February 27, 2008

A Simplify You, Classify You@: Stigma, Stereotypes and Civil Rights in Disability Classification Systems

Michael L Perlin, New York Law School

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"Simplify You, Classify You": Stigma, Stereotypes and Civil Rights in Disability Classification Systems

Prof. Michael L. Perlin
Director, International Mental Disability Law Reform Project
Director, Online Mental Disability Law Program
New York Law School
57 Worth St.
New York, NY 10013
212-431-2183
mperlin@nyls.edu

The author wishes to thank Jackie Halpern and Lisa Ruff for their excellent research assistance, and Laura Rothstein, Mark Weber and Theresa Glennon for their helpful advice.

A much earlier version of this paper was presented at the Third Anglo-American Symposium on Special Education & School Reform at Cambridge University, England, June 10, 2004.

Revised: February 28, 2008
Introduction

Before becoming a professor, I spent 13 years as a practitioner, mostly representing criminal defendants with mental disabilities and persons subjected to involuntary civil commitment or committed to psychiatric hospitals. I have taught mental disability law for 23 years, and in the past 16 of those years, my research and scholarship has focused mostly on what I call “sanism” and on what I call “pretextuality,” shorthand for the ways that prejudice towards persons with mental disabilities leads to stigma and stereotyping, and the ways that these factors malignantly distort both the legislative and judicial processes. I believe that these factors are constant whether the topic is commitment, the right to refuse treatment, sexual autonomy, deinstitutionalization, any aspect of the criminal trial process, from the determination of competency to stand trial to the ultimate death penalty decision, or the relationship between international human rights law and mental disability law.\(^1\) In

In this paper I consider the question of the extent to which these factors and these principles do or do not equally contaminate the special education process, and the decision to label certain children as learning disabled. I begin with my ultimate thesis: The process of labeling of children with intellectual disabilities is not merely a double-edged sword; it is at least a triple-edged and perhaps a quadruple-edged (or quintuple-edged) one. It is essential that policy makers acknowledge this in any recalibration of


\[5\]I am no stranger to this area of the law. During my years as a mental health advocacy lawyer, I also spent two years as Acting Director of the Advocacy for the Developmentally Disabled Project Office of the New Jersey Department of the Public Advocate, and special education cases were among the core caseload of that office. When I was Special Counsel to the Commissioner of the Public Advocate Department, I filed a brief with the United States Supreme Court in Irving Independent School District v. Tatro, 468 U.S. 883 (1984), which held that the provision of clean intermittent catheterization was a "related service" to which the plaintiff was entitled under the Education of All Handicapped Children Act (EHCA), id. at 891. Finally, in my first years of full-time teaching, I directed New York Law School's Federal Litigation Clinic. In that position, I supervised students who represented children with disabilities at special education hearings before New York State Administrative Law Judges.
statutory standards or educational policy “reforms” that are undertaken. If we ignore these conflicting issues/barriers/dilemmas, we run the risk of re-creating a system that unnecessarily stigmatizes and fails to provide adequate services to those who need them.

In coming to these conclusions, I have identified five conflicts and clusters of policy issues that we must consider:

- The need to insure that all children receive adequate education
- The need to insure that the “cure” is not worse than the “illness” (that is, that the labeling of a child as being in need of special education services does not insure that the child will forever be seen as a second-class citizen)
- The need to consider the ultimate impact this decision may have if the child eventually winds up in the criminal justice system,
- The need to consider the relationship between the decision-making in this system and issues of gender, social class, and race, and
- The need to consider the public’s attitude that a learning disability label is an *advantage* to a child competing for admission to a prestigious university or graduate school.

I believe that it is essential to consider each of these – both separately and in context with each other – if we are to make some sense of the underlying problems and issues.

My paper will proceed in the following manner. In Part I, I will briefly trace the history of American federal legislation and special education law reform in the American
courts. In Part II, I will consider some of the “real life” problems that create pitfalls in the implementation and enforcement of those laws. In Part III, I will look at the meanings of “sanism” and “pretextuality,” in an effort to illuminate the insidious ways that stereotyping drives decision-making. In Part IV, I will consider issues of race and social class, looking specifically at the connection between these issues, sanism and pretextuality, and the implications of that connection for the purposes of this inquiry. In Part V, I will consider the unique relationship between special education labeling and the criminal justice system, paying particular attention to the important implications of the United States Supreme Court’s 2002 decision in Atkins v. Virginia, which bars the execution of persons with mental retardation. In Part VI, I will look at the way that special education labeling is seen as somehow different from other types of labeling, noting that some upper-middle class and upper class families sometimes view the label as a strategic or tactical advantage. Finally, I will conclude with some modest recommendations.

My title comes from Bob Dylan’s classic (though never heard today) masterpiece, All I Really Want To Do. In it, Dylan pours out a litany of what he does not want to do to the object of his affections, opening with this verse:

I ain’t lookin’ to compete with you,

Beat or cheat or mistreat you,

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Simplify you, classify you,
Deny, defy or crucify you.
All I really want to do is, baby, be friends with you.\textsuperscript{8}

I expect that what we have done, and what we continue to do to learning disabled children is precisely what Dylan promised not to do: “Simplify you, classify you.”\textsuperscript{9} Writing about this topic, Professor Peter David Blanck has said: “Over the course of the twenty-first century, our challenge is to strive toward national policies that promote inclusion of all persons, with and without disabilities, based on values of individual worth, fairness, and justice.”\textsuperscript{10} I write this paper to make us think a bit about the past errors of our ways, and seek to bring us incrementally closer to Professor Blanck’s vision and aspirations.

I. Legislative and judicial history\textsuperscript{11}

Two federal cases set the stage for the first important federal education legislation on behalf of children with disabilities: \textit{Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (PARC) v. Pennsylvania}, a consent decree stating that the denial of educational services to children with mental retardation violated the Equal Protection

\textsuperscript{8} Id.
\textsuperscript{9} On the necessity of classification so that schools can fulfill federal mandates, see Patrick Linehan, \textit{Guarding the Dumping Ground: Equal Protection, Title VII and Justifying the Use of Race in Hiring Special Educators}, 2001 \textit{BYU EDUC. & L.J.} 179, 188 (2001).
\textsuperscript{11} This section is partially adapted from 5 \textit{MICHAEL L. PERLIN}, § 13C-1, at 26-27 (2d ed. 2002).
Clause, and Mills v. Board of Education, holding that the exclusion of children with disabilities from public school programs violated the Due Process Clause. These two cases were frequently cited by Congress as sources of inspiration for subsequent ameliorative legislation.

The United States Supreme Court has made it clear that there is no general federal constitutional right to education. In so declaring, the Court, per Justice Powell, concluded that while a proper education is a laudable policy goal, it does not rise to constitutional dimensions. This decision further led advocates to turn to legislation as the appropriate remedy for inadequate education.

The ECHA -- was an “ambitious Congressional attempt” designed to assure that all

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16 Id. at 36. But see id. at 37: “[N]o charge fairly could be made that the system fails to provide each child with an opportunity to acquire the basic minimal skills necessary for the enjoyment of the rights of speech and of full participation in the political process.” (Emphasis added).
18 20 U.S.C. § 1400 et seq. For a helpful review, see Stanley Herr, Reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 35 MENTAL RETARDATION 131 (April 1997). (Despite EHA’s name change to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1990, the basic principles of EHA are embodied in IDEA. See e.g., Rebecca Weber Goldman, A Free Appropriate Education in the Least Restrictive Environment: Promises Made, Promises Broken by the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act, 20 U. DAYTON L. REV. 243, 243 (1994)).
handicapped children have available a free public education appropriately designed to meet their unique and individual needs.\textsuperscript{20} As a remedial statute, it was written to be applied broadly and construed liberally in favor of the provision of such education to handicapped students.\textsuperscript{21} To be eligible for funds under the Act, each state was required to establish procedures to assure that, “to the maximum extent appropriate, handicapped children, \textit{including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities}, are educated with children who are not handicapped.”\textsuperscript{22}

To ensure the provision of such education, the implementing regulations specified that each state educational agency “shall make arrangements with public or private institutions (such as a memorandum of agreement or special implementation procedures) as may be necessary to insure that [this section] is effectively

implemented.”

The comment to this regulation underscored the point: “Regardless for other reasons for institutional placement, no child in an institution who is capable of education in a regular public school setting may be denied access to an education in that setting.”

IDEA, the successor act, was designed to assure that all children with disabilities have available to them a free and appropriate public education that emphasizes special education and related services designed to meet their unique needs. It defines "special education" as "specially designed instruction ... to meet the unique needs of a child with a disability." To create a free and appropriate public education program for each disabled child, the IDEA requires a multidisciplinary team, which includes the child's parents, to develop an Individualized Education Program (IEP). It states a clear preference for educating children in the "least restrictive environment," and in a

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23 34 C.F.R. § 300.554.
See also, 20 U.S.C. §§ 1401(3)(A) and (B) (Under the IDEA a “child with a disability” is eligible for assistance. The disability can be mental retardation, hearing impairments, speech or language impairments, visual impairments, serious emotional disturbance, orthopedic impairments, autism, traumatic brain injury, other health impairments, or specific learning disabilities. In additional to the disability and because of it, the child must require special education and related services. For children between the ages of three and nine “disability” can include developmental delays.).
27 34 C.F.R. § 300.340-.349 (1992) The IEP should set forth the child's present educational performance, detail annual goals and short term objectives for improvement in that performance, and describe the special instruction and related services that will enable the child to meet those objectives. 20 U.S.C. § 1401(a)(20); 34 C.F.R. § 300.346 (1992).
setting with their peers who do not have disabilities whenever possible.29 Such children should be removed from the regular classroom environment only when education in the classroom cannot be achieved satisfactorily with the use of supplementary aides and services.30 The least restrictive environment principle also requires that children be kept in the same public school they would attend if not disabled, and as close as possible to their homes, rather than in separate schools for disabled children.31

The Supreme Court subsequently explained why Congress enacted prophylactic legislation:

When the law was passed in 1975, Congress had before it ample evidence that such legislative assurances were sorely needed: 21 years after this Court declared education to be "perhaps the most important function of state and local governments," Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 493, 74 S.Ct. 686, 691, 98 L.Ed. 873 (1954), congressional studies revealed that better than half of the Nation's 8 million disabled children were not receiving appropriate educational services. §§ 1400(b)(3). Indeed, one out of every eight of these children was excluded from the public school system altogether, §§ 1400(b)(4); many others were simply "warehoused" in special classes or were neglectfully shepherded through the system until they were old enough to drop out.
See H.R.Rep. No. 94-332, p. 2 (1975). Among the most poorly served of disabled students were emotionally disturbed children: Congressional statistics revealed that for the school year immediately preceding passage of the Act, the educational needs of 82 percent of all children with emotional disabilities went unmet.\(^{32}\)

The IDEA – born in an effort to combat stigma\(^{33}\) – focused on individualized treatment and mainstreaming as its core characteristics.\(^{34}\) The question that must be next considered is what pitfalls have stood in the way of full enforcement of the act, and the implications of these pitfalls for policy in this area of the law.

II. Pitfalls and problems

I have identified five pitfalls that we must consider in our attempts to understand the underlying issues:

- The problem of insufficient funding
- The reality that local programs often prove disastrous where children with intellectual disabilities are mingled with children with serious behavioral problems


\(^{34}\) The Ninth Circuit, by way of example, has held that an administrative law judge properly found that the mainstreaming requirement under the IDEA, 28 U.S.C. § 1400 et seq., contains a legal presumption in favor of placing students with disabilities in regular classes with students who are similar in age. That presumption can be rebutted, however, by a showing that the student's educational needs require removal from the regular classroom. See Sacramento City Unified Sch. Dist., Bd. of Educ. v. Rachel H., 14 F.3d 1398 (9th Cir. 1994).
• The reality that children may still be isolated within mainstreamed classes
• The fact that mainstreaming may help parents deny the reality that their child does have a disability and is need of special services, and
• The possibility that mainstreaming may lead to the creation of new stereotypes

I will address each of these briefly.

First, there is no question that special education has been woefully under-funded, and that there are no signs that this situation is improving.\textsuperscript{35} One Congressman put it succinctly and accurately: “[I]nsufficient funding for special education compromises the education of every student.”\textsuperscript{36} Although courts have sought to remedy these problems in individual cases,\textsuperscript{37} the problem is clearly systemic, and shows no signs of diminishing.

What is so sadly ironic here is this: the issue of lack of funding pre-dates the creation of special education law and continues to dominate much policy discussion after more than three decades of Congressional action. In \textit{Mills}, the court found that the

\textsuperscript{37} See \textit{e.g.}, Connecticut Unified Sch. Dist. No. 1 v. Department of Educ., 1999 WL 74531 (Conn. Super. Ct. Feb. 4, 1999) (affirming one year of compensatory education services to a juvenile with mild mental retardation where school district had insufficient staff, funding, and resources to provide adequate special education services).
school system regularly excluded certain handicapped children, using the justification that the school lacked funds to provide proper evaluation, personnel, and service, and ruled that because inadequacies of school funding could not “be permitted to bear more heavily on the ‘exceptional’ or handicapped child than on the normal child,” each child of school age was thus entitled to “a free and suitable publicly supported education regardless of the degree of the child’s mental, physical or emotional disability of impairment.” And today, budget problems continue to plague school districts. As one commentator has noted, “Because of the increasing number of special education children served in mainstream settings, experts find that it is no longer possible for the states to accurately divide expenditures between general and special education.”

Second, the problems faced in special education classes by students with emotional disabilities are enormous. According to Professor Theresa Glennon:

There can be little doubt that schools are failing their mission to serve this nation’s emotionally disturbed children. Only a tiny percentage of students

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39 Id.

40 Seligmann, supra note 36, at 783-84. See also, e.g., Columbia Falls Elementary Sch. Dist. No. 6 v. State, 109 P.3d 257, 262 (Mont. 2005) (on the relationship between budgeted costs for special education and “quality education”).

On the funding incentives for school districts to over-identify students as learning disabled, see Robert A. Garda, Jr., Untangling Eligibility Requirements under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 69 Mo. L. REV. 441, 447-48 (2004), and see also, Theresa M. Willard, Economics and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act: The Influence of Funding Formulas on the Identification and Placement of Disabled Students, 31 IND.
identified as seriously emotionally disturbed perform at or above grade level, and the evidence shows that they fall farther behind each year they attend school. These students also drop out of school at an alarming rate, much higher than for any other exceptionality. Very few students who are identified under the definition of seriously emotionally disturbed improve enough to be decertified. The post-school careers of these students are equally distressing: approximately one-third are unemployed, and almost one-half of the youth out of school for two years have arrest records.\(^4^1\)

There have been few studies on the impacts of “co-mingling” children with different disabilities. Statistics show that for the cases identifiable in terms of the child's disability, these classifications were the most frequent: learning disability (27.4%), physical impairment (22.3%), emotional disturbance (13.8%), and mental retardation (20.1%).\(^4^2\) This issue is inextricably interlinked with the politics of special education labeling. Among the reasons suggested for the increase in the number of children categorized as having learning disabilities is that this category is often viewed by parents (and, perhaps, by school administrators) less stigmatizing than more antiquated labels like mild, or educable mental retardation,\(^4^3\) a categorization known in some

\(^{4^1}\) Glennon, supra note 14, at 305-06.  
\(^{4^3}\) Seligmann, supra note 36, at 770.
circles as the results of "classification plea bargaining".\(^{44}\) In short, this is a very culturally, socially, and politically complex issue.\(^{45}\)

Third, a debate continues to rage as to the amount of time students with learning disabilities should spend in mainstreamed classrooms as opposed to separate classrooms.\(^{46}\) While the IDEA mandates that children with learning disabilities be


\(^{45}\) It must be stressed that many students with learning disabilities who receive appropriate accommodations are successful in academic programs. See Jennifer Jolly-Ryan, Disabilities to Exceptional Abilities: Law Students with Disabilities, Nontraditional Learners, and the Law Teacher as a Learner, 6 Nev. L.J. 116, 122 (2005) (“With advances in knowledge about education, including knowledge about different learning styles, appropriate accommodations, strategies, and compensations for both students with physical and learning disabilities, many students are matriculating through undergraduate programs with a high degree of success.”).


Indeed, a longstanding debate in special education circles concerns the question of the relative amount of time disabled students should spend in mainstream as opposed to separate classrooms. Special education experts cast the debate in terms of "inclusion" versus "placement diversity." Michael A. Rebell & Robert L. Hughes, Educational Inclusion and the Courts: A Proposal for a New Remedial Approach, 25 J. L. & Educ. 523, 536-45 (1996) (classifying proponents of inclusion as those who favor moving existing special education services into mainstream settings, and supporters of placement diversity as those who prefer to leave the question of placement up to the educators' individual assessments). In the context of this debate, placing responsibility for the actual provision of educational services in one set of hands makes sense as an implementation matter, particularly where optimizing the mix of mainstream and separate instruction for disabled students involves shuttling students between mainstream and specialized classroom settings.
educated, wherever possible, in a regular classroom, they may be educated outside of such classrooms if mainstreaming would not provide a satisfactory education program. Also, courts have held that academic achievement is not the only reason for mainstreaming:

Our inquiry must extend beyond the educational benefits that the child may receive in regular education. We also must examine the child’s overall educational experience in the mainstreamed environment, balancing the benefits of regular and special education for each individual child.  

The overwhelming majority of evidence, by way of example, suggests that “language and role modeling from association with non-disabled peers are essential benefits of mainstreaming.”

Yet, there is still a smattering of case law that points out that there may be negative side-effects of mainstreaming: that the child may suffer interpersonally if she falls significantly behind her peers who are not disabled, and that there may be

services simply unavailable in a mainstreamed setting.\textsuperscript{51} These are issues that cannot be ignored in this investigation.

Fourth, the issue of denial of reality is a difficult one, and is probably beyond the law's reach, but there are some examples in the legal literature that should force us to consider the potential impact of this issue. One article quotes a letter from the parents of a child with a learning disability to a New York state senator: “We admit that when she was around four years old that our goal was to somehow get her mainstreamed—we thought it was best for her, but actually as we pondered that thought—\textit{it was to fulfill a need of ours}—because if she was in a regular school setting we would feel we did our part as parents giving her the ‘normalcy’ that she deserved.”\textsuperscript{52} Another quotes a parent describing her daughter, “I was not willing to accept the slow theory”.\textsuperscript{53} There is no evidence that these are universal attitudes, but they, again, are ones that must be factored into any analysis of the overarching issues that are at the core of this paper.

Fifth, we need to consider the difficult question of whether new stereotypes may be created, and if that happens, the relevance of that phenomenon. It is black-letter law that "Private biases may be outside the reach of the law, but the law cannot, directly or

indirectly, give them effect."\textsuperscript{54} This, however, does not conclude the inquiry. One commentator questioned, by way of example, how clients will respond to lawyers that they believe were able to pass the bar only because of special accommodations:\textsuperscript{55} For example, the “extra-time on the bar” attorney may be stereotyped as needing more time to work on a case than a “regular time” attorney, and a client may question the number of billable hours."\textsuperscript{56} Also, managers who consider hiring workers with disabilities express concerns that “the disabled worker's personal needs will affect job performance.”\textsuperscript{57}

Again, these attitudes cannot – and must not – stand in the way of civil rights legislation on behalf of persons with disabilities. But, when we think about stigma and stereotypes, it would be short-sighted for us to “put our heads in the sand” and make believe that these attitudes do not exist.

III. Sanism and pretextuality

As I already indicated, I believe that it is impossible to understand anything about the way we construct persons with disabilities – in the community, in the classroom, in the courtroom – without understanding the deep textures of sanism and or pretextuality.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{55} See infra text accompanying notes 99-104. It may belabor the obvious to ask whether similar questions as to the abilities of female or African-American attorneys would be taken even remotely seriously.
\textsuperscript{56} See Williams, supra note 53, at 659.
\textsuperscript{58} See generally, Perlin, Lepers and Crooks, supra note 4.
Sanism is an irrational prejudice of the same quality and character as other irrational prejudices that cause and are reflected in prevailing social attitudes of racism, sexism, homophobia and ethnic bigotry. It permeates all aspects of mental disability law and affects all participants in the mental disability law system: litigants, fact finders, counsel, and expert and lay witnesses. Its corrosive effects have warped mental disability law jurisprudence in involuntary civil commitment law, institutional law, tort law, and all aspects of the criminal process (pretrial, trial and sentencing). It reflects what civil rights lawyer Florynce Kennedy has characterized the “pathology of oppression.”

Sanist myths exert especially great power over lawyers who represent persons

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60 On the way that sanism affects lawyers’ representation of clients, see Perlin, supra note, 3 at 28, 55-56; Perlin, Lepers and Crooks, supra note 4, at 689-90.

61 See Birnbaum, Right to Treatment: Comments, supra note 59, at 107 (quoting Kennedy). See also id. at 106 ("It should be understood that sanists are bigots"). For a subsequent consideration in this context, see Bruce Link et al., The Consequences of Stigma for Persons with Mental Illness: Evidence from the Social Sciences, in Stigma and Mental Illness 87 (Paul Fink & Allan Tasman eds. 1992).
with mental disabilities.\textsuperscript{62} The use of stereotypes, typification, and deindividualization inevitably means that sanist lawyers will trivialize both their client's problems and the importance of any eventual solution to these problems. Sanist lawyers implicitly and explicitly question their clients' competence and credibility,\textsuperscript{63} a move that significantly impairs the lawyers' advocacy efforts.\textsuperscript{64}

Pretextuality defines the ways in which courts accept (either implicitly or explicitly) testimonial dishonesty and engage similarly in dishonest (and frequently meretricious) decision-making; specifically where witnesses, especially expert witnesses, show a high propensity to purposely distort their testimony in order to achieve desired ends. This pretextuality is poisonous; it infects all participants in the judicial system, breeds cynicism and disrespect for the law, demeans participants, and reinforces shoddy lawyering, “blasé” judging, and, at times, perjurious and/or corrupt testifying.\textsuperscript{65} All aspects of mental disability law are pervaded by sanism and by pretextuality, no matter whether the specific presenting topic is involuntary civil commitment law, right to refuse treatment law, the sexual rights of persons with mental disabilities, or any aspect of the criminal trial process.\textsuperscript{66}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item \textsuperscript{62} See Perlin, supra note 1; Perlin, Lepers and Crooks, supra note 4; PERLIN, supra note 3.
\item \textsuperscript{63} See generally, Perlin, supra note 2; Perlin, Lepers and Crooks, supra note 4, at 684.
\item \textsuperscript{66} Id.
\end{thebibliography}
Both sanism and pretextuality are further contaminated by our reliance on non-reflective “ordinary common sense” (OCS). OCS is a “powerful unconscious animator of legal decision making.” It is “prereflective” and is susceptible to precisely the type of idiosyncratic, reactive decision-making that has traditionally typified all mental disability legislation and litigation. It is supported by our reliance on a series of heuristics – cognitive-simplifying devices that distort our abilities to rationally consider information.

Our special education system is rife with sanism and pretextuality. It relies on shopworn myths, creates stigma, and demands reductionist deindividualization in textbook examples of sanism. Whether we are looking at the impact of special education labeling, the purported threat of disability classification “gaming,” the relationship between special education and the criminal justice system, or the relationship between special education and socioeconomic questions of race and class, the specter of pretextuality looms as a nearly-un-moveable presence. For the remainder of this paper, I will address each of these issues.

IV. Race and class

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67 Id. See also Richard K. Sherwin, Dialects and Dominance: A Study of Rhetorical Fields in the Law of Confessions, 136 U. PA. L. REV. 729, 737 (1988) (OCS exemplified by the attitude of "What I know is 'self evident'; it is 'what everybody knows'").


It is no surprise to learn that children of color are “vastly over-represented” in both the juvenile justice and special education systems, and that studies unanimously reveal that “race plays a powerful role in the placement of children in special education” and exerts a “disparate impact” on such placements. In 1992, by way of example, blacks made up sixteen percent of public school students, but represented nearly forty percent of those in special education classes – classes for students with mental disabilities or other special needs. And there are confounding inter-state rate differentials. In thirteen states, African-American students are at least three times more likely than white students to be identified as having mild mental retardation, but, in other states, African-American students are identified as having mild mental retardation at rates much closer to their presence in the student population. To this end, we must also recall the description of some special education classes as being the end product

71 Matthew Ladner & Christopher Hammons, Special But Unequal: Race and Special Education, in RETHINKING SPECIAL EDUCATION FOR A NEW CENTURY 107-08 (Chester E. Finn et al. eds., 2001), as quoted in Stephen A. Rosenbaum, Aligning or Maligning? Getting Inside a New Idea, Getting Behind No Child Left Behind and Getting Outside of it All, 15 HASTINGS WOMEN’S L.J. 1, 30 n. 164 (2004).
of “classification plea bargaining.”\(^{75}\) Again, considerations of race cannot be avoided.\(^{76}\)

There are also gender issues to consider as well. Again, according to Professor Glennon:

> When the special education identification and placement figures are broken out by race and gender, a stark picture appears. Using white female students as the baseline, African American boys are the most over-represented by very significant degrees in the categories of mental retardation and serious emotional disturbance. The race and gender disparities are striking: while African American females are 2.02 times as likely as white females to be identified as mentally retarded, African American males are 3.26 times as likely.\(^{77}\)

Beyond this, Glennon notes that “studies and litigation demonstrate that African American boys are the most over-represented in the categories of mental retardation and serious emotional disturbance.”\(^{78}\)

\(^{75}\) Gartner & Lipsky, supra note 44, at 373.

\(^{76}\) On the subjectivity of some such judgments, see Regina Austin, Back to Basics: Returning to the Matter of Black Inferiority and White Supremacy in the Post-Brown Era, 6 J. APP. PRAC. & PROCESS 79, 85 (2004) (“For example, education researchers considering the disproportionate placement of black students in special education have argued that labeling black students, particularly black males, retarded or emotionally disturbed is highly subjective and may be based on white female teachers' misinterpretation of or lack of tolerance for the students' verbal, behavioral, or cognitive styles”). On gender issues, see infra text accompanying note 77.

American males, once identified, are even more likely than other special education students to be placed in separate classes or separate schools which exert greater external controls over them.”

Professor W. Ray Williams thus concludes that:

The manner in which learning disabilities are defined and diagnosed implicates race, economic and class-based discrimination. When individuals, the benefactors of privilege and class, perform poorly, it is assumed to be due to some neurological or organic source. After all, as one commentator observed, these children "are by cultural definition intelligent and enjoy a presumption of intelligence because of their station in society." Similarly, poor children are by cultural definition assumed dull, slow learners because of their place in the societal hierarchy.

It should be clear by now that we cannot consider learning disability and labeling questions in a hermetic vacuum. Decision-making about learning disabilities inevitably implicates questions about race, gender, and social status, and interacts with decision-making in the criminal justice system. Perhaps, most important of all, the decision to label a child as “learning disabled” – although often the only way to make it even remotely likely that the child will get educational services that provide him/her with “an appropriate education” – may have a negative, irreversible, and life-long impact on the way the child thinks about herself (and her subsequent behavior) both as a child and an

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78 Id., citing Glennon, supra note 70, at 1255.  
80 See infra text accompanying notes 94-97.
adult in the full range of social contexts.\(^{82}\) We cannot ignore this in our consideration of these issues.

V. The criminal justice system

There is no question that children with learning disabilities are disproportionately over-represented in the criminal justice system\(^{83}\) and remain at high risk in that system\(^{84}\) for a variety of reasons, including judicial confusion between behavior and disabilities. Studies suggest that at least 40-50% of all jail and prison inmates have been classified as learning disabled;\(^ {85}\) if undetected learning disabilities are included,

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\(^{82}\) My colleague Mark Weber notes: “Or it may be liberating. The student no longer blames himself or is considered ‘stupid’ or ‘lazy’, and may – one hopes – learn some tricks to survive in the educational system and beyond.” (Personal communication, April 28, 2007).

\(^{83}\) See generally, Deborah Shelton, A Study of Young Offenders With Learning Disabilities, 12 J. CORRECTIONAL HEALTH CARE 36 (2006) (38% of youth met diagnostic criteria for learning disability; 22% had co-existing psychiatric disorder; of this category, more than one-third were diagnosed with multiple psychiatric disorders).


On the question of concerns about the validity of such classifications,
some estimates rise to 80%. Learning disabled children are an astonishing 220% more likely to be adjudicated delinquents than non-disabled youths. Scholars have speculated that at least one reason for this link may be the disability itself:

“Compounding this problem is the reality that characteristics common to children with learning disabilities such as difficulty in listening, thinking, and speaking often lead to misinterpretation of a child’s behavior. As a result, a disabled minor’s poor presentation in court or during interrogation may be interpreted as dangerous, resulting in detention.”

Much of this has been well-documented for years, but there is now a new nuance which has received sparse attention – the potential relationship between a

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see Maureen Weston, Academic Standards or Discriminatory Hoops? Learning-Disabled Student-Athletes and the NCAA Initial Academic Eligibility Requirements, 66 Tenn. L. Rev. 1049, 1104-05 (1999).


87 Id., quoting Francis T. Murphy, Learning Disabilities and the Courts: Taking a Stand Against Indifference, N.Y.L.J., Jan. 24, 1996, at S1 (Justice Murphy, at the time, was the Presiding Judge of the NY Appellate Division).


89 But see, Smith v. Texas, 543 U.S. 37 (2004) (reversing death penalty conviction in case in which defense counsel had presented mitigating evidence that Smith had earning disabilities and an IQ of seventy-eight
learning disability label and an individual being subject to capital punishment. In the 2002 case of *Atkins v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court held that the execution of people with mental retardation violated the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment.\(^9^0\) The opening paragraph of Justice Stevens' majority opinion speaks to the question at hand:

> Those mentally retarded persons who meet the law's requirements for criminal responsibility should be tried and punished when they commit crimes. Because of their disabilities in areas of reasoning, judgment, and control of their impulses, however, they do not act with the level of moral culpability that characterizes the most serious adult criminal conduct. Moreover, their impairments can jeopardize the reliability and fairness of capital proceedings against mentally retarded defendants.\(^9^1\)

In coming to its conclusion, the Court drew on evidence that persuaded it that

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“exempting the mentally retarded from that punishment will not affect the ‘cold calculus that precedes the decision’ of other potential murderers. ... Indeed, that sort of calculus is at the opposite end of the spectrum from behavior of mentally retarded offenders. Yet it is the same cognitive and behavioral impairments that make these defendants less morally culpable--for example, the diminished ability to understand and process information, to learn from experience, to engage in logical reasoning, or to control impulses--that also make it less likely that they can process the information of the possibility of execution as a penalty and, as a result, control their conduct based upon that information.” 92 Clearly, many persons with learning disabilities will fit into the Court's language in Atkins.93

Three years ago, I presented a paper on Atkins at the annual meeting of the American College of Forensic Psychology in San Francisco, CA. 94 After my presentation concluded, an audience member (a forensic psychologist) approached me in the hall and told me this story.95 He had been asked to consult with defense counsel on a death penalty case in which the defendant's IQ was clearly within the mental retardation range, but in which the defendant had never been classified as retarded or

91 Atkins, 536 U.S. at 306.
93 The Court defined mental retardation as involving “not only subaverage intellectual functioning, but also significant limitations in adaptive skills such as communication, self-care, and self-direction that became manifest before age 18.” Id. at 318.
95 I have no independent verification of the story, but I cannot fathom why he would tell me this if it were not true.
in need of special education. Puzzled, the psychologist investigated and contacted the school system that the defendant had attended. He was told that the decision to not so classify the person in question was a deliberate one, in spite of the fact that there was no question that he was, in fact, retarded.

The reasoning went like this: the individual was African-American and from an economically impoverished background and a shattered nuclear family. It was likely that he was going to have so many hurdles to face as he grew up, that, by avoiding the “mentally retarded” label (and keeping him out of special education classes), the school district was “doing him a favor” by placing one less obstacle in his way.\(^96\) Now, given the fact that, in *Atkins*, the court found that mental retardation involves “not only sub-average intellectual functioning, but also significant limitations in adaptive skills such as communication, self-care, and self-direction that became manifest before age 18,”\(^97\) the fact that there is no record of the defendant manifesting these characteristics before that age may ultimately lead to his death.

I raise this here because it suggests to me how confounding any inquiry into all of the potential outcomes of a labeling decision (or non-decision) may be. No decisions in American courts are truly politics-free. The school district officials, who declined to

\(^96\) Compare Rebekah Gleason, *Charter Schools and Special Education: Part of the Solution or Part of the Problem?*, 9 U. D.C. L. REV. 145, 164 (2007) (discussing schools surveyed in a Department of Education study used that “did not believe in labeling students as needing special education”); Moira O’Neill, *Delinquent or Disabled? Harmonizing the Idea Definition of "Emotional Disturbance" with the Educational Needs of Incarcerated Youth*, 57 HASTINGS L.J. 1189, 1207 (2006) (“schools often use ... exclusionary language to avoid labeling students as emotionally disturbed, preventing intervention and appropriate services while the youth is still in school”).
categorize the person to whom I just referred to as “mentally retarded,” thought they were doing him a favor, and presumably were acting with munificent intentions. And, they overtly premised their decision on political grounds. Yet, the implications of this decision could be the most profound of any decision-maker in American society: even though motivated by altruism, it could cost the individual his life.\(^9^8\)

VI. Labeling and gaming

Over the years, scholars devoted much attention to what is commonly referred to as “labeling theory.” They concluded that, when individuals are labeled as social deviants, labeling can often lead to social ostracism, social fragmentation, and social conflict.\(^9^9\) The “very pattern of identification has consequences for the labeled person that are difficult to escape and contribute to recurring patterns of exclusion and deviant behavior.”\(^1^0^0\) Or, to put it simply, “the label of one as a deviant furthers one's self-identification as a deviant.”\(^1^0^1\) As Professor Martha Minow has noted, “The effect of others’ views, when those views assign the label of deviance, may well cause the

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\(^9^7\) *Atkins*, 536 U.S. at 318.


\(^1^0^1\) Darryl Brown, *Street Crime, Corporate Crime, and the Contingency
individual to internalize that label, and feel degraded.”\textsuperscript{102} The labeling theory approach emphasizes “the community's responsibility in assigning that label and attributing particular meanings of exclusion to it.”\textsuperscript{103} On the specific question of labeling and mental disability, she added:

As used in the past by advocates for reform of the treatment of the mentally disabled, labeling theory focused attention on the majority that both assigned the label of mental incompetence and created the label's exclusionary effect. The approach contended that some of the characteristics used to support the label were either figments of the majority's imaginations, or responses of the labeled person to the effect of the label. These advocates did not assert that mental disability is itself fictional, but instead challenged particular consequences of the label's application.\textsuperscript{104}

According to Matt Cohen, a special education attorney, “The label becomes a scarlet letter branded on the person's identity, shaping people’s assumptions and provoking their prejudices. The labels shape people’s assumptions about a person's intellectual ability, about their personality, about their aspirations. In the school environment, the child's label may have a significant impact on the teachers' expectations for that child. Similarly, a particular label may have a profound impact on a parent's perception of

\textsuperscript{102} Minow, \textit{supra} note 100, at 170, citing \textsc{Edwin Pfuhl, The Deviance Process} 213 (1980).
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Id.} at 171.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Id.} at 170-71.
their child.”\textsuperscript{105} As Jan Hunt, an education specialist has put it, “‘Labeling is disabling’ because children believe what we tell them.”\textsuperscript{106}

On the specific question of the relationship between labeling and learning disabilities, Professor Bruce Winick is explicit:

Labeling the student as learning disabled may further this tendency, but an individual who truly has a learning disability may learn strategies and techniques to mitigate or overcome this disability. If the student is labeled as incompetent at reading or arithmetic, however, he or she may never again attempt these activities with the degree of commitment and energy required to master them.\textsuperscript{107}

Other studies demonstrate that students who are deemed eligible to receive special education services are “unnecessarily isolated, stigmatized, and confronted with fear and prejudice.”\textsuperscript{108}

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{107} Bruce J. Winick, The Side Effects of Incompetency Labeling and the Implications for Mental Health Law, 1 PSYCHOL. PUB. POL’Y & L. 6, 19 (1995). For further discussion see generally, Cleveland v. Policy Management Systems Corp., 526 U.S. 795 (1999), and S. Elizabeth Wilborn Malloy, The Interaction of the ADA, the FMLA, and Workers’ Compensation: Why Can’t We be Friends?, 41 BRANDEIS L.J. 821 (2003) (although an individual can benefit from the ADA, Social Security and Workers’ Compensation concurrently, the differences in qualifications to gain the benefit and the subsequent benefits can create adverse consequences).
\footnotesize\textsuperscript{108} Losen & Welner, supra note 72, at 407. See also, Robert A. Garra, Jr., The New Idea: Shifting Educational Paradigms to Achieve Racial Equality in Special Education, 56 ALA. L. REV. 1071, 1083 (2005) (discussing House of Representatives Committee Report [H.R. REP. NO. 108-77, at 91 (2003)] that concluded that “the mislabeling of minority students has ‘significant adverse consequences’ because of the stigma attached to labeling a child with a disability, the decreased self-perception of the labeled child, and the
Because of these potentially-serious consequences, the IDEA requires school administrators to make independent decisions as to whether or not to conduct an evaluation to determine whether a child is disabled for purposes of the IDEA. Parental consent must be obtained as a predicate to such actions. Further, as Professor Glennon has explained:

Evaluations must meet numerous criteria designed to protect against mistaken identifications. For example, evaluation data must be collected by individuals with relevant training, and tests and other evaluation materials must be tailored to assess specific areas of educational need, such as reading and communication skills. These statutory protections extend to the interpretation of the data. A group of knowledgeable persons must consider evaluation data in light of a variety of factors, including the student's social or cultural background, physical condition, and any adaptive behavior. A child may be placed in special education only if the team determines that (1) the child has one or more of the listed disabilities; (2) the disability interferes with educational performance; and (3) due to the disability, the child needs special education.

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109 34 C.F.R. § 300.504(b) (1994). However, if a parent refuses consent, the school district can initiate an administrative hearing process to seek an order requiring an evaluation. Id.

But there is another important side to all of this, and it is one that requires serious attention. The OCS\textsuperscript{111} “take” on special education and learning disabilities is radically different. To much of the public, this labeling is a game, a game controlled by the wealthy and the ambitious who, by manipulation and with the aid of conspiring educational evaluators, are able to have their children labeled as “LD” so as to “buy” them more time on tests (especially standardized college board-type tests) to increase the likelihood that they will get into more prestigious universities, and that, once at such universities, will be given more time on exams and on standardized tests needed for graduate schools (such as the law boards), thus improperly enhancing their GPA and their chances of admission to a more prestigious law school or other graduate program.\textsuperscript{112} Beth Robinson, who administers student-disability issues for the College

\textsuperscript{111} See Sherwin, supra note 67 at 737; Perlin, supra note 68, at 29; Perlin, supra note 69, at 421-23.

\textsuperscript{112} See e.g., Weston, supra note 85, at 1059 (discussing critique charging that disabilities law give some a “competitive advantage”), and id. n.44 (that some allege “a little learning disability can be an advantageous thing”). See also, 42 U.S.C.A. § 12102(2).

Due to differences in definitions between the ADA and IDEA, students with a disability who did not receive services in primary and secondary school have a greater chance of receiving services during higher education. Under the ADA, an individual is eligible if he or she either has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities, a record of such an impairment, or is regarded as having such an impairment. 42 U.S.C. § 12102(2). In contrast to the ADA – which uses broad terms to define impairment – the IDEA specifically lists the impairments that are considered disabilities. 20 U.S.C. §§ 1401 (3) (A) and (B).

On the significant differences (for funding purposes) between the IDEA and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, see Garda, supra note 40, at 447 (“Because states receive no federal monies for children eligible solely under Section 504, there is arguably a strong incentive to over-identify
Board, has been quoted as saying, "And it doesn't matter what test you're taking. If people can find a way to give their kid an advantage, that family will do it, whether it's the SAT or something else."113 Again, there are social and racial politics at play here.114 At least one important critic has charged that the expansion of the "learning disability" category serves as a means of creating "a protective category for...white students that is 'more acceptable' than labels of mental retardation or emotional disturbance for students of color experiencing school difficulties" 115 in a way that allows white middle-

113 Michael Scott Moore, Buying Time, at http://archive.salon.com/books/it/2000/02/09/test/print.html (last visited March 21, 2007). There is no valid and reliable empirical evidence that the perception that "gaming the system" actually "buys" an advantage for a test-taker without a disability, but in this area, as in so many other areas of law, society and policy, the "vividness heuristic" – see supra note 69 – overwhelms the evidentiary database. On the pernicious role of related perceptions in all of law school admissions, see Phoebe Haddon & Deborah W. Post, Misuse and Abuse of the LSAT: Making the Case for Alternative Evaluative Efforts and a Redefinition of Merit, 80 St. John's L. Rev. 41, 93-94 (2006).

114 Yet another issue of class may emerge with more clarity after the Supreme Court decides Board of Educ.of City School Dist. of City of New York v. Tom F. ex rel Gilbert F., 193 Fed. Appx. 26 (2d Cir. 2006), cert. granted, 2007 WL 559882 (2007), on the question of whether a child with a disability must be sent initially to a public school before the parents can be reimbursed for private school costs). On the multiple issues raised by questions involving the interplay of special education and reimbursement for private education, see Mark Weber, Services for Private School Students under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act: Issues of Statutory Entitlement, Religious Liberty, and Procedural Regularity, 36 J. L. & EDUC. 163 (2007).

class parents to obtain special benefits for their children.\footnote{Christine E. Sleeter, Learning Disabilities: The Social Construction of a Special Education Category, 53 Exceptional Children 46, 47- 48 (1986).}

For a period of time, the Educational Testing Service (ETS) “flagged” test scores of students who received extra time on exams.\footnote{On ETS’s practice of “flagging,” see e.g., Nancy Leong, Beyond Breimhorst: Appropriate Accomodation of Students with Learning Disabilities on the SAT, 57 Stan. L. Rev. 2135, 2136-37 (2005). Compare Wong v. Regents of University of California, 410 F. 3d 1053, 1066 (9th Cir. 2005) (medical school applicant’s reading comprehension scores, when he was allowed to read without time limits, were at the 99.5 percentile, but under time constraints, were at the eighth grade level).} A panel of experts, however, found that this practice “appear[ed] to single out and treat the group with learning disabilities unequally, [and] diminish[ed] fair chances for college admission.”\footnote{Noel Gregg et al, The Flagging Test Scores of Individuals with Disabilities Who Are Granted the Accommodation of Extended Time; A Report of the Majority Opinion of the Blue Ribbon Panel on Flagging, at http://www.dralegal.org/downloads/cases/breimhorst/majority_report.txt (last visited March 21, 2007). See generally, Jennifer Jolly-Ryan, The Fable of the Timed and Flagged LSAT: Do Law School Admissions Committees Want the Tortoise or the Hare?, at http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=979590 (last visited June 11, 2007).} ETS eventually settled litigation, and agreed to stop flagging exams.\footnote{The flagging case - Breimhorst v. ETS, Case No. C-99-3387 (N.D. Cal. 1999) - is discussed extensively (and criticized) in Michael Edward Slipsky, Flagging Accommodated Testing on the LSAT and MCAT: Necessary Protections of the Academic Standards of the Legal and Medical}

There is little question that the number of students in higher education reporting learning disabilities, as a percentage of those reporting any disability, continues to grow geometrically. In 1988, 16.1% of students with disabilities reported a learning disability. In 2001, the percentage more than doubled, rising to 40.1%, while at the same time the
number of students reporting other disabilities declined.\textsuperscript{120} To many, this takes the form of evidence that “some parents purposely take advantage of a learning disability label to give their fast-track children a hand-up.”\textsuperscript{121} Other authors are more malignant,\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{120} Suzanne Wilhelm, \textit{Accommodating Mental Disabilities in Higher Education: a Practical Guide to ADA Requirements ,} 32 J.L. & EDUC. 217, 217-18 (2003), relying on American Council on Education, \textit{College Freshmen with Disabilities: A Biennial Statistical Profile,} 7 tbl.2 (2001). The author speculates that, among the possible reasons for the increase in students reporting learning disabilities was “the relatively recent discovery of handicapping earning disabilities, such as dyslexia, dyscalculia, dysgraphia, dyspraxia, Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD).” \textit{Id.} As she notes further, “Learning disorders have always existed; they simply were not recognized as disabilities requiring accommodations.” \textit{Id.} at 218.


\textsuperscript{122} So are some judges. \textit{See Atkins,} 536 U.S. at 354 (Scalia, J., dissenting) (charging, with no supporting evidence, that “nothing has changed” in the over 300 years since Lord Hale discussed “the easiness of counterfeiting [mental] disability”), and compare Perlin, \textit{Mirrors, supra} note 90, at 344, characterizing this aspect of Scalia's opinion as a “pathetic recapitulation of [the] dreary myth" reflected in the “fear of faking" by criminal defendants alleging mental disability.

referring to invokers of disability laws as “opportunists,” or as “maligners,” or “shameless shirkers,” and criticizing such laws as providing a “lifelong buffet of perks and special breaks.” Others claim that “many students, possibly goaded by their disappointed parents, simply fake their impairment in order to get a free ride.” One critic in the popular press has characterized learning disabilities as an “opportunistic tautology.”

The reality, of course, is quite different. In the most important legal challenge to a policy by which Boston University (BU) made accommodations to students with learning disabilities, “the court found that, not only were the university's initial policies toward students with learning disabilities based on uninformed stereotypes, myths, and misconceptions, there was not a single documented instance at BU in which a student with a learning disability had fabricated a disorder to claim eligibility for academic


124 See the discussion in Ann Hubbard, *A Military-Civilian Coalition for Disability Rights*, 75 MISS. L.J. 975, 1000-01 (2006); see also supra note 122.


128 Susan Denbo, *Disability Lessons in Higher Education: Accommodating Learning-Disabled Students and Student-Athletes under the Rehabilitation Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act*, 41 AM. BUS. L.J.
accommodations.” In fact, the empirical research reveals this pattern:

Further, when given extra time, students with learning disabilities score at comparable levels to students without disabilities. But these studies also find that students without disabilities do not improve their scores significantly when given extra time. In contrast, students with learning disabilities who are given extra time, although improving substantially from the regularly-timed exam condition, still score lower than students without disabilities given no extra time.

Yet, the position of disparagement is still the one consonant with the public's OCS, and has served to malignantly contaminate the debate and discourse over special education law. If the common wisdom is right – which it definitely is not – then that would call into question all of the theory and policy that led to the creation of special education law. It would suggest that all special education law is a pretext, and that, with


regard to this population, at least, the remedial and prophylactic aspects of IDEA are no more than a sham.

But when this position is examined critically, it reveals the same sort of sanism that pervades all aspects of mental disability law. Among the most common sanist myths\textsuperscript{131} are the myths that (1) persons with mental disabilities are “faking,”\textsuperscript{132} and (2) such persons would not be mentally disabled if they only “tried harder.”\textsuperscript{133} The “gaming take” on special education and learning disabilities plays directly into these sanist myths in extremely troubling ways.

In fact, this entire controversy appears to be a textbook reflection of the pernicious impact of the vividness heuristic.\textsuperscript{134} One vivid, negative anecdote--perhaps even an apocryphal one with no basis in fact – overwhelms an extensive contrary statistical database.\textsuperscript{135}

VII. Conclusion

We cannot meaningfully and coherently think seriously about the special education/learning disability system without thinking about stigma, and we cannot think seriously about stigma without acknowledging its potential disparate impacts. I stated

\textsuperscript{131} See generally, Perlin, supra note 1, at 393-97.
\textsuperscript{133} See Perlin, supra note 65, at 8.
\textsuperscript{135} See supra text accompanying notes 111-13.
earlier that the learning disability descriptor was a multi-edged sword;\textsuperscript{136} I have the inchoate suspicion that there are even more dimensions to this puzzle than I have been able to articulate here. But I believe that any analysis of the question at hand must begin with an acknowledgment of the complexity of the underlying social issues.

Recall my discussions of sanism and pretextuality. Disability law policy reflects sanism and pretextuality at every important juncture. And this is no less so in matters of learning disabilities and special education law. Labeled children are – via sanism – typified, slotted, and stereotyped.\textsuperscript{137} Pretextuality - reflected in decision-making that is infected by racial, class and gender biases – dominates the entire system. Society's OCS – self-referential and non-reflective – lazily relies on the vividness heuristic (by way of stories that appear to be no more than “urban myths”) to shape the public's views on difficult and complicated issues. And we are left with a system that is, in many important ways, stunningly incoherent.\textsuperscript{138}

Earlier, I identified several pitfalls that must be considered if we are to understand the underlying issues: problems of funding, problems with the ways that mainstreaming is operationally done, and problems with the creation of new


\textsuperscript{137} On “slotting” in a related context, see Michael L. Perlin, \textit{Power Imbalances in Therapeutic and Forensic Relationships}, 9 BEHAV. SCI. & L. 111, 125 n.112 (1991) (the use of the typification heuristic by which treating doctors slot "patients into certain categories and prescribes a similar regimen for all").

\textsuperscript{138} See Perlin, \textit{supra} note 3, at 3-5, 28-36 (concluding that mental disability law "is irrational and incoherent, and this irrationality and incoherence disables civil commitment law, institutional treatment law, civil
stereotypes.\textsuperscript{139} Thinking about these again, we are once more confronted with the impact of sanism and pretextuality on each one of these “pitfalls.”\textsuperscript{140}

Recall finally my reliance on a Bob Dylan line in the title of this paper today: “Simplify you, classify you.” This is \textit{precisely} what we do through our special education/learning disability system. We simplify complicated issues, and categorize children’s lives through rigid classification schemes. And, in doing so, to continue with the couplet in question, we also “deny [you]” and “defy [you].”\textsuperscript{141} We deny the complexity of the issues, and we defy those – such as Professors Glennon or Blanck or Weber – who seek to explicate these issues, and to redefine them in socially progressive ways. All \textit{I} really want to do – as Dylan might have said – is to shed some new light on the issue at hand. Perhaps then, we will take one step on the journey of making meaningful education for all children with disabilities a true and authentic reality.

\textsuperscript{139} See \textit{supra} text accompanying notes 54-57.

\textsuperscript{140} Compare Weber, \textit{supra} note 136, at 51:

It is the vision of special education as something not all that special which should be driving reform. The vision should be that of children with disabilities whose progress is indistinguishable from that of their peers, due to intense and effective services and accommodations not restricted by the hours of the ordinary school day or the strictures of traditional educational programming. It is the vision of those children doing so, while mixed in with other children, without any stigma imposed on those who learn in different ways or with additional support.

\textsuperscript{141} http://bobdylan.com/songs/really.html (last visited, March 21, 2007).