms, as well as the mutually shaping relationship between organizational structure and culture. They are important for understanding the relationship between structure and culture in schools and how both are formed and change (see Skrtic, 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1995; Skrtic & Ware, 1992; Chapter 10; below).

7. Except where noted otherwise, all of the material on configuration theory in this section (division of labor, coordination of work, interdependence among workers, and the implications of the machine bureaucracy, professional bureaucracy, and adhocracy configurations for management, adaptability, and accountability) is drawn from Mintzberg (1979, 1983), Miller and Mintzberg (1983), and Miller and Friesen (1984); all of the material on institutional theory (decoupled structures and subunits, and the implications of organizational symbols and ceremonies for school governance and educational reform) is drawn from Meyer and Rowan (1977, 1978), Meyer and Scott (1983), and Meyer (1979).

8. First recognized in the 1960s, this configuration was referred to originally as an "organic structure" (Pugh et al., 1963), and more recently as a "learning organization" (Senge, 1990). Mintzberg (1979) called it adhocracy, following Bennis and Slater (1964), who coined the term in *The Temporary Society*, and Alvin Toffler (1970), who popularized it in *Future Shock*.

9. Further evidence for the notion of decoupled subcultures can be found in the educational change literature. Given the objectivist view of the professions, it is assumed that teaching practices are updated as new, research-based procedures become available at the applied science level of the profession (see Chapter 1). But this

rarely occurs (see House, 1974, 1979); in most schools the methods of instruction and the curriculum itself are little different from what they were earlier in the century (Cuban, 1979).

10. Virtually all of the citations in this section are references to empirical and interpretive research findings that support my theoretical claims about organization and change. That is, in virtually all cases the author or authors cited in conjunction with an assertion have not made the assertion. The assertions are mine, based on the discussion of organization and change above, and they are supported by the empirical or interpretive research of the authors cited.

11. Because the needs of these students are beyond the standard practices of any single professional specialization and thus require an interdisciplinary approach, the efficacy of these programs depends on the will and capacity of local schools to provide the team of professionals that is required (see Biklen, 1985; McDonnel & McLaughlin, 1982; Noel & Fuller, 1985; Skrtic, Guba, & Knowlton, 1985). Beyond this, programs for students with severe to profound disabilities have had little to do with the operation of schools under the EHA, which is to be expected, of course, given the loosely coupled internal structure of school organizations.

REFERENCES

Abeson, A., & Zettel, J. (1977). The end of the quiet revolution: The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. *Exceptional Children, 44*(2), 115–128.

Allison, G. T. (1971). *Essence of decision: Explaining the Cuban missile crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Argyris, C. (1957). *Personality and organization*. New York: Harper.

Ayres, L. P. (1909). *Laggards in the schools: A study of retardation and elimination in city school systems*. New York: Charities Publication Committee.

Barnard, C. I. (1938). *Functions of the executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bates, R. J. (1980). Educational administration, the sociology of science, and the management of knowledge. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 16*(2), 1–20.

Bates, R. J. (1987). Corporate culture, schooling, and educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 23*(4), 79–115.

Becker, H. S. (1983). Studying urban schools. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 31*(2), 99–108.

Bennis, W. G., & Slater, P. L. (1964). *The temporary society*. New York: Harper & Row.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality*. New York: Doubleday.

Bidwell, C. E. (1965). The school as formal organization. In J. G. March (Ed.), *Handbook of organizations* (pp. 972–1022). Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing.

Biklen, D. (1985). *Achieving the complete school: Strategies for effective mainstreaming*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bishop, J. M. (1977). Organizational influences on the work orientations of elementary teachers. *Sociology of Work and Occupation, 4*, 171–208.

Bobbit, F. (1913). Some general principles of management applied to the problems of city school systems. In *The supervision of city schools: Twelfth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1* (pp. 137–196). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bogdan, R. (1983). Does mainstreaming work? is a silly question. *Phi Delta Kappan, 64*(6), 425–434.

Bogdan, R., & Knoll, J. (1988). The sociology of disability. In E. L. Meyen & T. M. Skrtic (Eds.), *Exceptional children and youth: An introduction* (pp. 449–477). Denver: Love Publishing.

Boulding, K. (1967). The boundaries of social policy. *Social Work, 12*, 3–11.

Boyd, W. L., & Crowson, R. L. (1981). The changing conception and practice of public school administration. In D. C. Berliner (Ed.), *Review of research in education* (pp. 311–373). Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock.

Bridges, E. M. (1982). Research on the school administrator: The state of the art, 1967–1980. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 18*(3), 12–33.

Brown, R. H. (1978). Bureaucracy as praxis: Toward a political phenomenology of formal organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 23*(3), 365–382.

Bryan, T., Bay, M., & Donahue, M. (1988). Implications of the learning disabilities definition for the regular education initiative. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 21*(1), 23–28.

Burns, T., & Stalker, G. M. (1966). *The management of innovation* (2nd ed.). London: Tavistock Publications.

Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. London: Heinemann.

Callahan, R. E. (1962). *Education and the cult of efficiency: A study of the social forces that have shaped the administration of public schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, R. (1971, August). NCPEA–Then and now. Paper presented at the meeting of the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

Campbell, R. F., Fleming, T., Newell, L. J., & Bennion, J. W. (1987). *A history of thought and practice in educational administration*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Campbell, R. F., & Gregg, R. T. (Eds.). (1956). *Administrative behavior in education*. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Campbell, R. F., & Newell, L. J. (1973). *A study of professors in educational administration: Problems and prospects of an applied academic field*. Columbus, OH: University Council for Educational Administration.

Carlberg, C., & Kavale, K. (1980). The efficacy of special versus regular-class placement for exceptional children: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Special Education, 14*(3), 295–309.

Chandler, J. T., & Plakos, J. (1969). *Spanish-speaking pupils classified as educable mentally retarded*. Sacramento: California State Department of Education.

Chandler, M. D., & Sayles, L. R. (1971). *Managing large systems*. New York: Harper & Row.

Christophos, F., & Renz, P. (1969). A critical examination of special education programs. *Journal of Special Education, 3*(4), 371–380.

Clark, B. R. (1972). The organizational saga in higher education. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 17*, 178–184.

Clark, D. L. (1985). Emerging paradigms in organizational theory and research. In Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *Organizational theory and inquiry: The paradigm revolution* (pp. 43–78). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Cohen, M. D., & March, J. G. (1974). *Leadership and ambiguity*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Cohen, M. D., March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1972). A garbage can model of organizational choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 17*, 1–25.

Coladarci, A. P., & Getzels, J. W. (1955). *The use of theory in educational administration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Crozier, M. (1964). *The bureaucratic phenomenon*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cuban, L. (1979). Determinants of curriculum change and stability, 1870–1970. In J. Schaffarzick & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Value conflicts and curriculum issues*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Cummins, J. (1989). A theoretical framework for bilingual special education. *Exceptional Children, 56*(2), 111–119.

Cunningham, L. L., Hack, W. G., & Nystrand, R. O. (Eds.). (1977). *Educational administration: The developing decades*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Dalton, M. (1959). *Men who manage*. New York: Wiley.

Deming, W. E. (1986). *Out of the crisis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Deno, E. (1970). Special education as developmental capital. *Exceptional Children, 37*(3), 229–237.

Dewey, J. (1976). The school and society. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899–1924* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–109). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1899)

Dewey, J. (1980). Democracy and education. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899–1924* (Vol. 9, pp. 1–370). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1916)

Dewey, J. (1981). The need for a recovery of philosophy. In J. J. McDermott (Ed.), *The philosophy of John Dewey* (pp. 58–97). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1917)

Dewey, J. (1981). Experience and nature. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–326). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1925)

Dewey, J. (1988). The public and its problems. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 2, pp. 235–372). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1927)

Dewey, J. (1988). The quest for certainty. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 4, pp. 1–250). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1929)

Dewey, J. (1988). Individualism, old and new. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 5, pp. 41–123). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1929–30)

Dewey, J. (1989). The development of American pragmatism. In H. S. Thayer (Ed.), *Pragmatism: The classic writings* (pp. 23–40). Indianapolis: Hackett. (Original work published 1931)

Dornbusch, S. M., & Scott, W. R. (1975). *Evaluation and the exercise of authority: A theory of control applied to diverse organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Dunn, L. M. (1968). Special education for the mildly retarded—Is much of it justifiable? *Exceptional Children, 35*(1), 5–22.

Edwards, R. C. (1979). *Contested terrain: The transformation of the workplace in the twentieth century*. New York: Basic Books.

Elliott, J. (1975). *Objectivity, ideology, and teacher participation in educational research*. Norwich, England: University of East Anglia, Centre for Applied Research in Education.

Elmore, R. F., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1982). Strategic choice in federal education policy: The compliance–assistance trade-off. In A. Lieberman & M. W. McLaughlin (Eds.), *Policy making in education: Eighty-first yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (pp. 159–194). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Elmore, R. F., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1988). *Steady work: Policy, practice, and the reform of American education*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Erickson, D. A. (1977). An overdue paradigm shift in educational administration, or, how can we get that idiot off the freeway? In L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack, & R. O. Nystrand (Eds.), *Educational administration: The developing decades* (pp. 199–143). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Erickson, D. A. (1979). Research on educational administration: The state-of-the-art. *Educational Researcher, 8*(3), 9–14.

Fayol, H. (1949). *General and industrial management*. Marshfield, MA: Pitman Publishing. (Original work published 1916)

Follett, M. P. (1924). *Creative experience*. London: Longmans and Green.

Follett, M. P. (1940). *Dynamic administration: The collected papers of Mary Parker Follett* (H. C. Metcalf & L. Urwick, Eds.). New York: Harper.

Foster, W. (1986). *Paradigms and promises: New approaches to educational administration*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

Galbraith, J. K. (1967). *The new industrial state*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Gartner, A., & Lipsky, D. K. (1987). Beyond special education: Toward a quality system for all students. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(4), 367–390.

Gehrke, N. J., & Kay, R. S. (1984). The socialization of beginning teachers through mentor–protege relationships. *Journal of Teacher Education, 35*, 21–24.

Gerber, M. M., & Levine-Donnerstein, D. (1989). Educating all children: Ten years later. *Exceptional Children, 56*(1), 17–27.

Getzels, J. W., & Guba, E. G. (1957). Social behavior and the administrative process. *School Review, 65*, 423–441.

Gilhool, T. K. (1989). The right to an effective education: From *Brown* to P.L. 94–142 and beyond. In D. K. Lipsky & A. Gartner (Eds.), *Beyond separate education: Quality education for all* (pp. 243–253). Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Gitlin, A. D. (1990). Educative research, voice, and school change. *Harvard Educational Review, 60*(4), 443–466.
Golding, D. (1980). Establishing blissful clarity in organizational life: Managers. *Sociological Review, 28*, 763–782.
Griffiths, D. E. (1959). *Administrative theory*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Griffiths, D. E. (Ed.). (1964). *Behavioral science and educational administration*: Sixty-third yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Griffiths, D. E. (1979). Intellectual turmoil in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 15*(3), 43–65.
Griffiths, D. E. (1983). Evolution in research and theory: A study of prominent researchers. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 19*(3), 201–221.
Griffiths, D. E. (1988). Administrative theory. In N. J. Boyan (Ed.), *Handbook of research on educational administration* (pp. 27–51). New York: Longman.
Gulick, L., & Urwick, L. (Eds.). (1937). *Papers on the science of administration*. New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University.
Gutmann, A. (1987). *Democratic education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Haber, S. (1964). *Efficiency and uplift: Scientific management in the progressive era, 1890–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Halpin, A. W. (Ed.). (1958). *Administrative theory in education*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Midwest Administration Center.
Halpin, A. W. (1970). Administrative theory: The fumbled torch. In A. M. Kroll (Ed.), *Issues in American education*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Halpin, A. W., & Hayes, A. E. (1977). The broken ikon, or What ever happened to theory? In L. L. Cunningham, W. G. Hack, & R. O. Nystrand (Eds.), *Educational administration: The developing decades* (pp. 261–297). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.
Harry, B. (1992). *Cultural diversity, families, and the special education system: Communication and empowerment*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Hedberg, B. (1981). How organizations learn and unlearn. In P. C. Nystrom & W. H. Starbuck (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational design* (Vol. 1, pp. 3–27). New York: Oxford University Press.
Hedberg, B. L. T., Nystrom, P. C., & Starbuck, W. H. (1976). Camping on seesaws: Prescriptions for a self-designing organization. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 21*(1), 41–65.
Heller, K., Holtzman, W., & Messick, S. (1982). *Placing children in special education: A strategy for equity*. Washington, DC: National Academy of Sciences Press.
House, E. R. (1974). *The politics of educational innovation*. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.
House, E. R. (1979). Technology versus craft: A ten year perspective on innovation. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 11*(1), 1–15.
Illich, I. (1976). *Medical nemesis*. New York: Random House.
Janesick, V. J. (1988). Our multicultural society. In E. L. Meyen & T. M. Skrtic (Eds.), *Exceptional children and youth: An introduction* (pp. 519–535). Denver: Love Publishing.

Johnson, G. O. (1962). Special education for the mentally handicapped–A paradox. *Exceptional Children, 29*(2), 62–69.
Jones, R. A. (1977). *Self-fulfilling prophecies*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
Jonsson, S. A., & Lundin, R. A. (1977). Myths and wishful thinking as management tools. In P. C. Nystrom & W. H. Starbuck (Eds.), *Prescriptive models of organizations* (pp. 157–170). New York: Elsevier North-Holland.
Keogh, B. K. (1988). Improving services for problem learners: Rethinking and restructuring. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 21*(1), 19–22.
Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lather, P. (1991). Deconstructing/deconstructive inquiry: The politics of knowing and being known. *Educational Theory, 41*(2), 153–173.
Lawrence, P. R., & Lorsch, J. W. (1967). *Organization and environment: Managing differentiation and integration*. Boston: Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.
Lazerson, M. (1983). The origins of special education. In J. G. Chambers & W. T. Hartman (Eds.), *Special education policies: Their history, implementation, and finance* (pp. 15–47). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Lipsky, M. (1976). Toward a theory of street-level bureaucracy. In W. D. Hawley, M. Lipsky, S. B. Greenberg, J. D. Greenstone, I. Katznelson, K. Orren, P. E. Peterson, M. Shefter, & D. Yates (Eds.), *Theoretical perspectives on urban politics* (pp. 196–213). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Lortie, D. C. (1975). *Schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Lortie, D. C. (1978). Some reflections on renegotiation. In M. C. Reynolds (Ed.), *Futures of education for exceptional students: Emerging structures* (pp. 235–243). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.
MacMillan, D. L. (1971). Special education for the mildly retarded: Servant or savant? *Focus on Exceptional Children, 2*(9), 1–11.
March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (1976). *Ambiguity and choice in organizations*. Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.
Martin, D. T., Overholt, G. E., & Urban, W. J. (1976). *Accountability in American education: A critique*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Book Company.
Martin, E. (1978). Preface. In M. C. Reynolds (Ed.), *Futures of education for exceptional students: Emerging structures* (pp. iii–vi). Reston, VA: Council for Exceptional Children.
Maxcy, S. J. (1991). *Educational leadership: A critical pragmatic perspective*. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
Mayo, E. (1933). *The human problems of an industrial civilization*. New York: Macmillan.
McDonnell, L. M., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1982). *Education policy and the role of the states*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
Mercer, J. (1973). *Labeling the mentally retarded: Clinical and social system perspectives on mental retardation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*, 340–363.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1978). The structure of educational organizations. In M. W. Meyer (Ed.), *Environments and organizations* (pp. 78–109). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Meyer, J. W., & Scott, W. R. (1983). *Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
Meyer, M. W. (1979). Organizational structure as signaling. *Pacific Sociological Review, 22*(4), 481–500.
Miller, D., & Friesen, P. H. (1984). *Organizations: A quantum view*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Miller, D., & Mintzberg, H. (1983). The case for configuration. In G. Morgan (Ed.), *Beyond method: Strategies for social research* (pp. 57–73). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
Mintzberg, H. (1979). *The structuring of organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Mintzberg, H. (1983). *Structure in fives: Designing effective organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Mommsen, W. J. (1974). *The age of bureaucracy: Perspectives on the political sociology of Max Weber*. New York: Harper & Row.
Moran, M. (1984). Excellence at the cost of instructional equity? The potential impact of recommended reforms upon low achieving students. *Focus on Exceptional Children, 16*(7), 1–11.
Morgan, G. (1983). *Beyond method*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of organization*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
Moroney, R. M. (1981). Policy analysis within a value theoretical framework. In R. Haskins & J. J. Gallagher (Eds.), *Models for analysis of social policy: An introduction* (pp. 78–101). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
Noel, M. M., & Fuller, B. C. (1985). The social policy construction of special education: The impact of state characteristics on identification and integration of handicapped children. *Remedial and Special Education, 6*(3), 27–35.
Parsons, T. (1960). *Structure and process in modern societies*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
Patrick, J., & Reschly, D. (1982). Relationship of state educational criteria and demographic variables to school-system prevalence of mental retardation. *American Journal of Mental Retardation, 86*, 351–360.
Peirce, C. S. (1931–35). *Collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (C. Hartshorne & P. Weiss, Eds.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Perrow, C. (1970). *Organizational analysis: A sociological review*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
Perrow, C. (1972). *Complex organizations: A critical essay*. New York: Scott, Foresman.
Perrow, C. (1978). Demystifying organizations. In R. C. Sarri & Y. Hasenfeld (Eds.), *The management of human services* (pp. 105–120). New York: Columbia University Press.
Pettigrew, A. M. (1979). On studying organizational cultures. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 24*, 570–581.
Pfeffer, J. (1982). *Organizations and organization theory*. Marshfield, MA: Pitman Publishing.
Pugh, D. S., Hickson, D. J., Hinnings, C. R., MacDonald, K. M., Turner, C., & Lupton, T. (1963). A conceptual scheme for organizational analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 8*(4), 289–315.
Reynolds, M. C., & Wang, M. C. (1983). Restructuring "special" school programs: A position paper. *Policy Studies Review, 2*(1), 189–212.
Reynolds, M. C., Wang, M. C., & Walberg, H. J. (1987). The necessary restructuring of special and general education. *Exceptional Children, 53*(5), 391–398.
Roethlisberger, F. J., & Dickson, W. J. (1939). *Management and the worker: An account of a research program conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Romzek, B. S., & Dubnick, M. J. (1987). Accountability in the public sector: Lessons from the Challenger tragedy. *Public Administration Review, 47*(3), 227–238.
Rounds, J. (1979). Social theory, public policy and social order. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
Rounds, J. (1981). Information and ambiguity in organizational change. Paper presented at the Carnegie–Mellon Symposium on Information Processing in Organizations. Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie–Mellon University.
Rowan, B. (1980). Organizational structure and the institutional environment: The case of public schools. Unpublished manuscript, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth.
Rudduck, J. (1977). Dissemination as encounter of cultures. *Research Intelligence, 3*, 3–5.
Rueda, R. (1989). Defining mild disabilities with language-minority students. *Exceptional Children, 56*(2), 121–128.
Sarason, S. B. (1982). *The culture of the school and the problem of change* (rev. ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
Sarason, S. B., & Doris, J. (1979). *Educational handicap, public policy, and social history*. New York: Free Press.
Schein, E. H. (1972). *Professional education*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
Schempp, P. G., & Graber, K. C. (1992). Teacher socialization from a dialectical perspective: Pretraining through induction. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 11*(4), 329–348.
Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.
Scott, R. W. (1981). *Organizations: Rational, natural, and open systems*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Segal, M. (1974). Organization and environment: A typology of adaptability and structure. *Public Administration Review, 34*(3), 212–220.
Senge, P. M. (1990). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization*. New York: Doubleday.
Simon, H. (1947). *Administrative behavior*. New York: Macmillan.
Simon, H. A. (1977). *The new science of management decision*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Singer, J. D., & Butler, J. A. (1987). The Education for All Handicapped Children Act: Schools as agents of social reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*(2), 125–152.

Sirotnik, K. A., & Oakes, J. (1986). *Critical perspectives on the organization and improvement of schooling*. Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1985). Doing naturalistic research into educational organizations. In Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *Organizational theory and inquiry: The paradigm revolution* (pp. 185–220). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Skrtic, T. M. (1987). An organizational analysis of special education reform. *Counterpoint, 8*(2), 15–19.

Skrtic, T. M. (1988). The organizational context of special education. In E. L. Meyen & T. M. Skrtic (Eds.), *Exceptional children and youth: An introduction* (pp. 479–517). Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991a). *Behind special education: A critical analysis of professional culture and school organization*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991b). The special education paradox: Equity as the way to excellence. *Harvard Educational Review, 61*(2), 148–206.

Skrtic, T. M. (1995). The organizational context of special education and school reform. In E. L. Meyen & T. M. Skrtic (Eds.), *Special education and student disability: Traditional, emerging, and alternative perspectives* (pp. 729–791). Denver: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M., Guba, E. G., & Knowlton, H. E. (1985). *Interorganizational special education programming in rural areas: Technical report on the multisite naturalistic field study*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.

Skrtic, T. M., & Ware, L. P. (1992). Reflective teaching and the problem of school organization. In E. W. Ross, J. W. Cornett, & G. McCutcheon (Eds.), *Teacher personal theorizing: Connecting curriculum practice, theory, and research* (pp. 207–218, 298–303). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Spring, J. (1980). *Educating the worker-citizen: The social, economic, and political foundations of education*. New York: Longman.

Stainback, S., & Stainback, W. (1984). A rationale for the merger of special and regular education. *Exceptional Children, 51*(2), 102–111.

Stainback, S., & Stainback, W. (1987). Integration versus cooperation: A commentary on educating children with learning problems: A shared responsibility. *Exceptional Children, 54*(1), 66–68.

Taylor, F. W. (1947). *Scientific management*. New York: Harper & Row. (Original work published 1911)

Thompson, J. D. (1967). *Organizations in action*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Toffler, A. (1970). *Future shock*. New York: Bantam Books.

Turnbull, H. R. (1986). *Free appropriate public education: The law and children with disabilities*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Turnbull, H. R. (1993). *Free appropriate public education: The law and children with disabilities*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Turnbull, H. R., & Turnbull, A. P. (1978). *Free appropriate public education: Law and implementation*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Turnbull, H. R., & Turnbull, A. P. (1986). *Free appropriate public education: The law and children with disabilities*. Denver: Love Publishing.

Tyack, D., & Hansot, E. (1982). *Managers of virtue: Public school leadership in America, 1820–1980*. New York: Basic Books.

Tye, K. A., & Tye, B. B. (1984). Teacher isolation and school reform. *Phi Delta Kappan, 65*(5), 319–322.

United States Department of Education, Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services. (1988). *Annual report to Congress on the implementation of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act*. Washington, DC: Author.

Walker, L. J. (1987). Procedural rights in the wrong system: Special education is not enough. In A. Gartner & T. Joe (Eds.), *Images of the disabled/disabling images* (pp. 97–115). New York: Praeger.

Wang, M. C., Reynolds, M. C., & Walberg, H. J. (1986). Rethinking special education. *Educational Leadership, 44*(1), 26–31.

Wang, M. C., Reynolds, M. C., & Walberg, H. J. (Eds.). (1987). *Handbook of special education: Research and practice: Vol. 1. Learner characteristics and adaptive education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Weatherley, R. (1979). *Reforming special education: Policy implementation from state level to street level*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Weber, M. (1946). Bureaucracy. In H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (Eds. and Trans.), *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology* (pp. 196–244). New York: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1922)

Weber, M. (1947). *The theory of social and economic organization* (T. Parsons, Ed.; A. M. Henderson & T. Parsons, Trans.). Glencoe, IL: Free Press. (Original work published 1924)

Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 21*(1), 1–19.

Weick, K. E. (1979a). Cognitive processes in organization. In B. M. Staw (Ed.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 1, pp. 41–74). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Weick, K. E. (1979b). *The social psychology of organizing* (2nd ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Weick, K. E. (1982a). Administering education in loosely coupled schools. *Phi Delta Kappan, 63*(10), 673–676.

Weick, K. E. (1982b). Management of organizational change among loosely coupled elements. In P. Goodman (Ed.), *Change in organizations* (pp. 375–408). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Weick, K. E. (1985). Sources of order in underorganized systems. In Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *Organizational theory and inquiry: The paradigm revolution* (pp. 106–136). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wise, A. E. (1979). *Legislated learning: The bureaucratization of the American classroom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Woodward, J. (1965). *Industrial organizations: Theory and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Worthy, J. C. (1959). *Big business and free men*. New York: Harper & Row.

Wright, A. R., Cooperstein, R. A., Reneker, E. G., & Padilla, C. (1982). *Local implementation of P.L. 94–142: Final report of a longitudinal study*. Menlo Park, CA: SRI International.

Wright, J. S. (1967). *Hobson vs. Hansen: Opinion by Honorable J. Skelly Wright, Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia*. Washington, DC: West Publishing.

Zucker, L. G. (1977). The role of institutionalization in cultural persistence. *American Sociological Review, 42*, 726–743.

Zucker, L. G. (1981). Institutional structure and organizational processes: The role of evaluation units in schools. In A. Bank & R. C. Williams (Eds.), *Evaluation and decision making* (CSE Monograph Series, No. 10). Los Angeles: UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation.

CHAPTER 10

Deconstructing/Reconstructing Public Education:

Social Reconstruction in the Postmodern Era

Thomas M. Skrtic

To this point in the book we have been concerned with deconstructing and reconstructing special education, both as a professional practice and as an institutional practice of public education. I began the process in Part 1 by deconstructing the modern objectivist view of the professions and professional knowledge relative to the rise of subjectivism and the emergence of postmodernism. We continued the process in Parts 2 and 3, first by exposing the inconsistencies, contradictions, and silences in special education's functionalist knowledge tradition (Chapter 3), and then by presenting optional metatheoretical (Chapters 4 through 6) and theoretical (Chapters 7 through 9) descriptions of special education and student disability as possible knowledges for reconstructing the field and its practices. And, of course, the aim of deconstructing special education is to clear the way for special educators to reconstruct it in a manner that is more consistent with the ideal of serving the best educational and political interests of their consumers.

In this concluding chapter I want to consider three additional problems that must be addressed if the field of special education is to undertake the critical project of deconstructing and reconstructing itself. The first problem stems from special education's role as an institutional practice of public education. Because special education is a structural and cultural artifact of twentieth-century schooling (Skrtic, 1987, 1991a; Chapters 3 and 9), deconstructing and reconstructing it necessarily requires deconstructing and reconstructing public education itself. The second problem is the necessity of adequate methods and conditions for deconstructing and reconstructing social practices, discourses, and institutions. In this regard, of course, I have recommended the epistemological and moral framework of pragmatism as the method of critical discourse (Chapters 2 and 3). What needs to be resolved,

Handbook of Leadership and Administration for Special Education

Edited by Jean B. Crockett, Bonnie S. Billingsley, and Mary Lynn Boscardin

2012

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

8

Disability, Difference, and Justice

Strong Democratic Leadership for Undemocratic Times

Thomas M. Skrtic

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

In *Distinguishing Disability: Parents, Privilege, and Special Education*, Colin Ong-Dean (2009) argues that the egalitarian and democratic impulses that produced the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (EAHCA) were undercut by the statute's legal and institutional interpretation and by the design of its parent participation and procedural due process provisions. As a result, rather than democratic solutions to the recognized special education problems of ineffective instruction, exclusion, and racial/ethnic and social class bias, the EAHCA—and its progeny, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)—merely enabled individual parents to mount narrow technical challenges to the their child's diagnosis, needs, and accommodations. Beyond muting broader social concerns about the special education system, by reducing its problems to isolated cases the IDEA created "an individualized and competitive environment" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 14) that favors privileged parents, thereby turning a law premised on democratic reform into yet another instrument of racial/ethnic and class injustice (see Skrtic, 2010). This and other unintended consequences of the IDEA, alone and in conjunction with the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), forms the moral and political backdrop of special education leadership today, an institutional context whose transformation, I believe, should be the aim and focus of leadership development in education and special education.

The chapter is presented in five parts, starting with a brief institutional history of the IDEA tracing how its initial egalitarian and democratic impulses and reform strategies were compromised by the design of the statute and its legal and institutional interpretation. Then, because understanding how these impulses and reform strategies were compromised requires understanding the institutional context they were meant to change, the second part introduces four examples of institutional analysis that are used in the third part to critically review the implementation of key elements of special education reform under the IDEA, a review that shows how the IDEA perpetuates injustices it was meant to eliminate while introducing and sustaining new ones. Relating this review to the initial egalitarian and democratic conception of the IDEA, the fourth part proposes policy and organizational changes to actualize the aims and reform strategies envisioned by the social movement that produced the statute, including democratic approaches to school organization and educational reform, professionalism, and leadership, all of which both require and contribute to a transformation of liberal democracy itself. Given the fundamental nature of the proposed institutional changes, the conclusion places them in historical

perspective to underscore their social significance and the educational and social costs of the existing state of affairs.

A Brief Institutional History of the IDEA

In Senate hearings held prior to its passage, proponents of the EAHCA—parents of children with disabilities, disability advocates and activists, policy experts, and federal legislators—described what they saw as its value and potential. In 3,500 pages of recorded testimony, it is clear that the statute was a product of "egalitarian and democratic impulses ... target[ing] multiple forms of exclusion and inequality ... [and aimed at creating] democratic solutions to the problems of special education" (Ong-Dean, 2009, pp. 13–14). Proponents argued that broad social goals of equality and inclusion would be achieved by EAHCA provisions that resolved the special education problems of ineffective instruction, exclusion, and race and class bias (Dunn, 1968; Mercer, 1973). Although courts subsequently interpreted these provisions "in ways that had little to do with social reform, proponents were hopeful that the law would not be a narrow one" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 21).

The provisions in question, of course, are those that operationalize what became the grounding principles of the EAHCA and IDEA—zero-reject, nondiscriminatory evaluation, appropriate education, least restrictive environment, parent participation, and procedural due process (Turnbull, Stowe, & Huerta, 2007). The first four govern the processes school districts are to follow in order to "confer on each IDEA-covered student the benefit of a free appropriate education in the least restrictive environment," while the last two are procedural safeguards that covered students and their parents use "to hold the [school district] accountable for complying with the first four principles and to be partners with the schools in the student's education" (Turnbull et al., p. 44). The procedural safeguards were considered essential because Congress knew that "it was asking the same professionals who had excluded [children with disabilities] in the past to now ensure their right to an appropriate education" (Kuriloff, 1985, p. 90). In this regard, Congress believed that the process to be followed in developing an individualized educational plan (IEP) was "'a way to provide parent involvement and protection to assure that appropriate services are provided to a [child with disability].' Although it did not explicitly so state, Congress clearly assumed that educators would not on their own maximize the educational potential of each child" (Clune & Van Pelt, 1985, p. 13).

Beyond their value in maximizing the potential of individual children, however, disability advocates and members of Congress saw parent participation and due process rights as essential to achieving systemic reform of special education, which they saw as essential if its recognized problems were to be resolved and the broader social goals of equality and inclusion were to be advanced. Although Congressional framers assumed that due process procedures would be "relatively informal, inexpensive, and quick" (Clune & Van Pelt, 1985, p. 13), they saw the hearings as substantively oriented, thereby resulting in "more systematic pressure on school systems" to improve special education practice, ultimately putting students with disabilities "on an educational par with [nondisabled] students, and lead[ing] to uniformity of treatment among [students with disabilities]" (p. 13). Toward the end of resolving problems at the system level, disability advocates wanted the "results in individual cases [to] be followed across the board, producing a general pattern of compliance" (pp. 13–14). In an important article reprinted in the hearings record, Kirp, Buss, and Kuriloff (1974) envisioned such a precedent-based due process hearing system as open to the public, with nonprofit advocacy organizations representing the collective interests of children with disabilities and their families, thus leading to continuous improvement of special education nationwide through the diffusion of common norms of practice. With regard to disproportionate representation, parent participation and due process rights were valued more highly than the statute's nondiscriminatory evaluation provision. Oliver Hurley, an

African American special education professor and leading critic of racial bias in special education, made no mention of the nondiscriminatory evaluation provision in his testimony, while claiming that parent participation and due process rights would "'substantially help' to alleviate the problem of minority overrepresentation" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 24). Kirp et al. (1974) agreed, arguing that such a system would alleviate the disproportionate representation problem because "the reasons for each [student] classification would be out in the open. If the reasons were invalid, they would be exposed, and the resulting public disapproval would force adjustments in a salutary direction" (p. 121).

Although "democratization of decision making" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 24) through parent participation and due process rights was essential to systemic reform, the design, judicial interpretation, and implementation of these components of the law ultimately undermined this possibility and thus the aim of improved special education practice and the broader goals of social equality and inclusion. Rather than the envisioned precedent-based system of open hearings and collective advocacy leading to improved practice through systemic reform, actual due process hearings are private affairs "centered on the student's 'individualized' educational plan" (p. 25), thus subverting joint action and systemic reform.[1] As a result, rather than advancing appropriate education and inclusion of children with disabilities, eliminating racial/ethnic and class inequalities, and allowing parents to be active participants in institutional decision making, the EAHCA "mainly enabled parents to raise individualized, technical disputes over their children's disability diagnoses and needs" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 10). Moreover, rather than advancing social equality and inclusion in society, judicial interpretation of these and other components of the statute has rendered it "less a basis for social reform and more a call for improved technical management of individual cases" (p. 31).[2]

Although the EAHCA was a product of egalitarian and democratic impulses, it has resulted in a system that bears little resemblance to the one envisioned by the statute's proponents. A subsequent section on its implementation will show how and why that system fails to resolve the special education problems that the statute was enacted to address and, with regard to Ong-Dean's (2009) claims, how and why it both mutes public concern for those problems and creates an environment that favors privileged parents and thereby perpetuates special education's racial/ethnic and class inequalities. As such, the claim that the IDEA confers substantive rights on children with disabilities and their parents is only true in a formal sense. These rights are not fully enforceable in public education, the institutional context that the statute seeks to change, in part because of the nature of that context, but also because its procedural safeguard provisions subvert systemic special education reform and thus the kinds of changes necessary to actualize its substantive provisions. In preparation for this analysis and a discussion of policy and organizational changes for transforming the system, the following section presents an analytic framework for understanding the nature and effects of the institutional context whose transformation should be the aim and focus of special education leadership development.

Rights, Needs, and Institutionalized Organizations

These problems—disjunction between conferred and actualized rights, diminished concern for presenting problems, and preservation and extension of inequalities—are not unique to disability rights. They are central concerns in the critique of liberal legal consciousness, the framework that underwrites the IDEA and other disability and civil rights legislation, which holds that, as a political strategy, legal rights discourse, or "rights talk," is both indeterminate and legitimating. It is indeterminate in eliminating injustice because the value of a right is determined by the structure and political commitments of its institutional context, not the right itself. It is legitimating because, by appearing to confer rights in such contexts, it relieves pressure for reform, in effect continuing and justifying the injustices the rights were to eliminate (Crenshaw,

1988, p. 1351; Kelman, 1987). In response to this "post-rights" critique, however, legal scholars of color defended rights talk as a political strategy, both crediting it for rights achieved in the civil rights movement and, recognizing the indeterminate and legitimating effects of the idiom, also calling for a "jurisprudence of reconstruction" (Harris, 1994, p. 744) to fully actualize those rights by reconstructing them to reflect the real needs and political commitments of communities of color (Crenshaw, 1988; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995; Williams, 1991).

Today, the disability rights movement is in a position similar to the broader civil rights movement.[3] It has used the rights idiom successfully to establish disability rights for children and families, but the actualization of those rights is at best indeterminate, institutionally mediated, and disempowering, especially for children and families subject to intersecting race, class, and disability injustices (Connor, 2008; McCall & Skrtic, 2009). In terms of a direction for remedial action, the one proposed by civil rights scholars has merit, as far as it goes; that is, while recognizing what has been achieved using the rights idiom, the current indeterminate and legitimating rights of the IDEA must be reconstructed to reflect the real needs of children with disabilities and their families and the political commitments of the disability community. However, reconstructing disability rights requires more than a reconstruction of rights in the IDEA. It also requires overcoming two additional problems, a conceptual problem discussed below, and a political problem introduced below and addressed more fully in the concluding section.

Conceptual Problem

The conceptual problem is that understanding the indeterminacy of the IDEA requires theorizing the institutional context in which reconstructed disability rights are to be adjudicated. In turn, this requires general recognition of the role of institutions in creating just conditions for the realization of rights, as well as specific consideration of what such conditions would entail and how they would be achieved and sustained. Moreover, such a theorization also would require clarity about what injustice is in these contexts, what it entails and how it is enacted and sustained. Perhaps the most exemplary scholarship on these aspects of the indeterminacy problem has been done by political philosophers Iris Marion Young (1990) and Nancy Fraser (1989, 2008) and legal scholar Martha Minow (1990).

Indeterminate Rights and Institutionalized Injustice. Although Young (1990) accepted John Rawls's (1971) distributive theory of justice with regard to distribution of material goods (primarily income and wealth), she criticized it for misrepresenting nonmaterial goods—including rights, opportunities, and self-respect—which, she argued, are not things; they are *relationships* based on processes that are mediated by social institutions. As such, social institutions are implicated in the construction, oppression, and domination of difference and Young is concerned with theorizing the scope and substance of "institutionalized injustice" (p. 327). In this regard, she argued that we cannot know what justice requires in particular social situations until we listen, albeit critically, to individuals and groups who are suffering various forms of institutionalized injustice (also see Young, 2000; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

Minow (1990) criticizes rights analysis for too often resulting in incremental reforms that leave institutional sources of injustice intact. As an alternative to an exclusively rights-focused approach to justice, Minow proposed a "social-relations approach to the legal treatment of difference" (1990, p. 172) which, like Young's (1990) relational interpretation of rights, locates "rights *in* relationship" (p. 282). In addition, like Young (1990, 2000) and Fraser (1989, 2008), her social relations approach treats existing social institutions as a source of the problem of difference rather than as a neutral background, analyzing difference in terms of "the relationships that construct it" (1990, p. 112). In this regard, she links the source of such unjust institutional arrangements to

early 20th-century progressive reformers, commending them for advancing policies to care for and protect dependent and vulnerable citizens, while criticizing the institutions they created to actualize these policies for failing to include the voices of their intended beneficiaries, for lacking "genuine democracy, through which people would share decisions about their collective future" (p. 264). Thus, like Young, Minow argues that we cannot know what justice requires unless those who are suffering institutionalized injustice have a voice and role in the ongoing process of its elimination.

Indeterminate Rights and Needs Politics. Young (2000) and Minow (1990) address the conceptual problem by theorizing the nature of rights and injustice in social institutions. Fraser (1989) addresses it by theorizing how injustice is enacted in these institutions, focusing on the political and institutional processes for making and adjudicating the needs-claims that rights are established to recognize and satisfy. This requires an understanding of the political career of such claims in liberal welfare state societies, for which Fraser introduces the concept of "needs talk" (p. 161), a political idiom involving disputes about people's needs and whether and how government should provide for them. Arguing that needs talk is the dominant form of political discourse in such societies, co-existing with talk about rights and interests, she is concerned with the barriers and opportunities it poses for social movements that want to make these political cultures more just and equitable. Her research is an institutional analysis of power in which "needs politics" is the medium of struggle among unequal groups, a process through which the relationship between oppression and activism is enacted in social institutions (see McCall & Skrtic, 2009; Skrtic, 2000).

Key among Fraser's (1989) insights on needs politics are two axes of needs struggle. The first is the struggle between what she calls "oppositional" and "reprivatization" discourses (p. 171). Oppositional discourses are those of social movements that attempt to "politicize" their needs by reinterpreting them in ways that make them a matter of public concern and provision, such as the one that produced the EAHCA (McCall & Skrtic, 2009; Skrtic, 2000). Reprivatization discourses arise in resistance to oppositional discourses. They reflect entrenched need interpretations of those who oppose state provision for reinterpreted needs and thus try to "depoliticize them" (p. 172) or keep government from accepting responsibility for them by arguing that they should be met by the family or, for those who can afford it, through services purchased in the private marketplace. Moreover, oppositional discourses are about more than reinterpreting needs. By politicizing their needs, members of oppositional discourses contest their subordinate identities and invent new discursive forms and vehicles for interpreting and disseminating their alternative need interpretations.[4] As such, oppositional needs talk is "a moment in the self-constitution of new collective [political] agents" (p. 171).

The second, largely veiled, axis of needs struggle pits successful oppositional discourses against expert discourses in government human service agencies. As the vehicle for translating state-recognized needs into objects of state intervention, expert discourses emerge when politicized needs become candidates for state provision. The central issue here, Fraser (1989) explains, is politics versus administration. Administratively, expert discourses translate successfully-reinterpreted oppositional needs into "administrable needs" (p. 174) by recasting them in terms that tacitly presuppose the prerogatives of the service agency and its professionals, typically redefining them as needs already covered by an existing service or program, or by one that can be established with the least increment of disruption to the system. Politically, expert discourses simultaneously recast members of successful oppositional movements as individual "cases," thereby turning political activists into "individualized victims" (p. 176). As such, expert discourses are also depoliticizing. In the end, those who collectively secured the political status of their needs are atomized and pathologized, recast as individual victims rather than members of

a political movement, thereby positioning them as passive recipients of predefined services rather than agents involved in interpreting their needs and shaping their life.

Legitimation and Institutional Theory. If our inherited social institutions are unjust, and rights analysis only leads to incremental reforms that leave institutional sources of injustice intact, how have these institutions survived for so long? Our ability to answer such questions was advanced considerably with the advent of institutional theory, which is concerned with institutionalization processes in organizations and their effects on the way organizations respond to their social environments. With regard to the former, it emphasizes the formation of taken-for-granted institutional rules, myths, and beliefs that guide thought and action in organizations (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991) and, with regard to the latter, the effects of these institutional processes on the structural characteristics of organizations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott & Meyer, 1987) and the nature of organizational change (Meyer, 1979; Zucker, 1981, 1988).

Institutional theory posits that schools' survival depends on their ability to maintain legitimacy and stability (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). To maintain legitimacy, they must be responsive to the often conflicting demands and constraints of four environmental entities—the social state (and its governmental agencies, regulatory structures, laws, and courts), the education profession, influential interest groups, and public opinion generally (DiMaggio & Powel, 1983; Scott, 1987)—which they do by reproducing or imitating organizational structures, activities, and routines to respond to legal and regulatory requirements and cultural expectations, model similar organizations perceived to be more legitimate or successful, and/or conform to the expectations of the profession (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p. 66). Over time, the resulting structures, activities, and routines become calcified because imitation involves conformity, habit, and ritualized activity rather than reflective strategic choice, leading to unquestioned acceptance of institutionalized structures, classifications, and practices (DiMaggio, 1988; Tolbert & Zucker, 1983).

As such, schools define and structure their activities around functions—such as general education and special education—that reflect institutionalized or "ritual" classifications of students, personnel, and programs rather than technical assessments of effectiveness and efficiency (Meyer & Rowan, 1978, 1983; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Although ritualization fosters stability in schools, it also makes it more difficult for them to change in response to evolving regulatory requirements and cultural expectations, and especially to more punctuated change mandates like the IDEA that require substantially different structures and activities. Schools cope with these threats to legitimacy by using "ceremonial activity" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978, p. 355) and "decoupling" (p. 357) devices to signal the environment that they have changed when in fact they remain largely the same (Meyer, 1979; Zucker, 1981). Indeed, as discussed below, special education generally and IDEA implementation in particular are archetypical cases of such symbolic change in public education (see, Skrtic, 1991b, 1995; Skrtic & McCall, 2010).[5]

Political Problem

The political problem is that actualizing reconstructed disability rights in liberal welfare state societies requires more than restructuring the social institutions in which those rights and needs-claims are adjudicated. The necessary institutional restructuring—including the material and ideational or cultural structure of social service organizations—will require restructuring liberal democracy itself, not by rejecting the liberal tradition, but rather by drawing upon the "developmental" strain of liberalism within it. The political problem is discussed more fully in the concluding section, but first I want to use the institutional analyses introduced above to highlight problems with the design and implementation of the IDEA, problems that question the sense of justice that its provisions are presumed to extend to covered students and their families.

Relational Analysis of IDEA Implementation

In this section IDEA's substantive and procedural safeguard principles are considered from the perspective of the institutional analysis of rights, needs, and schools.[6] Based on this analysis, the next section is a proposal for resolving these problems by returning to the initial democratic reform strategies proposed for the EAHCA.

Appropriate Education

With regard to the principle of appropriate education, the IEP for most IDEA-covered students is largely symbolic. From its introduction in the 1970s, it has served more to signal compliance with the appropriate education provision than actually specify and guide a needs-based individualized education (Pretti-Frontczak & Bricker, 2000; Skrtic, 1991b; Smith, 1990; Smith & Kotering, 1997; Ysseldyke et al., 1983). Already by the early 1980s, questions of IEP quality and utility had given way to concern for "reducing the cost and time necessary to complete [them]" (Smith, 1990, p. 11), and eventually to development of computerized IEPs that did so by "using formulas and following rules, rather than ... individualized [planning]" (1990, pp. 10–11). Moreover, despite concerns about the alignment of IDEA with the standards-based accountability model of NCLB narrowing the curriculum for students with disabilities (Wehmeyer & Schalock, 2001) and standardizing their instruction (Skrtic, Harris, & Shriner, 2005), by 1999 states already had begun using "standards-based IEPs" to align instructional goals for students with disabilities with general education curriculum standards (Ahrens, 2006, p. 4), and today two-thirds have instituted or are implementing them (Ahrens, 2010). Whereas "IDEA and good practice dictate that, for a student's education to be appropriate, it must be individually tailored to fit that student" (Turnbull et al., 2007, p. 161), standards-based IEPs are premised on students' attainment of state "academic standards for [their] enrolled grade" (Ahrens, 2010, p. 2).[7] Although the goal of increasing the academic achievement of students with disabilities is laudable, like symbolic IEP implementation, an over-emphasis on academic achievement defined narrowly as attainment of state standards contradicts the statute's original emphasis on appropriate *individualized* education, turning the principle of individualization into standardization of curriculum and instruction.

Beyond standardization of the IEP, the appropriate education principle has been further eroded by a deterioration of the organizational conditions of its implementation under standards-based reform. Implementing the appropriate education principle always has been difficult because the bureaucratic organization of schools virtually precludes the kind of general-special educator collaboration necessary to implement an IEP (Skrtic, 1991b). Today, the standards-based framework of NCLB/IDEA is making schools even more bureaucratic, and thus less collaborative, because of NCLB's extreme bureaucratic approach to outcomes-based accountability (O'Day, 2002), the very approach that William Spady, architect of outcomes-based education, cautioned against at the start of the standards-based reform movement. Spady (Spady & Marshall, 1991, p. 68) called this approach the "traditional model" of outcomes-based reform, which he rejected because its primary reform strategy, curriculum alignment, retains and extends the existing bureaucratic structure of schools (also see Champlin, 1991).[8]

Least Restrictive Environment (LRE)

Although the IDEA contains a regulatory preference for inclusive placements, the LRE principle is a rebuttable presumption; placement in a general educational classroom "is not an absolute right but is secondary to the primary purpose of [appropriate] education" (Turnbull, 1993, p. 159). The value of LRE placements for included and mainstream students is recognized, but the statute gives an appropriate education precedence over a least restrictive one, an ordering

of principles consistently upheld by the courts (Douvanis & Hulsey, 2002; Thomas & Rapport, 1998).

From the perspective of institutional theory, schools use separate, decoupled classrooms and programs to signal compliance with environmental demands while minimizing disruption to their institutionalized structures, classifications, and practices, thereby helping them maintain stability and legitimacy simultaneously (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, 1978). The segregated special classroom is a key example of this form of decoupling. It was created in the early 20th century to separate and contain student diversity resulting from compulsory attendance legislation (Lazerson, 1983; Sarason & Doris, 1979; Tropea, 1987), thereby maintaining the stability and legitimacy of schools by signaling compliance with the demand for universal public education (Skrtic, 1991b, 1995). Criticism of these classrooms as racially biased, instructionally ineffective, and psychologically and socially damaging (e.g., Dunn, 1968; Mercer, 1973) added force to EAHCA proponents' campaign against exclusion, but the ambiguity created by the statute's dual commitment to the principles of appropriate education and LRE often is exploited in schools by using arguments for the former to defeat the latter. "After all," Minow (1985) explained, the LRE principle was devised "to combat [the] very reluctance of the classroom teacher to deal with the unusual or more difficult child" (p. 178), and the ambiguity created by IDEA's commitment to both principles permits "the incentives of teachers ... to give content to the law" (p. 178).

Moreover, consideration of inclusive placements in schools often locates the problem of difference in the student to be included, "while making the unimpaired students—and the classroom designed for them—the norm" (Minow, 1990, p. 84). However, applying the curriculum principles of "universal design for learning" (UDL) to such classrooms, Minow provides a counterexample in which a teacher includes a student with a profound hearing impairment by teaching all her students sign language and then teaching in sign and spoken language simultaneously, thereby "treat[ing] the problem of difference as embedded in the relationships among all the students ... [using] an approach that [works] to the educational benefit of every student in the classroom" (p. 84; also see Minow, 2008). Among the advantages of such a relational approach to difference and inclusion, Minow notes that rather than making the trait of hearing impairment "signify stigma or isolation," it responds to that trait "as an issue for the entire community" (p. 84). Conversely, by focusing on the individual child, individualized planning "tends to ignore the child's relationships with others and the construction of difference in those relationships" (p. 86). Moreover, an individualized plan would not have conceived of a class of students fluent in sign language because it would "leave in place the existing classroom methods ... [and expect the included student to] adjust to the existing educational structure" (p. 86). This illustration disrupts the relative merit of the two IDEA principles, "in effect making the LRE principle as primary as that of appropriate education and relegating the conventional regular classroom to a rebuttable presumption" (Skrtic & Kent, in press).

Nondiscriminatory Evaluation

The statute's nondiscriminatory evaluation principle addresses the most obdurate problem in special education—the disproportionate identification and placement of poor, working class, and racial/ethnic minority students in special education.[9] Drawing upon the civil rights movement and the decision, as well as on the early research on the disproportionate representation problem noted above, disability advocates and EAHCA proponents conceptualized the nondiscriminatory evaluation (NDE) principle to address "the risks of misclassification and labeling in creating stigma and low self-esteem, and the abusive use of separate classes to perpetuate discrimination against racial and ethnic minorities" (Minow, 1985, p. 168). Although NDE provisions require nondiscriminatory classification and placement decisions, disproportionate representation of economically disadvantaged and racial/ethnic minority students both in special education and,

especially for African American students, in more restrictive special education placements has continued largely unabated over the history of the IDEA (National Research Council [NRC], 1982; NRC, 2002; Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Gallini, Simmons, & Feggins-Azziz, 2006; Skiba, et al., 2008).

Disproportionate representation was formally recognized as a policy problem over the course of the 1960s when, in the context of resistance to the *Brown* decision, including various forms of "resegregation within desegregated schools" (Bell, 1980, p. 531), the disproportionate identification of African American students as "educable mentally retarded" attracted increasing attention (e.g., Dunn, 1968; Christophos & Renz, 1969). Although Bell didn't link special education to this form of resistance, others have implicated it in the resegregation process (e.g., Ferri & Connors, 2005; Skrtic, 1991b). From an institutional perspective, disproportionate representation can be understood as another form of decoupling in which schools use an existing decoupling device—selected special education programs—to maintain their legitimacy and stability while failing to meet the needs of disproportionate numbers of African American students in purportedly desegregated schools (Skrtic, 2003). This is possible because, like complying with IEP provisions, compliance with those of NDE is ceremonialized within team evaluation processes (Skrtic, 2003; Skrtic & McCall, 2010). Ultimately, ceremonial compliance legitimates IDEA identification and placement processes by making them and their decisions seem lawful, principled, and objective, thus justifying continued abusive use of special education to perpetuate racial/ethnic and social class discrimination.

Procedural Safeguards

In addition to problems implementing IDEA's substantive provisions, its procedural safeguard provisions themselves have become a barrier to resolving special education problems in two interrelated ways. First, implementation of the parent participation and procedural due process provisions atomizes the oppositional discourse that produced the law by individualizing activism within IEP meetings and due process hearings focused on individual children and families. Rather than collective agents of a political movement, "the law requires parents to advocate for their children individually in direct, solitary encounters with expert discourses in schools and school districts" (McCall & Skrtic, 2009, p. 14), encounters in which they are at a distinct disadvantage (Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls, 1986), especially if they are poor, working class, and/or members of a racial, ethnic, or linguistic minority group (Harry, Klingner, & Hart, 2005; Kalyanpur, Harry, & Skrtic, 2000; Ong-Dean, 2009).

Second, the design and legal interpretation of these provisions undercut the egalitarian and democratic motivations of the social movement that fought for and won the law (Ong-Dean, 2009). In the end, rather than democratic solutions to recognized special education problems, the law merely enables individual parents to mount "individualized, technical disputes" (p. 10) over their child's disability diagnosis and accommodations. In addition to muting broader social concerns about special education problems, reducing them to isolated cases of individual children and families creates the individualized and competitive environment characterized by Ong-Dean, which from a needs politics perspective, has "supplanted the solidarity of collective agents involved in a political movement and institutionalized a class divide in the special education process" (McCall & Skrtic, 2009, p. 14).

Although these provisions atomize advocacy the degree to which parents are reduced to passive cases in the special education process depends on their economic and cultural capital, with privileged parents—those who are "white, middle- to high-income, English-speaking, professional, and college educated" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 3)—in the most advantageous position in terms of advocating for their children. In terms of needs politics, privileged parents have greater access to the discursive resources necessary to press their needs claims with experts in

IEP meetings, which puts them in a better position to act as agents in interpreting their children's needs and shaping their life conditions (McCall & Skrtic, 2009). As far as challenging IEP decisions, cultural and economic capital also affect the nature and distribution of due process hearing requests and cases, both of which are more prevalent in wealthier school districts where the challenges put forth "presuppose a fair degree of parental privilege" (Ong-Dean, 2009, p. 132). Moreover, because privileged parents are in a far better position to use IEP and due process procedures to secure better educational outcomes for their children, the IDEA's individualized and competitive environment "perpetuate[s] the hierarchies from which their own privileges come" (p. 3).

Finally, in terms of disproportionate representation, the concept of cultural and economic capital enhances our understanding of the social cost of a biased IEP process. That is, the bias favoring privilege puts poor, working class, and racial/ethnic minority parents at a disadvantage relative to professionals and more privileged parents in resisting inappropriate disability diagnoses, accommodations, and placements for their children or, when called for, recognizing and claiming the most advantageous ones for them (McCall & Skrtic, 2009). As such, the unfair influence of economic and cultural capital in special education perpetuates the disproportionality problem, while the parent participation and procedural due process provisions of the IDEA legitimate their unjust outcomes, thereby muting broader social concern for the long-standing disproportionality problem and perpetuating the racial-ethnic and social class hierarchies that sustain it. Moreover, this is not merely an implementation problem; this injustice is built into the structure of the law itself, into the very procedural safeguards that were intended to ensure schools' compliance with the principles of appropriate education, least restrictive environment, and nondiscriminatory evaluation.

Proposal[10]

This section is a proposal for addressing past and current special education injustices by recovering the democratic reform strategies envisioned by the social movement that produced the EAHCA. Base on the above institutional analysis of IDEA provisions, it considers policy and organizational changes necessary to resolve these injustices in ways that actualize the principles of the IDEA and the egalitarian and democratic impulses that produced it, including redesigning special education policy to reconstitute IDEA's procedural safeguards as a mechanism of systemic reform, restructuring schools according to the principles of UDL, and transforming the professional culture of education. These changes are meant to transform schools into more just institutions by giving the individuals and groups who are suffering these injustices a voice and role in their elimination, thereby reconstructing disability rights in terms of the real needs of the disability community. The first two changes are taken up in this section. The third is introduced here and elaborated in the concluding section, which addresses the political problem introduced above by placing these changes and their broader social significance in historical perspective.

Redesigning Special Education Policy

The system created by the parent participation and due process provisions that were enacted is quite different from the one envisioned in the early 1970s. Rather than a precedent-based system of open hearings and collective advocacy, it is individualized, competitive, and virtually closed,[11] which atomizes advocacy and depoliticizes activism, thereby precluding systemic reform and leaving historical injustices unresolved while creating and perpetuating new ones. Because there is little hope of justly resolving these inequities with these procedural safeguard provisions in

their current form, they need to be redesigned along the lines proposed by EAHCA proponents prior to the statute's enactment. The goal with regard to procedural due process would be to give students and parents who are suffering special education injustices a voice and role in their elimination by creating an open, substantively-oriented and deliberative precedent-based hearing system, one premised on collective advocacy for children and families and broad application of findings and corrective actions to all like cases, first, in the school, district, and state, and ultimately, as state precedent builds, to all like cases in the nation (see below). With regard to parent participation, the goal would be to create an open, deliberative IEP process with collective advocacy to protect the interests of all students and families—especially those currently most disadvantaged in solitary encounters with professionals—and to equalize assess to the best student accommodations and outcomes.

The envisioned deliberative process is much like that of the social planning model used in frame analysis or "frame-reflective inquiry" (Schön & Rein, 1994, p. 50) to resolve "wicked" policy problems in which it is "the very formulation of the problem that is problematic" (Blanco, 1994, p. 22). It emerged as an alternative to the rational model of policy analysis, which is premised on *instrumental* reasoning and its positivist conception of progress and cost-benefit approach to policy choice, and thus, like positivism itself, is best suited to narrowly defined, single-aim problems rather than ambiguous ones (Anderson, 1993; Lindblom, 1991). Policy scholars working from the frame analysis perspective are largely Deweyan or classical pragmatists (Kaufman-Osborn, 1985). They reject an exclusively rational approach to policy analysis in favor of social planning because, as a dialogical process grounded in *practical* reasoning, it engages alternative interpretations of social problems, learning from opposing views while attempting to understand them and their respective preferred solutions critically (Richardson, 2002). Moreover, in terms of policy choice, social planning, like classical pragmatism, is politically deliberative, judging alternative frames and solutions and selecting among or integrating them on the basis of their social consequences, particularly their contribution to the realization of the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and especially community or participation, because reform through social planning requires equal participation in the deliberative process (Dewey, 1989/1931, 1981/1917, 1991/1939; Kaufman-Osborn, 1985).[12]

Applying the social planning model to IDEA's procedural safeguard provisions would mean that interpretations of children's needs and accommodations would be judged and selected or integrated in terms of their educational and social consequences for children and families, as well as for their contribution to the practical realization of democratic ideals in schools and communities. Confidentiality understandably will be an issue in some cases but, like using appropriate education arguments to defeat LRE placements, it should not be used to argue against collective advocacy, especially since parents currently can invite representatives of advocacy groups to IEP meetings, opt for open due process hearings, and access redacted hearing decisions. As such, instituting collective advocacy under a social planning model is more a matter of increasing awareness of its potential rather than changing policy. Moreover, the trade-offs between confidentiality and collective advocacy and repoliticized activism are substantial, including reinvigorating the democratic impulses of the social movement that fought for the EAHCA and IDEA and empowering parents and disability advocates to move schools, through systemic reform, in the direction envisioned in the spirit of the statute, producing a general pattern of compliance and continuous improvement of special education practice, gradually reducing the need for due process hearings. Ultimately, such a process would alter the structural dynamics of needs politics in schools by eliminating parents' solitary encounters with expert discourses, which would help to demystify institutional justifications for oppressive practices and thereby positively influence the lived experiences and individual consciousness of IDEA-covered and overrepresented children and their parents.

Restructuring Schools

If we are to resolve long-standing and emergent special education policy problems through such a deliberative process, an essential direction of systemic reform is replacing the current professional bureaucracy structure of schools. This structure, and the institutional processes that sustain and legitimate it, are both the source of special education's most intractable problems, including that of disproportionate representation, and the reason a function like special education emerged in public education (Skrtic, 1991b, 2003). Like all professional bureaucracies, schools divide and coordinate their work through specialization and professionalization, respectively. A specialized division of labor is premised on matching students with like needs to teachers with presumed corresponding repertoires of practices, and professionalization achieves coordination by standardizing the repertoires of the teachers in these specializations through professional education. As such, schools are performance organizations, largely non-adaptable structures in which teachers apply standard instructional practices to students with needs to which the practices have been matched. Although there is some room for adaptation, teachers working in professional bureaucracies do not invent new practices for students with unfamiliar needs (see Simon, 1977; Weick, 1976). In principle, when teachers encounter assigned students whose needs fall outside the standard practices in their repertoires, they must force the student's needs artificially into an available practice, or the student must be sent to a different specialist whose repertoire presumably contains the matching practice (Mintzberg, 1979). Rather than adapt to diversity by having classroom teachers develop new applicable practices, historically schools have screened out diversity by removing it from regular classrooms and containing it in decoupled programs like special education (Skrtic, 1991a).[13]

This type of decoupling is possible in schools because together specialization and professionalization create a cellular or "loosely coupled" interdependence among teachers and programs (Mintzberg, 1979; Weick, 1976), which historically has allowed schools to change "by accretion, by adding new rooms to the structure, thereby enabling educators to absorb demands for change without much damage to vested educational interests" (Tyack & Hansot, 1981, p. 21). That is, given their inherent non-adaptability, schools resist change by signaling the public that it has occurred when it hasn't (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1981), and the segregated special education classroom is a key example of this form of decoupling (Skrtic, 1991b). Created to contain diversity in schools resulting from compulsory attendance legislation (Sarason & Doris, 1979; Tropea, 1987), these classrooms served as a legitimating device, signaling that schools had complied with the demand for universal public education while, at the same time, permitting them to maintain their conventional organizational structures, activities, and routines. The disproportional representation of poor, working class, and racial/ethnic minority students in special education is another form of decoupling in which, following *Brown,* schools used an existing decoupling device—the special education system—to signal compliance and thus maintain legitimacy while failing to meet the needs of disproportionate numbers of these students in the regular classrooms of desegregated schools (Skrtic, 1995, 2003).

The only way to eliminate unjust decoupling practices in schools is to eliminate the structural features that make such practices possible and the institutional incentives that sustain them by restructuring schools as learning organizations (Argyris & Schön, 1978), the non-bureaucratic organizational configuration known historically as "adhocracy" (Bennis & Slater, 1964). Professional bureaucracies are *performance* organizations engaged in convergent thinking aimed at perfection, whereas adhocracies are *problem solving* organizations engaged in divergent thinking aimed at innovation (Mintzberg, 1979, 1989). They are premised on innovation rather than standardization, on the invention of unique, customized products and services through processes of organizational learning based on collaboration, mutual adjustment, and deliberative discourse among workers and between them and their clients and customers. As adhocracies, schools

would divide their labor through collaboration or interdisciplinary team work and coordinate it through mutual adjustment or reflective deconstruction and reconstruction of team members' respective conventional theories and practices. Together, these structural contingencies yield a deliberative form of interdependence premised on collaborative problem solving among professionals, parents and other community stakeholders and, when appropriate, students (Skrtic, 1991b, 1995). Again, this arrangement follows the social planning model in that teams would consider alternative interpretations of children's needs and associated practices, deliberatively judging and selecting or integrating them in terms of their educational and social consequences for children and families, and their democratic consequences for schools and communities.

As such, adhocracy is both the means and end of the reform process. It is required for the deliberative IEP and due process system as a means of systemic reform, and it is the structure for schools that would resolve special education's most intractable problems, those identified in the 1960s and 1970s, targeted for elimination by IDEA's substantive principles, but still with us today. In principle, social and educational outcomes would improve considerably in adhocratic schools because instruction is tailored to each student's actual needs, virtually removing the need for segregated placements, thereby minimizing labeling and eliminating the institutional incentives for restrictive placements and disproportionate representation.

In the same way that Minow (1990) applied the curriculum principles of UDL to a general education classroom, Hehir (2005) argued for applying them to school organization itself, creating what he called "universally designed schools" (p. 109). For Hehir, these are schools that "allow disabled students to access education naturally," schools in which "the needs that arise out of their disability become situated more within the environment in which they are functioning than within themselves" (p. 109), much like Minow (1990) treated needs that arose from a hearing impairment in her universally designed classroom. Hehir based his case for applying UDL principles to school organization on two organizational analyses: my analysis of school organization and special education reform (Skrtic, 1991b), key aspects of which are presented above, and Richard Elmore's (2004) analysis of school organization and standards-based reform which, according to Hehir, is a call for "fundamental changes in the institutional practice and structure of public schools" (p. 109) in the interest of improving educational performance under NCLB.[14]

Noting that my analysis "predated the application of the term 'universal design' to schooling" (Hehir, 2005, p. 106), Hehir explained that nonetheless, in proposing the adhocratic structure for schools, it "clearly advocates the [organizational] principles that would create the conditions under which children with disabilities and other diverse learners would be able to access schooling in a natural and effective manner" (pp. 106–107). Based on examples of effective inclusive schools in Boston that follow these adhocratic principles, he reported that, with respect to educating students with disabilities, they "almost always implement nonstandard approaches that require problem solving from a variety of people with different perspectives and backgrounds, including parents" (p. 107). Such schools, he explained, have "moved away from traditional structures and provide many opportunities for professionals to work together in classrooms to improve curriculum and instruction" (p. 109). Moreover, Hehir pointed to mounting evidence that good, inclusive urban schools that extend these organizational principles beyond students with disabilities to all students are "among the best-performing schools in urban districts" (p. 107).

Reconstructing Professionalism

Because the adhocratic restructuring of public education described above is meaningless without a parallel reconstruction of professional culture, another essential requirement of systemic reform is a transformation of education's technocratic form of professionalism into the alternative model

of professionalism advanced by Dewey and other early twentieth century pragmatist progressives (Dewey, 1988a/1929–1930, 1988b/1927). This type of civic (Sullivan, 2005) or democratic (Dzur, 2008) professionalism is premised on the capacities and sensibilities of the strong democrat, the practical reasoning of classical pragmatism, and the traditional idea of a profession as a calling to serve the common good (see Skrtic, 2000, 2005). As democratic professionals, educators would work collaboratively and deliberatively with students, parents, and community stakeholders to identify child, family, and community needs, then adjust their conventional theories and practices to address those needs in empowering ways. Once again, these professionals would be following the social planning model of classical pragmatism, a deliberative mode of inquiry in which alternative interpretations of needs, accommodations, and associated practices are judged and selected or integrated in terms of their educational and social consequences for children and families, and their contribution to the realization of democratic ideals in schools, communities, and society at large.

To avoid a change in form but not substance, the availability of a non-bureaucratic structure for schooling is necessary but not sufficient. Taking full advantage of the adhocracy configuration requires a corresponding transformation of professional culture. Moreover, in addition to civic professional teachers, systemic reform also requires a new civic or democratic culture of leadership in schools and, ultimately, the emergence of a strong developmentally liberal democracy. Given the fundamental nature of these proposed changes, the next section places them in historical perspective to highlight both their broader social significance and the social and political costs of the status quo.

Strong Democratic Leadership

As we know, Minow (1990) credited early 20th-century progressives for their enlightened reforms to serve dependent and vulnerable citizens while criticizing them for the type of social institutions they created to do so. These institutions were problematic she argued because, by avoiding the kind of participatory processes that could have challenged their institutional biases, they imposed their interests on the people they claimed to serve, ultimately perpetuating and legitimating the injustices they suffered while expanding bureaucratic power. As such, Minow concludes that the oppressive institutional arrangements that she criticizes are a legacy of American progressivism. However, this view of progressivism captures only one of its tracks of reform, the one informed by what I will refer to below as "managerial liberalism." The second, politically less powerful track was informed by the "developmental" strain of liberalism advanced by progressives that Minow clearly admires—John Dewey, Jane Addams, and George Herbert Mead. Whatever shortcomings and naiveté we may find among these early developmental liberals, for the most part they respected cultural differences, defended communicative reciprocity across them, and argued for strong democracy (Furner, 1993; Kent, 2000, 2007; Muncy, 1991).[15]

Historically, we have ascribed three related but incompatible purposes to public education—democratic equality, social mobility, and social efficiency (Labaree, 1997). Democratic equality is concerned with preparing all of our young "with equal care" (p. 17) for effective citizenship, as well as with minimizing inequality in society to permit equal participation in the political process. Social mobility involves giving some students an advantage over others in the competition for social positions, which turns education into a commodity, thereby making schooling increasingly stratified and unequal. Social efficiency is concerned with allocating students to particular social positions, which requires schooling to mirror the stratified and unequal structure of the market economy. Because both of these purposes involve advantaging some individuals and groups over others in school and society, they increase social inequality and ultimately undermine the purpose of democratic equality.

This incompatibility of educational purposes reflects the basic tension at the core of all liberal democracies—the tension between democracy and capitalism, between the ideal of political equality and the reality of social inequality—which must be balanced in social institutions like education that serve both masters (Labaree, 1997). However, the possibility of achieving this balance becomes increasingly remote when one or more purposes dominate the others, which in turn depends on which of three competing political philosophies is dominant in society—market liberalism, developmental liberalism, or managerial liberalism—each of which represent a fundamentally different approach to balancing the tension between democracy and capitalism (Ryan, 1972; Macpherson, 1977).

Emerging in the first half of the nineteenth century, market liberalism is the classical form of liberal political economy. Market liberals argue for minimal government, expansion of free markets, and laissez faire economic and social policies, which yields a weak form of democracy in which citizens are mere competitors for political and economic goods and government is little more than a protector of economic markets and private rights (Held, 1996; Macpherson, 1977). Democracy in this view is weak, largely amounting to occasional voting for self-selected political elites, a non-participatory model that insists on a restricted role for citizens (and democracy itself) to prevent government interference in the economy (Foner, 1998; Ryan, 1972). Beginning in the 1980s, an extreme form of market liberalism, labeled *neoliberalism* by its critics (see below), became dominant in American political culture (Harvey, 2005; Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009), inordinately influencing the way we think and talk about public education, justify its existence (or elimination), and attempt to reform it (Engel, 2000; Henig, 1994). The dominance of neoliberalism largely explains why educational reform from *A Nation at Risk* (1983) through NCLB has elevated the purposes of social efficiency and social mobility to the virtual exclusion of democratic equality (Skrtic, 2005).[16]

Developmental liberalism and managerial liberalism emerged in the early twentieth century as two new strains of liberalism at the core of American progressivism, both of which opposed the economic and social dislocations of unregulated capitalism under market liberalism (Foner, 1998; Kloppenberg, 1986).[17] Although both strains were egalitarian in ways that market liberals have never been, the egalitarianism of developmental liberalism, unlike that of the managerial strain, was premised on active citizenship and a stronger conception of democracy that extended participation beyond the machinery of government into the larger society, including into public education (Gutmann, 1980). As such, developmental liberalism emphasizes the educational purpose of democratic equality because it views political participation itself as a primary social good, a reciprocal process of self and social improvement through which citizens progressively improve society and their capacities for democratic deliberation by engaging in collaborative social planning in and around social institutions (Hanson, 1985; Macpherson, 1977). Deweyan developmental liberals share a commitment to this type of strong democracy in which all social institutions become sites of political development through participatory social planning (Barber, 1984). In this sense, Dewey considered schools to be doubly educational, sites of democratic training for the young and of political development for citizens and professionals, which in turn required the kind of civic professionalism noted above, as well as what he called "democratic administration" (1981/1937, p. 225) or leadership in engaging citizens and professionals in deliberative problem solving aimed at improving education's responsiveness to the educational *and* social needs of students, families, and communities by balancing public education's purposes, values, and interests (Dewey, 1976/1899, 1980/1916).

During the progressive era, Dewey and other developmental progressives promoted democratic administration and civic professionalism as an antidote to market liberalism and weak democracy. Unfortunately, their vision lost out to the technocratic progressivism of managerial liberalism, which is the rightful target of Minow's (1990) criticism; the oppressive social

institutions that she and Fraser (2008; Fraser & Honneth, 2003) and Young (1990, 2000) reject are the legacy of managerial liberalism, not progressivism. Inspired by positivism, utilitarianism, technocratic professionalization, and empirical social science, managerial liberals argued for an expanded government capacity to regulate the economy and distribute social services premised on the promise of technocratic efficiency through science and bureaucratic administration (Dewey, 1988b/1927; Price, 1974; Ryan, 1972). Although they opposed market liberalism, managerial liberals are weak democrats because, like market liberals, they favor limited citizen participation in politics, in their case to insulate the expert discourses of public bureaucracies from lay citizen interference. Prominent among early 20th century managerial liberals were the "administrative progressives" (Tyack, 1990, p. 177; Tyack & Hansot, 1982), the first generation of university-trained school superintendents and their professors who institutionalized bureaucracy and technocratic administration in public education, creating by the 1950s a "closed system" characterized by "the increasing ability of school officials to ignore parents, reformers, and others outside the system" (Katz, 1987, p. 109; Tyack, 1990).[18]

Of course, this is the closed, tracked system that was called it into question first by the *Brown* decision in 1954 and then by the oppositional civil and disability rights movements, in which activists attacked IQ testing and tracking and demanded democratic equality, including a role for parents and community stakeholders in educational decision making. Although with passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) and the EAHCA in 1975 activists appeared to have cracked the closed system, as we have seen, their victory was hollow, in part, because of the closed system's ability to resist meaningful change through symbolized and ceremonialized compliance with their most fundamental requirements, including both statutes' parent and citizen participation requirements (Skrtic, 1995, 2003). Moreover, given the historical pattern of reform by accretion, what the activists got was new forms of tracking, an array of new ritualized programs merely added to and decoupled within largely unchanged institutionalized bureaucracies (Skrtic, 1991b; Tyack & Hansot, 1982; Wise, 1979).

More ominously, the activists' victory was hollowed out further by the ideological hijacking of both laws by standards-based reform, beginning with publication of *A Nation at Risk* (1983) and culminating in the 2001 reauthorization of the ESEA as NCLB and the 1997 and 2004 authorizations of IDEA. As a result, today both statutes are premised on the market fundamentalism of neoliberalism, under which test scores have become a type of bottom line for schools, creating a market-like rationality in the historically non-market institution of public education, including competition among schools, performance bonuses and penalties, and privatizing and outsourcing. As a result, in education as in other social institutions under the grip of neoliberalism, government is recast as a relationship between market and customers, and efficiency and productivity have become the sole value of public administration, eclipsing the strong democratic values of responsiveness and participation (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003; Engel, 2000), the very values upon which the original ESEA and EAHCA were premised. Beyond threatening the well-being of their intended beneficiaries, the neoliberal orientation of NCLB and IDEA further elevate the educational purposes of social mobility and social efficiency over that of democratic equality, thus extending and further ensconcing weak democracy (Skrtic, 2005; also see Apple, 2001; Loxley & Thomas, 2001).

We can begin the process of intervening in this untenable situation by changing our approach to outcomes-based reform. As an alternative to NCLB/IDEA's extreme form of traditional standards-based reform that merely extends bureaucracy, Spady (Spady & Marshall, 1991, p. 68) recommended a "transformational" model of outcomes-based reform, which begins with a deliberative discourse among school and community stakeholders aimed at reaching consensus on broad school outcomes leading to desirable social conditions of life for students as future citizens. At this point, "districts set their existing curriculum frameworks aside" (p. 70), allowing their curriculum, instructional practices, and organizational structure to evolve in support of educational

outcomes leading to the agreed-upon preferred future for students and communities. Of course, I am proposing the social planning model for the initial and ongoing deliberative discourse among school and community stakeholders and adhocracy as the desired structured for schooling, the only structure that is consistent with the substantive and procedural safeguard principles of the IDEA and, as universally designed schooling, capable of making education naturally equitable and excellent for all students and families, communities, and the country as a whole.

The advantage of the transformational approach as the way to such a system is that, beyond holding schools accountable for important educational and social outcomes for all students, it brings deliberative politics into education and, more importantly, focuses it precisely on the purposes of education and the type of schooling necessary to achieve them in a balanced way. Achieving and sustaining this type of deliberative engagement among citizens and professionals in public education requires the kind of democratic administration that John Dewey called for at the start of the 20th century, that is, leadership in making schools doubly educational by creating and sustaining the material and cultural conditions for ongoing deliberative social planning in which alternative interpretations of needs, accommodations, and associated practices and structures are judged and selected or integrated in terms of their educational and social consequences for every child and family, and their contribution to the realization of democratic ideals in schools, communities, and the nation. Preparing and supporting such strong democratic leaders in public education should be the focus and mission of higher education leadership preparation programs, especially in special education since strong, deliberative democracy is the best defense against all forms of injustice in school and society.

Notes

1 Technically, parents can request an open due process hearings but few do, and though redacted hearing decisions are accessible to the public, they typically are not used by parents individually or collectively through advocacy groups in the precedent-setting way envisioned by pre-1975 EAHCA proponents. Moreover, the courts, especially since the Supreme Court decision in *Hendrick Hudson School District v. Rowley*, "now review due process hearing decisions primarily to question their legal reasoning ... while deferring to the hearing officer's findings of fact" (Ong-Dean, 2009, pp. 114–115).

2 Movement in this direction has been advanced considerably by the *Rowley* decision, since which federal courts have been less inclined to entertain challenges to school authority like those in earlier antidiscrimination cases like *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Pennsylvania (PARC)* and *Mills v. Board of Education*. Now, such challenges largely are confined to due process hearings where "disputes are individualized and highly technical ... [thus limiting] the impact they can have on other cases" (p. 33) and thus systemic reform. However, see Weber (1990) and Yudof (1984) on lower court resistance to Rowley.

3 "Disability rights movement" here refers both to the larger social movement of the 1960s and 1970s that ran parallel to the women's and civil rights movements and over time won legislation like Section 504 and the Americans with Disabilities Act, as well as that portion of it led by U.S.-based parents and parent and professional groups that lobbied for the EAHCA.

4 All of these things, of course, were done by the social movement that produced the EAHCA (see Skrtic, 2000).

5 The fact that such changes may be largely ceremonial does not make them necessarily inconsequential (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Ritti & Goldner, 1979). See note 13.

6 For more comprehensive institutional analyses of public education, special education, and IDEA implementation, including each of the implementation problems highlighted in this section, see Skrtic (1991a,b, 1995, 2003) and Skrtic and McCall (2010).

7 Other indications of a move away from individualization in the 2004 IDEA reauthorization are elimination of IEP "benchmarks and short-terms objectives" except for covered students who take alternate assessments, and creation of a15-state paperwork reduction experiment which arguably will weaken oversight of IEP implementation.

8 The negative effects of this model of reform are apparent in the deteriorating conditions of special education practice since 1997. For a review, see Skrtic (2005) and Skrtic, Harris, and Shriner (2005).

9 The IDEA only addresses disproportionate representation on the basis of race and ethnicity, but research shows it is a more complex phenomenon involving multiple, intersecting factors also including social class, gender, age, language, and geography (Artiles, 2004; McCall & Skrtic, 2010; Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Simmons, Feggins-Azziz, & Chung, 2005).

10 This section based on McCall and Skrtic (2009).

11 See note 1.

12 Whereas positivist inquiry attempts to *justify* social knowledge, practices, and institutions by showing that they correspond to a true representation of the world, the goal of classical pragmatism is to *reform* social knowledge, practices, and institutions by reconciling them with moral ideals (Bernstein, 1971, 1991; Kloppenberg, 1986). See Kaufman-Osborn (1985) on the misinterpretation of Deweyan pragmatism in the policy sciences as social engineering rather than social planning.

13 Although special education functions as a decoupling device in this respect, the programs it provides for students who are forced out of regular classrooms can benefit them. Moreover, because professionals become advocates for their functions in organizations, they can alter power relations over the long run which can benefit them and their function, thus possibly better serving the client group assigned to their function (see Ritti & Goldner, 1979).

14 According to Hehir, central to Elmore's approach to such school improvement is the concept of "distributive leadership" (2005, p. 108) or the ability to guide instructional improvement by distributing responsibility for it across all school professionals (also see Elmore, 2000, 2002; Spillane, Halverson, & Diamond, 2001). Although the concept of distributed leadership is relevant to the proposed adhocratic restructuring of schools, in the sense that leadership in both cases is collaborative and distributed throughout the organization, it falls far short of the model of deliberative social planning described above and its requisite "civic professionalism" and "strong democratic leadership" discussed below. Whereas distributed leadership is concerned with distributing leadership in instructional improvement among professionals in schools, the latter engages professionals *and* parents and citizens generally in educational *and* social improvement. Moreover, the principal improvement goal of such professionals and leaders, democratic equality, is undermined by reform approaches like distributed leadership. See note 16.

15 For a more extensive critique of Minnow's criticism of progressive era reformers, see Skrtic and Kent (in press), and for an extended argument for this interpretation of progressivism, see Kent (2007), Skrtic and Kent (in press), and note 17.

16 As opposed to the more democratic or "developmentally liberal" school restructuring proposals of the late 1980s which sought excellence and equity simultaneously through adhocratic-like reforms (e.g., McNeil, 1986; Oakes, 1985), the corporate or neoliberal restructuring models of the 1990s—epitomized by Comer's (Comer, Ben-Avie, Haynes, & Joyner 1999; Comer, Joyner, & Ben-Avie 2004) School Development Program, Levin's (1987) Accelerated Schools, Sizer's (1984) Essential Schools—also are premised on decentralization and collaboration but use them not to pursue democratic purposes but to "maximize efficiency [and] productivity" (Engel, 2000, p. 124). Although such models can be democratic in rhetoric, a closer look reveals the opposite because they are based on "the undemocratic theory and practice of the market economy" (p. 125). Distributed leadership (Elmore, 2004; Spillane et al., 2001) is a more recent neoliberal reform strategy. For more on the structure and culture of what I am calling developmentally liberal restructured schools, see Skrtic (1995, 2005), McCall and Skrtic (2009), and Skrtic and McCall (2010).

17 While at the core of American progressivism, these two strains of liberalism do not exhaust its internal complexity as an intellectual and political phenomenon. Nevertheless, the fundamental cleavage between managerial and developmental liberals and its significance is widely recognized (see Foner, 1998; Greenstone; 1993; Hanson, 1985; Kloppenberg, 1986; Price, 1974).

18 On similar negative effects of managerial liberalism in public administration, see Denhardt and Denhardt (2003).

References

Ahrens, E. (2006). *Standards-based IEPs: Implementation in selected states.* Alexandria, VA: National Association of State Directors of Special Education.

Ahrens, E. (2010). *Standards-based IEPs: Implementation update.* Alexandria, VA: National Association of State Directors of Special Education.

Anderson, C. W. (1993). *Prescribing the life of the mind: An essay on the purpose of the university, the aims of liberal education, the competence of citizens, and the cultivation of practical reason.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Apple, M. W. (2001). *Educating the "Right" way: Markets, standards, God, and inequality.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1978). *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Artiles, A. J. (2004). The end of innocence: Historiography and representation in the discursive practices of LD. *Journal of Learning Disabilities, 37,* 55–555.

Barber, B. R. (1984). *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bell, D. (1980). *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the interest-convergence principle. *Harvard Law Review, 93,* 51–533.

Bennis, W. G., & Slater, P. L. (1964). *The temporary society.* New York: Harper and Row.

Bernstein, R. J. (1971). *Praxis and action: Contemporary philosophies of human activity* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bernstein, R. J. (1991). *The new constellation: The ethical-political horizons of modernity/postmodernity.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Blanco, H. (1994). *How to think about social problems: American pragmatism and the idea of planning.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Brown v. Board of Education (1954). 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686, 98 L. Ed. 873.

Campbell, J. (1992). *The community reconstructs: The meaning of pragmatic social thought* Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Champlin, J. (1991). Taking stock and moving on. *Journal of the National Center for Outcomes Based Education, 1,* 5–8.

Christophos, F., & Renz, P. (1969). A critical examination of special education programs. *Journal of Special Education, 3*(4), 371–380.

Clune, W. H., & Van Pelt, M. H. (1985). A political method of evaluating the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 and the several gaps of gap analysis. *Law and Contemporary Problems, 48*(1), 7–62.

Comer, J. P., Ben-Avie, M., Haynes, N. M., & Joyner, E. T. (Eds.). (1999). *Child by child: The Comer process for change in education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Comer, J. P., Joyner, E. T., & Ben-Avie, M. (Eds.). (2004). *The field guide to Comer schools in action.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Connor, D. J. (2008). *Urban narratives: Portraits in progress: Life at the intersection of learning disability, race, and social class.* New York: Peter Lang.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1988). Race, reform, and retrenchment: Transformation and legitimation in antidiscrimination law. *Harvard Law Review, 101*(7), 1331–1387.

Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (1995). Introduction. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement* (pp. xi–xxxii). New York: New Press.

Denhardt, J. V., & Denhardt, R. B. (2003). *The new public service: Serving, not steering.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Dewey, J. (1976). *The school and society.* In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The middle works, 1899–1924* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–109). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1899)

Dewey, J. (1980). *Democracy and education.* In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924* (Vol. 9, pp. 1–370). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1916)

Dewey, J. (1981). Democracy and educational administration. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 11, pp. 217–225). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1937)

Dewey, J. (1981). The need for a recovery of philosophy. In J. J. McDermott, *The philosophy of John Dewey* (pp. 58–97). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1917)

Dewey, J. (1988a). Individualism, old and new. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 5: 1929–1930, pp. 41–123). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1929–1930)

Dewey, J. (1988b). The public and its problems. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 2: 1925–1927 (pp. 235–372). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1927)

Dewey, J. (1989). The development of American pragmatism. In H. S. Thayer (Ed.), *Pragmatism: The classic writings* (pp. 23–40). Indianapolis, IN: Hackett. (Original work published 1931)

Dewey, J. (1991). Creative democracy—The task before us. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *John Dewey: The later Works, 1925–1953* (Vol. 14, pp. 224–230). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. (Original work published 1939)

DiMaggio, P. J. (1988). Interest and agency in institutional theory. In L. G. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment* (pp. 3–22). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48,* 147–160.

Douvanis, G., & Hulse, D. (2002). *The least restrictive environment mandate: How has it been defined by the courts?* Arlington, VA: The ERIC Clearinghouse on Disabilities and Gifted Education.

Dunn, L. M. (1968). Special education for the mildly retarded—Is much of it justifiable? *Exceptional Children, 35*(1), 5–22.

Dzur, A. W. (2008). *Democratic professionalism: Citizen participation and the reconstruction of professional ethics, identity, and practice.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975. Public Law 94-142.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Public Law 89-10.

Elmore, R. (2000). *Building a new structure for school leadership.* Washington, DC: The Albert Shanker Institute.

Elmore, R. (2002). Hard questions about practice. *Educational Leadership, 59*(8), 22–25.

Elmore, R. F. (2004). *School reform from the inside out: Policy, practice, and performance.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Engel, M. (2000). *The struggle for control of public education: Market ideology vs. democratic values.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ferri, B. A., & Connor, D. J. (2005). In the shadow of *Brown*: Special education and overrepresentation of students of color. *Remedial and Special Education, 26,* 93–100.

Foner, E. (1998). *The story of American freedom.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Fraser, N. (1989). Struggle over needs: Outline of a socialist-feminist critical theory of late capitalist political culture. In *Unruly practices: Power, discourse, and gender in contemporary social theory* (pp. 161–187). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fraser, N. (2008), Prioritizing justice as participatory parity: A reply to Kompridis and Forst. In K. Olson (Ed.), *Adding insult to injury* (pp. 327–346). London: Verso.

Fraser, N., & Honneth, A. (2003). *Redistribution or recognition: A political-philosophical exchange*. London: Verso.

Furner, M. O. (1993). The Republican tradition and the New Liberalism: Social investigation, state building, and social learning in the Gilded Age. In M. J. Lacey & M. O. Furner (Eds.), *The state and social investigation in Britain and the United States* (pp. 171–241). New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Gilhool, T. K. (1989). The right to an effective education: From *Brown* to P. L. 94–142 and beyond. In D. K. Lipsky & A. Gartner (Eds.), *Beyond separate education: Quality education for all* (pp. 243–253). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.

Greenstone, J. D. (1993). *The Lincoln persuasion: Remaking American liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gutmann, A. (1980). *Liberal equality*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, A. P. (1994). Foreword: The jurisprudence of reconstruction. *California Law Review, 82*(4), 741-785.

Harry, B., & Klingner, J. (2006). *Why are so many minority students in special education?* New York: Teachers College Press.

Harry, B., Klingner, J. K., & Hart, J. (2005). African American families under fire: Ethnographic views of family strengths. *Remedial and Special Education, 26*(2), 101–112.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hehir, T. (2005). *New directions in special education: Eliminating ableism in policy and practice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Held, D. (1996). *Models of democracy* (2nd ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Henig, J. R. (1994). *Rethinking school choice: Limits of the market metaphor*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Individuals with Disabilities Education Act Amendments of 1997. Public Law 105-17.

Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004. Public Law 108-446.

Kalyanpur, M., Harry, B., & Skrtic, T. (2000). Equity and advocacy expectations of culturally diverse families' participation in special education. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, 47*(2), 119–136.

Katz, M. B. (1987). *Reconstructing American education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kaufman-Osborn, T. V. (1985). Pragmatism, policy science, and the state. *American Journal of Political Science, 29*(4), 827–849.

Kelman, M., (1987). *A guide to critical legal studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kent, J. R. (2000). Dewey and the project of critical social theory. *Social Thought and Research, 23*(1&2), 1–43.

Kent, J. R. (2007). Review essay: Is American liberalism singular or plural? *American Studies, 48*(4), 129–45.

Kirp, D., Buss, W., & Kuriloff, P. (1974). Legal reform of special education: Empirical studies and procedural proposals. *California Law Review, 62*(1), 40–155.

Kloppenberg, J. T. (1986). *Uncertain victory: Social democracy and progressivism in European and American thought, 1870–1920*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kuriloff, P. J. (1985). Is justice served by due process? Affecting the outcome of special education hearings in Pennsylvania. *Law and Contemporary Problems, 48*(1), 89–118.

Labaree, D. F. (1997). *How to succeed in school without really learning: The credentials race in American education*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Lazerson, M. (1983). The origins of special education. In J. G. Chambers & W. T. Hartman (Eds.), *Special education policies: Their history, implementation, and finance* (pp. 15–47). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Levin, H. M. (1987). Accelerated schools for disadvantaged students. *Educational Leadership, 44*(6), 19–21.

Lindblom, C. E. (1991). *Inquiry and change: The troubled attempt to understand and shape society*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Loxley, A., & Thomas, G. (2001). Neo-conservatives, neo-liberals, the New Left and inclusion: Stirring the pot. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 31*(3), 291–301

Macpherson, C. B. (1977). *The life and times of liberal democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

McCall, Z., & Skrtic, T. M. (2009). Intersectional needs politics: A policy frame for the wicked problem of disproportionality. *Multiple Voices for Ethnically Diverse Exceptional Learners, 11*(2), 3–23.

McNeil, L. M. (1986). *Contradictions of control: School structure and school knowledge*. New York: Methuem/Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Mehan, H., Hertweck, A., & Meihls, J. L. (1986). *Handicapping the handicapped: Decision making in students' educational careers*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Mercer, J. (1973). *Labeling the mentally retarded: Clinical and social system perspectives on mental retardation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Meyer, M. W. (1979). Organizational structure as signaling. *Pacific Sociological Review, 22*(4), 481–500.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*, 340–363.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1978). The structure of educational organizations. In M. W. Meyer (Ed.), *Environments and organizations* (pp. 78-109). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1983). The structure of educational organizations. In J. W. Meyer & W. R. Scott (Eds.), *Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality* (pp. 71-78). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Minow, M. (1985). Learning to live with the dilemma of difference: Bilingual and special education. *Law and Contemporary Problems, 48*(2), 157–211.

Minow, M. (1990). *Making all the difference: Inclusion, exclusion, and American law.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Minow, M. (2008). Accommodating integration. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 57*(1), 1–10.

Mintzberg, H. (1979). *The structuring of organizations.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Mintzberg, H. (1989). *Mintzberg on management: Inside our strange world of organizations.* New York: The Free Press.

Mirowski, P., & Plehwe, D. (2009). *The road from Mont Pelerin.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Muncy. R. (1991). *Creating a female dominion in American reform: 1890–1935.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

National Research Council. (1982). *Placing children in special education: A strategy for equity.* Panel on Selection and Placement of Students in Programs for the Mentally Retarded, Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy, K. A. Heller, W. H. Holtzman, & S. Messick (Eds.), Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

National Research Council. (2002). *Minority students in special and gifted education.* Committee on Minority Representation in Special Education, M. S. Donovan & C. T. Cross (Eds.), Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington DC: National Academy Press.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Public Law 107-110.

Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

O'Day, J. A. (2002). Complexity, accountability, and school improvement. *Harvard Educational Review, 72*(3), 293–329.

Ong-Dean, C. (2009). *Distinguishing disability: Parents, privilege, and special education.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Powell, W. W., & DiMaggio, P. J. (1991). *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pretti-Frontczak, K., & Bricker, D. (2000). Enhancing the quality of Individualized Education Plan (IEP) goals and objectives. *Journal of Early Intervention, 23*(2), 92–105.

Price, D. F. (1974). Community and control: Critical democratic theory in the Progressive period. *American Political Science Review, 68,* 1663–1678.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Reynolds, M. C., Wang, M. C., & Walberg, H. J. (1987). The necessary restructuring of special and general education. *Exceptional Children, 53*(5), 391–398.

Richardson, H. S. (2002). *Democratic autonomy: Public reasoning about the ends of policy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ritti, R. R., & Goldner, F. H. (1979). Professional pluralism in an industrial organization. *Management Science, 16,* 233–246.

Ryan, A. (1972). Two concepts of politics and democracy: James & John Stuart Mill. In M. Fleisher (Ed.), *Machiavelli and the nature of political thought* (pp. 76–113). New York: Atheneum.

Sarason, S. B., & Doris, J. (1979). *Educational handicap, public policy, and social history.* New York: The Free Press.

Schön, D. A., & Rein, M. (1994). *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies.* New York: Basi.

Scott, W. R. (1987). The adolescence of institutional theory. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 32,* 493–511.

Scott, W. R., & Meyer, J. W. (1987). Environmental linkages and organizational complexity: Public and private schools. In H. M. Levin & T. James (Eds.), *Comparing public and private schools* (pp. 128–160). New York: Fulmer Press.

Simon, H. A. (1977). *The new science of management decision.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Sizer, T. (1984). *Horace's compromise: The dilemma of the American high school.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Skiba, R. J., Poloni-Staudinger, L., Gallini, S., Simmons, A. B., & Feggins-Azziz, R. (2006). Disparate access: The disproportionality of African American students with disabilities across educational environments. *Exceptional Children, 72,* 411–424.

Skiba, R. J., Poloni-Staudinger, L., Simmons, A. B., Feggins-Azziz, L. R., & Chung, C. G. (2005). Unproven links: Can poverty explain ethnic disproportionality in special education? *The Journal of Special Education, 39*(3), 130–144.

Skiba, R. J., Simmons, A. B., Ritter, S., Gibb, A. C., Rausch, M. K., Cuadrado, J., & Chung, C. (2008). Achieving equity in special education: History, status, and current challenges. *Exceptional Children, 74,* 264–288.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991a). *Behind special education: A critical analysis of professional culture and school organization.* Denver, CO: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M. (1991b). The special education paradox: Equity as the way to excellence. *Harvard Educational Review, 61*(2), 148–206.

Skrtic, T. M. (1995). Special education and student disability as organizational pathologies: Toward a metatheory of school organization and change. In T. Skrtic (Ed.), *Disability and democracy: Reconstructing (special) education for postmodernity* (pp. 190–232). New York: Teachers College Press.

Skrtic, T. M. (2000, July). *Civic professionalism and the struggle over needs.* Paper presented at the annual Leadership Project Directors' Conference, Office of Special Education Programs, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC.

Skrtic, T. M. (2003). An organizational analysis of the overrepresentation of poor and minority students in special education. *Multiple Voices for Ethnically Diverse Exceptional Learners, 6*(1), 41–57.

Skrtic, T. M. (2005). A political economy of learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities Quarterly, 28*(2), 149–155.

Skrtic, T. M. (2010). Review of *Distinguishing disability: Parents, privilege, and special education,* by Colin Ong-Dean. *Contemporary Sociology, 39*(2), 188–190.

Skrtic, T. M., Harris, K. R., & Shriner, J. G. (Eds.) (2005). The context of special education practice today. In T. Skrtic, K. Harris, & J. Shriner (Eds.), *Special education policy and practice: Accountability, instruction, and social challenges* (pp. 1–18). Denver, CO: Love Publishing.

Skrtic, T. M., & Kent, J. R. (in press). Rights, capabilities, and disability needs politics: Institutional barriers to social justice. In A. Kanter & B. Ferri (Eds.), *Righting educational wrongs: Disability studies in law and education.* Syracure, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Skrtic, T. M., & McCall, Z. (2010). Ideology, institutions, and equity: Comments on Christine Sleeter's *Why Is There Learning Disabilities? Disability Studies Quarterly.*

Smith, S. W. (1990). Individualized education programs (IEPs) in special education: From intent to acquiescence. *Exceptional Children 57*(1), 6–14.

Smith, S. W., & Kotering, L. (1997). Using computers to generate IEPs: Rethinking the process. *Journal of Special Education Technology 13*(2), 81–90.

Spady W., & Marshall, K. (1991). Beyond traditional outcome-based education. *Educational Leadership, 49,* 67–72.

Spillane, J. P., Halverson, R., & Diamond, J. B. (2001). Investigating school leadership practice: A distributed perspective. *Educational Researcher, 30*(3), 23–28.

Sullivan, W. M. (2005). *Work and integrity: The crisis and promise of professionalism in America* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Thomas, S. B., & Rapport, M. J. K. (1998). Least restrictive environment: Understanding the direction of the courts. *Journal of Special Education, 32*(2), 66–78.

Tolbert, P. S., & Zucker, L. G. (1983). Institutional sources of change in the formal structure of organizations: The diffusion of civil service reforms, 1880–1935. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 23,* 22–39.

Tropea, J. L. (1987). Bureaucratic order and special children: Urban schools, 1890s-1940s. *History of Education Quarterly, 27*(1), 29–53.

Turnbull, H. R. (1993). *Free appropriate public education: The law and children with disabilities.* Denver: Love Publishing.

Turnbull, H. R., Stowe, M. J., & Huerta, N. E. (2007). *Free appropriate public education: The law and children with disabilities* (7th ed.). Denver, CO: Love Publishing.

Tyack, D. (1990). Restructuring" in historical perspective: Tinkering toward utopia. *Teachers College Record, 92*(2), 170–191.

Tyack, D., & Hansot, E. (1981). Conflict and consensus in American public education. *Daedalus, 110*(3), 1–25.

Weber, M. C. (1990). The transformation of the Education of the Handicapped Act: A study in the interpretation of radical statutes. *UC Davis Law Review, 24*(1), 349–436.

Wehmeyer, M. L., & Schalock, R. L. (2001). Self-determination and quality of life: Implications for special education services and supports. *Focus on Exceptional Children, 33,* 1–16.

Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 21*(1), 1–19.

Williams, P. J. (1991). *The alchemy of race and rights: Diary of a law professor.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wise, A. E. (1979). *Legislated learning: The bureaucratization of the American classroom.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (2000). *Inclusion and democracy.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Ysseldyke, J., Thurlow, M., Graden, J., Wesson, C., Algozzine, B., & Deno, S. (1983). Generalizations from five years of research on assessment and decision making: The University of Minnesota Institute. *Exceptional Education Quarterly, 4*(1), 75–93.

Yudof, M. G. (1984). Education for the handicapped: *Rowley* in perspective. *American Journal of Education, 92*(2), 163–177.

Zucker, L. G. (1981). Institutional structure and organizational processes: The role of evaluation units in schools. In A. Bank & R. C. Williams (Eds.), *Evaluation and Decision Making,* (CSE Monograph Series, No. 10). Los Angeles: UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation.

Zucker, L. G. (1988). Where do institutional patterns come from? Organizations as actors in social systems. In L. G. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional patterns and organizations: Culture and environment* (pp. 23–49). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Click on the image above to access the video at this link:

http://ibc.chapman.edu/Mediasite/Viewer/?peid=b237991f80c84e018cd39071e4c43004