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Abstract

This study explores the needs and experiences of refugee parents of emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled (EB/LADs) and their networks of interpreters and community-based educators. This investigation focuses on the relationships (and disconnects) within these networks related to language, migration, culture, race, disability, and special education experiences in formal and community-based schooling contexts. The bulk of extant scholarship regarding parental experiences in special education typically centers school-based experiences rather than community- and home-based experiences, such as daily acts of nurturing and communication (e.g., Cioè-Peña, 2018). However, school-based spaces, processes, and resources are in many ways inaccessible to EB/LAD families because they implement and uphold expectations and protocols which are rigidly defined by white, Western, middle-class norms for participation and discourse (Ijalba, 2015). As such, this project centers the home- and community-based experiences of refugee EB/LAD parents and community-based educators of EB/LADs through exploring how and under what circumstances they cultivate and engage Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005) in support of their children labeled as disabled, as well as their needs related to the formal schooling context.

Using an integrative theoretical framework, this study addresses the following research questions: (1) What are the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs as they navigate disability, education, and institutional processes; and (2) How do community-based education networks assess and address the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs? By addressing these questions, this study contributes to the field of education at the crossroads of emergent bilingual education, special education, and critical culturally sustaining practice through qualitative case study. Further, by focusing on the perspectives of members of a

refugee community in a sanctuary city in Upstate New York, this study sheds light on the lived realities of the educational programs in which most EB/LADs are enrolled in New York State, as well as the dark patterns which suspend parents and families in surreptitious, proxemic interactions with educators and policymakers. Finally, this study offers recommendations for cultivating supportive critical partnerships between schools and parents of EB/LADs through engaging in a critical reflexive praxis of sanctuary for EB/LADs, their families, and communities.

Keywords: emergent bilinguals labeled as disabled, Disability Critical Race Theory, Community Cultural Wealth, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, community-based education, refugee education, Constructivist Grounded Theory, migration policy and education

**CRITICAL ASPIRATIONS: DISABILITY, EDUCATION, AND COMMUNITY
CULTURAL WEALTH IN A SANCTUARY CITY**

by

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
Origins of the Study	5
Purpose of the Study	9
Organization of this Manuscript	11
Chapter 2 – Literature Review	13
Educational Experiences and Outcomes for EB/LADs	15
Sanctuary Policies	22
Sanctuary as Praxis	25
Disproportionality	27
EB/LAD Parent and Family Experiences	30
Conclusion	34
Chapter 3 – Theoretical Framework	36
Lens 1: Disability Critical Race Theory	38
Lens 2: Community Cultural Wealth	41
Lens 3: Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy	46
From Culturally Relevant to Culturally Sustaining	47
Culturally Relevant Pedagogy	47
Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy	49
Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy	49
Conclusion	51
Chapter 4 – Research Design and Methodology	54
Research Design and the COVID-19 Pandemic	56
Setting	61
Participants	65
Data Collection	69
Phase 1: The Aspirational	69
Phase 2: The Linguistic	71
Phase 3: The Social and Familial	72
Considering Language Difference	73
Data Analysis	73
Validity	74
Coding and Memo Writing	75
Strengths and Limitations	76
Conclusion	77
Chapter 5 – The Aspirational	78
Theme 1: Engaging critical positionality	78
Theme 2: Conceptualizing whiteness and linguistic imperialism as barriers to belonging	90
Theme 3: Locating disability and educational labels	95
Conclusion	101
Chapter 6 – The Linguistic	102
Theme 1: Conceptualizing disability and linguistic identities	103
Theme 2: Conceptualizing disability and disablement through multiple processes	108

Theme 3: Illustrating the layers of deficit-based thinking and bias in special education	115
Conclusion	120
Chapter 7 – The Social and Familial	122
Theme 1: Resistance through connection and care in community-based education	126
Connections over Compliance	127
Navigating disability and labels	132
Theme 2: Cultivating sanctuaries through solidarity-focused community	135
Conclusion	142
Chapter 8 – Discussion and Conclusion	144
Mutually Informing Phases of the Study	146
Theoretical Contributions: An Integrative Framework	148
Summary of Findings	150
Research Question 1: The Needs and Experiences of Refugee EB/LAD Parents	151
Research Question 2: Community-based education networks	153
Conclusion: Toward a Critical Reflexive Praxis of Sanctuary for EB/LADs	155
Appendices	159
Appendix A: Interview Schedule for Phases 1 and 2	159
Appendix B: Initial Coding Process (Excerpt)	160
Appendix C: Focus Coding Process (Excerpt)	161
Appendix D: Phase 1 Focus Codes in Comparison (Excerpt)	162
Appendix E: Clustering Diagram (Excerpt)	163
Appendix F: Memo-Writing (Excerpt)	164
References	165
Vita	189

List of Tables and Figures

<i>Table 1</i>	ENL units of study in CR part 154	6
<i>Table 2</i>	NYSED ELL Subgroup Terminology	16
<i>Table 3</i>	Tenets of DisCrit	39
<i>Table 4</i>	Forms of Capital in Community Cultural Wealth	44
<i>Table 5</i>	Participant Backgrounds	66
<i>Figure 1</i>	An Integrative Theoretical Framework	38
<i>Figure 2</i>	A Visual Model of Community Cultural Wealth	44
<i>Figure 3</i>	Chronological Sequence of the Original Phases of the Study	57
<i>Figure 4</i>	Chronological Sequence of the Actual Phases of the Study	60
<i>Figure 5</i>	Visual Representation of Constructivist Grounded Theory	61
<i>Figure 6</i>	Floorplan of CSIC's Education Wing	126

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

In New York State, culturally, linguistically, and racially minoritized youth are disproportionately represented in special education, particularly in relation to disability identification and segregated education placements (Cosier et al., 2018). For emergent bilingual¹ students specifically, this means relative overidentification of speech and learning disabilities in the areas of language and literacy (e.g., specific learning disability, speech or language impairment; NYSED, 2018). Although such disabilities are widely considered to be “hidden” (Valeras, 2010) or “invisible”², emergent bilingual students are subjected to various mechanisms of screening and surveillance which make visible their language proficiency, abilities, and migratory status from the time they are enrolled in public school. Further, once dually identified as “English language learners”³ and “students with disabilities,” these students’ culture, abilities, and behavior are often conceptualized as complications or barriers to inclusion in general education settings (Kangas, 2017; Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). As such, there is little that is “hidden” about these students’ disabilities.

Special education law and scholarship emphasize the importance of parent participation and engagement in the provision of evaluations, supports, and services for students once they are labeled with disabilities and qualify for special education (e.g., Harry, 1992; Individuals with

¹ I intentionally use the term “bilingual” rather than “multilingual” to underscore the power dynamics of language teaching and learning in U.S. schools. Here, using the term “bilingual” acknowledges power in learning the dominant language (English) while highlighting in contrast the ways students’ primary, preferred, or non-dominant language(s) are unrecognized in terms of their own academic or social impact (Flores & Garcia, 2017; Migliarini & Cioé Peña, In Press).

² Hidden disability refers to the ways people with disabilities might try to conceal or diminish their disability status, whereas invisible disability refers to disabilities which are not externally or otherwise legible or recognized by others.

³ “English language learner” (ELL) and “Multilingual learner” (MLL) are used interchangeably in NYSED regulations to refer to students who demonstrate limited English proficiency based on initial screening assessments and, later, an standardized English language achievement test which is administered to all ELL/MLL-identified students annually (NYSED, 2015a).

Disabilities Education Act, 2004). The sparse research focused on the experiences of emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled and their families in the U.S. education system has shown that parents from nondominant cultural, racial, and linguistic backgrounds are often alienated by school-based professionals' behavior and discursive practices during school-based special education meetings regarding their children (Cheatham & Lim-Mullins, 2018; Trainor, 2010). Further, many refugee and (im)migrant⁴ parents report confusion, isolation, and misinformation about special education policy and processes concerning their children's needs and experiences (Cioé Peña, 2020; 2018; Larios & Zetlin, 2018). For example, related service providers, such as speech therapists, frequently advise multilingual parents *against* using home or heritage languages other than English for therapy and communication with children with disabilities. However, as Lim and colleagues (2018) emphasized in their study, there is no evidence that integrating or using home or heritage languages would negatively affect skill development. Additionally, exploration of poor postschool employment outcomes for emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled highlight the lack of culturally responsive practices in transition planning, as well as culturally responsive research designs (Trainor et al., 2016).

In reaction to the achievement debt (Ladson-Billings, 2006) owed to emergent bilingual students—and multiply marginalized⁵ students broadly—formal and informal community-based

⁴ International public discourses of migration reflect the politics and power dynamics relative to the context in which they are circulated. Specific terms related to migration and seeking asylum are often used interchangeably or without context. As a result, the nuance of diverse backgrounds, experiences, needs, and self-identification is lost. On the other hand, state-imposed distinctions such as “refugee” or “immigrant” have social, political, economic, emotional, and educational impacts at the intersections of power and identities. Furthermore, the term “migrant” is used internationally to generally refer to displaced people, but is used differently in different regions and communities of the U.S. (Stinson & Migliarini, In Press). In this study, which takes place in the U.S., I use parentheses to affix “im” to the word “migrant” to signify the floating significance of labels for individuals who move between and across different political and social borders.

⁵ “Multiply marginalized” is commonly used to articulate multiple forms or experiences with oppression or exclusions associated with “minority” status. Whereas terms like “minority students” emphasizes assigned demographic markers and quantities of individuals relative to a “general” or “dominant” population, “multiply marginalized” intentionally draws focus to the material consequences of systemic and institutional processes, rather than demographics or labelling mechanisms.

networks have emerged to fill gaps in services, support, and learning opportunities for children and families. In some studies of school, family, and community relationships, schools proactively form partnerships with these networks to facilitate family engagement in school-based spaces and involvement in school-based processes (e.g., Haines et al., 2015; Valli et al., 2016). However, many studies like these emphasize the role of school-based administrative leadership in enacting top-down messaging of student achievement and compliance which reflect Western cultural values (Huguley et al., 2020). On the other hand, there are few examples of school-community partnerships which draw upon and sustain non-Western cultural values, such as collectivism (e.g., Ngo et al., 2018), and which position families as change agents in schools (e.g., Barton et al., 2014). Given the sparse evidence of asset-based and nondominant cultural approaches to cultivating school-community partnerships, engagement with public schools continues to force families and community-based networks into adversarial or reactionary positions to enact change (Auerbach, 2007; McKenna & Millen, 2013). In other cases, prolonged stressful or hostile engagement with school-based and institutional professionals results in families' coercion (or resignation misinterpreted as passivity) to adopt hegemonic, dominant cultural values around language and achievement out of concern for their children's futures in those spaces (Cioè-Peña, 2022; 2020). As such, without amplifying the culturally sustaining practices and values of community-based networks and families, parents of emergent bilingual students will continue to experience limited access to vital⁶ special education information and processes and, therefore, rights for their children.

⁶ The Office of Special Education Programs ([OSEP] 2016) applies the term “vital written material” to critical special education documents and access to processes, such as Individualized Education Programs and related meetings across the academic year, following a Statement of Interest issued by the Department of Justice (DOJ, 2002) as well as the decision in *T.R. v. The School District of Philadelphia* (2016) regarding Title VI. Title VI addresses various types of discrimination, including language-based discrimination, and asserts that state education agencies and local districts have independent responsibilities to provide timely, meaningful access to special education documents and processes through translation and oral interpretation (OSEP, 2016).

Before addressing the origins and context of this study, it is important to address the use of terms around language status and disability throughout this manuscript. Following the work of María Cioé Peña (2018), I intentionally use “emergent bilinguals labeled as disabled” (EB/LADs) to disrupt the “fantasy of identification”⁷ enshrined by the terms “English language learners with disabilities” or “disabled English language learners.” Of course, I and other professionals frequently use “English language learner” (ELL) and “English learner” (EL) in our academic and professional communications focused on education policy and equity. However, these terms are ultimately education labels assigned to a diverse population of U.S. students for the convenience of educators and are not claimed social identities for children and families. In many ways, using broad terms such as “ELL” erases the myriad identities and experiences represented by children lumped into this student subgroup. On the other hand, while “disability” and “disabled” are often claimed as social identities and can empower some communities, I use the term “labeled as disabled” to emphasize the social and structural power dynamics involved in the disability identification process in schools and medicine (see Freedman & Ferri, 2017). For many emergent bilingual children and their families, assigned disability labels do not align with their own cultural values and knowledge around disability and difference. Finally, I use a “/” between EB and LAD to signify the process by which emergent bilingual children might be constructed as disabled.

I use EB/LADs intentionally, following the arguments and lines of inquiry of trailblazing transdisciplinary scholars who study translanguaging, disability, and language in education (e.g., Cioé-Peña, 2018; 2022; García, 2021; Sayer, 2013). The ongoing discussions among regarding

⁷ Ellen Samuels’ concept of “fantasies of identification” refers to the socio-political mechanisms (inextricably linked to economic mechanisms and ideologies) which mark bodies by placing them in categories which are then reified by scientifically verified markers (Samuels, 2014).

the politics, semantics, and contention concern how we collaborate and build consensus as scholar-practitioners to calibrate consistent language which acknowledges both the need for politically critical *and* socially affirming language. The term “EB/LAD” seems to meet that need right now, but it is possible that new terminology will emerge as our work continues.

Origins of the Study

In the early years of my career as an English as a New Language (ENL)⁸ teacher in Upstate New York, the New York State Department of Education (NYSED) unveiled Commissioner’s Regulations Part-154 (2015a; hereafter CR Part-154). From the start, CR Part-154 was characterized as a comprehensive collection of regulations regarding equity and inclusive education for EB/LAD students⁹. These regulations have continued to change significantly across the past decade, most notably through addenda focused on the needs of six subgroups of emergent bilingual students who are labeled as “ELLs” (see Table 2) (NYSED, 2019a; 2019b). My colleagues began to point to these new categories of students as the “challenges” or “barriers” to implementing CR Part-154 in their schools and classrooms, or they would find new burdens in compliance with updated regulatory guidance, training, and even instructional settings (e.g., segregated SLIFE programs). In my experience, each round of regulations and reform failed to question the underlying manufacture of labels and specialized processes for inclusion and engagement; rather, they worked to uphold a “comfort-fantasy of inclusion” wherein school-based professionals believed they were implementing inclusive

⁸ NYSED adopted the term “English as a New Language” to replace “English as a Second Language” and “English to Speakers of Other Languages.” Presumably, NYSED made this change to acknowledge that, for many children classified as “English language learners” in New York State, English is not a second language, but one of multiple languages children acquire.

⁹ CR Part-154 encompasses three sub-part documents. Sub-part 154-3 deals specifically with K-12 students who are dually identified as “English language learners” and “students with disabilities,” as well as students whose “English language learner” or “student with disability” status are disputed or suspected. For a critical reading of CR Part 154-3 and related guidance documents, please refer to Migliarini & Stinson (2021).

education policies while maintaining tracking and segregation mechanisms which siloed students and their needs (Migliarini & Stinson, 2021).

Policymakers frequently refer to inclusion and the educational rights of emergent bilingual students in many of the guidance documents published by NYSED to support teachers and administrators in implementing CR Part-154 (Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). However, as an ENL teacher who worked primarily with emergent bilingual students labeled as disabled (EB/LADs), I noticed that the conceptualization of students' and families' rights in these documents was still limited by the contention between language- and disability-related services. For example, most districts across the state readily implement CR Part-154 using the "ENL Units of Study Tables," (Table 1) which delineate weekly minutes of English language instruction provided to students within the general education ("integrated") settings and segregated ("stand alone;" i.e., sheltered English language instruction separate from the general education curriculum) settings based on their proficiency levels (e.g., Entering, Emerging) measured by an annual standardized test called the New York State English as a Second Language Achievement Test (NYSESLAT).

Table 1

ENL Units of Study in CR Part-154

	Entering (1)	Emerging (2)	Transitioning (3)	Expanding (4)	Commanding (5)
Stand-alone	180 minutes	90 minutes			
Integrated	180 minutes	180 minutes	90 minutes	180 minutes	90 minutes
Flexible		90 minutes	90 minutes		
total	360 minutes	360 minutes	180 minutes	180 minutes	90 minutes

Note: This information is adapted from “ENL Units of Study Tables” (NYSED, 2015b).

Presumably, CR Part-154 and its “ENL Units of Study Tables” framework are intended to promote equity through increased support in general education classes. However, these policies are grounded in the assumptions that: a) all emergent bilinguals are fully included in (de-tracked, integrated) general education classes during the school day; b) all emergent bilingual students attend their neighborhood public school; c) all emergent bilingual students do not receive disability-related services which, in addition to an ENL instruction schedule, would reduce the amount of time spent in general education classes; and d) students at the Emerging and Transitioning levels receive 90 minutes of flexible instruction in response to their individual needs as opposed to the school’s needs (i.e., staffing, funding, physical space).

Due to the variability of student demographics and educator interpretations of existing education law, the policy context of EB/LADs in public schools—particularly after they have been identified as disabled and referred for special education services—has still not been sufficiently addressed by NYSED policy (Migliarini et al., 2019). Further, despite expanded expectations for parental involvement in the academic progress of emergent bilingual students receiving ENL services (NYSED, 2015a), I observed few changes in the ways parents and families were engaged in the special education referral, evaluation, and annual review processes. This meant that school-based professionals continued to minimally meet requirements for parent and family communication and consent—if at all—often citing language or prior history of family engagement as barriers (Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). This was despite the provisions for parent participation and rights in Individualized Education Program (IEP) development and Procedural Safeguards in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (2004) as well as CR Part-154 (NYSED, 2015a). In other words, the provision of language- and disability-related

supports and services was part of an exclusionary power dynamic: emergent bilingual students were excluded from participation in educational settings, and their families were excluded from educational settings and processes.

In 2017, I began pursuing community-based teaching experiences with a local 501c3 organization founded and operated primarily by former refugees in Central Springs. This organization, called Central Springs (Im)migration Collective (CSIC, pseudonym), provided wrap-around supports, services, and education for refugee and (im)migrant families at various stages of resettlement and migration. I made the connection with CSIC through one of my former students, whose father, Hassen (pseudonym), led the organization as one of the founders. At the time, CSIC was exploring new sustainable ways to address the city school district's gaps in culturally responsive learning and supports for primary and secondary migrant youth through community-based youth work (Baldrige, 2020). At CSIC, community-based youth work included a burgeoning after-school tutoring program, a youth "day camp" in the summer, and a women and girls' empowerment program. Although CSIC operated through a network of university student volunteers and community partners, roughly 80% of the staff on payroll identified as refugees or former refugees, and 60% of the organization's executive board seats were held by individuals who identified as (im)migrants or former refugees. What made CSIC unique among other refugee- and (im)migrant-serving organizations in Central Springs was how the refugee leadership and staff viewed their identities, work, and experiences as enmeshed with those of the children and adults they supported. In other words, there was little distinction made between who was "helping" and who was "being helped."

Through working with CSIC, I started learning about the complex network of interpreters, trained social workers (often uncertified by U.S. institutions), educators, and

community messengers who collaborated—seemingly behind-the-scenes of formal institutions—to address the gaps in support, services, and communication afforded by the city school district. When I visited my students’ homes, I was usually unable to acquire approval for a district-provided interpreter, but when I arrived for my visit, I often found that the family had provided their own. While my school-based colleagues consistently reported difficulties enrolling emergent bilingual students and their parents in school-based programs, CSIC seemed to cultivate full rosters of participants in their community-based education initiatives. It became clear that, despite school-based professional’s deficit-based conceptualizations of EB/LAD’s parents, these families were actively accessing resource networks in their communities to maintain support for their children’s education and wellbeing. I began to question why these resource networks were not observed or acknowledged within the formal schooling context, and why school-based professionals were not seeking opportunities to tap into these resource networks for the benefit of their school communities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the needs and experiences of parents of emergent bilingual children labeled as disabled (EB/LADs) and their networks of interpreters and community-based educators. This investigation focuses on the relationships (and disconnects) within these networks related to language, culture, race, disability, and special education experiences in formal and community-based schooling contexts. The bulk of extant scholarship regarding parental experiences in special education typically centers school-based experiences, such as the annual review meeting (e.g., Cheatham & Lim-Mullins, 2018; Larios & Zetlin, 2018) rather than community- and home-based experiences, such as daily acts of nurturing and communication (e.g., Cioé Peña, 2018). However, school-based experiences are in many ways

inaccessible to refugee and (im)migrant families because they typically follow schedules and protocols which are rigidly defined by white¹⁰, Western, middle-class norms for participation and discourse (Ijalba, 2015). As such, this project centers the home- and community-based experiences of refugee and (im)migrant parents of EB/LADs through exploring how and under what circumstances they access community-based networks to navigate vital special education processes for their children labeled as disabled, as well as their needs related to the formal schooling context.

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs as they navigate disability, education, and institutional processes?¹¹
2. How do community-based education networks assess and address the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs?

In addressing these questions, this study contributes to the field of education at the crossroads of emergent bilingual education, special education, and culturally sustaining practice through case

¹⁰ Following Gotanda (1991) and Annamma, Jackson, and Morrison (2017), I capitalize “Black,” but do not capitalize “white.” As Gotanda explains in his 12th footnote, “white ‘summarizes’ racial domination. As a term describing racial domination, ‘white’ is better left in lower case, rather than privileged with a capital letter” (1991, p. 4). Further, “Black” has a “deep political and social meaning as a liberating term,” (p. 4), whereas “white”—especially when it is capitalized within the context of white supremacist and other overtly racist discourse communities in the U.S.—connotes white racialized identity and white supremacy. On the other hand, others, like Ewing (2020) argue for the capitalization of “white” to emphasize the white racial identity of white people in the U.S. Because my identity, scholarship, and chosen integrative theoretical framework in this study are grounded in the work and academic legacy of Gotanda (1991), Annamma and colleagues (2017), and others who emphasize the lower-case representation of “white,” I follow the tradition of capitalizing “Black,” but not “white.” Further, I am sensitive to the social and political context in which this study was conducted and written, wherein individuals, groups, and organizations who overtly and covertly adopt and enact white supremacist and racist beliefs capitalize “white” to emphasize the supremacy and racial identity of white people. Although this decision is uncomfortable for me as a white person who works closely and in solidarity with Black, Indigenous, and/or People of Color (BIPOC) communities, I believe it is important for me to lean into my discomfort by critically thinking, delineating, and engaging critique about my language choices in my work.

¹¹ In this study, I focus on disability, education, and institutional processes broadly rather than a narrow focus on special education to acknowledge and account for the intersecting variety of policies and practices through which EB/LADs and their families—especially those who experience migration—are surveilled and labeled as disabled.

study. Further, by focusing on the perspectives of members of a refugee community in a mid-sized urban area in Upstate New York, this study will be able to shed light on the lived realities of the educational programs in which most EB/LADs are enrolled in New York State, as well as the dark patterns¹² which suspend parents and families in surreptitious, proxemic interactions with educators and policymakers. Finally, this study aims to provide new directions for cultivating supportive critical partnerships between schools and parents of EB/LADs through engaging in a critical reflexive praxis of sanctuary for EB/LADs, which I delineate in the final chapter of this manuscript.

Organization of this Manuscript

This manuscript is organized into eight chapters. Chapters 1-4 provide the context, design, and underlying theoretical framework of the study. Following this introductory chapter, I present a literature review focused on three areas of scholarship: (a) sanctuary policies and education; (b) issues surrounding emergent bilingual children and special education; (c) the experiences of multiply marginalized parents with special education systems and processes; and (d) school-community educational partnerships. In Chapter 3, I introduce three theoretical lenses which have informed the design of the study: Disability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit), Community Cultural Wealth, and Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy. In Chapter 4, I illustrate the methodology for this study, including research design, setting, participants, data collection and analysis.

¹² In the world of programming, dark patterns are proxemic interactions through user interfaces which are carefully crafted to guide the user into assenting to terms, services, or actions which they might not normally agree to if they had more information or awareness of the parameters of the terms, services, or actions. A common example of a dark pattern is the inclusion of “unsubscribe” links in marketing emails which are located at the bottom of the message in miniscule, often light-colored font so as to obscure the option to unsubscribe from the emails (Greenberg et al., 2014).

Chapters 5-8 present the findings of the study, followed by a discussion and conclusion. In Chapter 5, I focus on community-based educators' understanding of and engagement with multiple forms of capital, but especially aspirational capital, through critical culturally sustaining pedagogy in community-based education and services for EB/LADs and their families. In Chapter 6, I explore the role and construction of linguistic capital through the perspectives of interpreters and bilingual tutors whose work and experiences with disability bridges institutional, community, and home spaces. In Chapter 7, I illustrate how community-based educators and EB/LADs collaboratively engage familial and social capital to establish and/or strengthen in-group identities and knowledges through a summer-long community-based youth education program. In Chapter 8, I conclude with a discussion of the findings of the present study. I offer suggestions for school-based professionals and researchers regarding critical culturally sustaining praxis in the cultivation of sanctuary for EB/LAD students and their families.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Public discourses around emergent bilingual children and migration (re)produce and reflect the politics and power dynamics relative to the context in which they are circulated (Stinson & Migliarini, In Press). In the U.S., significant regional differences in population, migration, politics, and culture result in the uncritical or decontextualized deployment of specific terms related to migration, language, race, ability, and culture as though they are interchangeable. As a result, the nuanced backgrounds, experiences, and needs of diverse groups of children, families, and communities are lumped into a broad, dehumanized, categorical “crisis.” On the other hand, rigid, state-imposed distinctions such as “English language learner (ELL),” “student with a disability,” or “undocumented immigrant” have social, political, economic, emotional, and educational impacts at the intersections of power and identities.

Education has emerged as a way to surveil and control the “crises” of emergent bilingual children and their families, especially when educators suspect an underlying disability or deficiency as a result of their migration experience or racial identity (e.g., Migliarini, 2017; see also Dolmage, 2018). As migration and “diversity” are constructed as societal burdens and political threats, schools circulate discourses of pathology and misrecognition of emergent bilingual and/or migrant students (Crawford & Hairston, 2020) as means of identifying and assigning categories under the guise of benevolent social intervention. Here, schools and other institutional spaces for emergent bilingual children—regardless of their disability or migratory status—become “heterotopic¹³ spaces” which “process the immigrant body—through an

¹³ Dolmage (2018; 2011) conceptualizes “heterotopias of deviation” and “heterotopic space” to illustrate how Ellis Island, like other migrant processing centers in North America, “divides and isolates difference, suggesting that this situation (of purifying by extraction) is ideal for the “normals” in mainstream society, yet also creating a dystopian space for the minoritized” (2011, p. 26).

industrialized choreography, through a regime of vision, and through layers of anti-immigration discourse” (Dolmage, 2011, 27).

In this chapter, I aim to thoughtfully untangle the issues surrounding and affecting EB/LADs and their families, especially relating to migration. It is important to note that, as scholarship at the crossroads of race, language, disability, and migration in education gains momentum, education researchers and policymakers still have yet to explicitly agree on the specific terms or conceptual frameworks at the foundation of this work. Further, scholars, educational policymakers, and practitioners alike often seek to address nuanced issues of migration, learning, and being through a narrow, uncritical lens of “language learning” (i.e., dominant language learning). In other words, the expansive complexities of life and identity as a migrant—which is in and of itself a generalizing term that refers to a diverse array of experiences, circumstances, and identities—are reduced to issues of “language learning” in most U.S. educational policy and implementation discussions. As such, much of the extant literature in this chapter could serve as evidence of the erasure and essentialism at play in the educational experiences of EB/LADs and their families in the U.S.—especially those whose primary language is not Spanish¹⁴.

I begin with a brief overview of empirical research focused on the schooling contexts and outcomes of U.S. EB/LADs in the last 10 years. I follow with an exploration of sanctuary policies and their connection to migrant education. I focus on migration in this subsection specifically because this study is concerned with the refugee parents of EB/LADs, which

¹⁴ According to the U.S. Department of Education, Spanish is the most common language spoken by emergent bilingual learners and their families in 45 out of 50 states. On the other hand, many white and/or monolingual English speakers are exposed to Spanish language through many K-12 schools’ foreign language requirements or offerings. Because Spanish is so prevalent, and because the U.S. is in close geographic proximity to Spanish-speaking countries, resources in Spanish or resources for Spanish-speaking people are relatively more accessible or available than other, minoritized languages, such as Chin or Kizigua. For more information, visit https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d21/tables/dt21_204.27.asp

represent a wider diversity of racial, ethnic, language, and cultural backgrounds than is typically discussed in U.S. studies of migrant or language education. I focus on sanctuary policies in this study because, like international education policies which ostensibly address issues of disability and language needs (Migliarini et al., 2019; Stinson, In Press), the rhetorical and practical promises of sanctuary policies have yet to deliver sufficient, sustainable material support and affirmation to migrant communities across the U.S. Then, I critique the prevalence of disproportionality research and its role in framing scholarly discourses of EB/LADs' experiences in school. I argue that emphasizing disproportionality, while an important topic, contributes to the "disability or language difference" binary which extricates disability from emergent bilingual identity and reifies Western cultural conceptions of disability, identity, and migration. Next, I discuss how EB/LADs' families experience marginalization in many forms in school spaces. Finally, I explore examples and non-examples of critical parental or community partnerships with schools which build the praxical¹⁵ backdrop of this study.

Educational Experiences and Outcomes for EB/LADs

Educators, researchers, and policymakers rhetorically, politically, and socially frame the dual identification of emergent bilingual children as "English language learners" and "students with disabilities" as a complex and confounding problem, especially when it comes to the allocation of resources and services for EB/LADs. Rather than working collaboratively to understand the rich contexts and experiences of EB/LADs in their schools, school-based professionals often rely on foregrounding one narrow concept of identity or label (e.g., disability status) to determine what support, access, and educational outcomes an EB/LAD student will

¹⁵ Following the usage in Lambert et al. (2022), I use "praxical"--which is the adjectival form of "praxis"--to emphasize the role of "critical theoretical insights" and their translation into ideas, actions, and language for researchers, school-based professionals, and other groups within the focus of this study (Annamma & Morrison, 2018, p. 78).

have (Kangas, 2017). In this subsection, I synthesize the findings from a selection of empirical research published in the last decade that is focused on equity for emergent bilingual children with educational labels related to English language proficiency and disability. Part of what obscures our understanding of the landscape of educational experiences and outcomes for EB/LADs and their families is the variation of educational and demographic labels (or lack of consensus thereof) by different discourse communities (e.g., special education researchers, ENL teachers, state-level policymakers, school administrators) who are concerned with the education of EB/LADs. For example, in New York State, where the present study takes place, the State Education Department (NYSED) appears to publish data reports focused on emergent bilingual students only if they have qualified for and received an educational label of “ELL” or “student with a disability.” Further, NYSED relies on subgroups within the educational label of “ELL” which are not consistently reflected—or recognized at all—in national databases or information repositories (Table 2).

Table 2

NYSED ELL Subgroup Terminology

Newcomers	Students who have been in our schools for three years or less and are English Language Learners. ELLs in our schools one year or less are exempt from the ELA.
Developing ELLs	Students who have received ELL services for 4 to 6 years.
Long-term ELLs	Students who have completed at least six years of ELL services in a New York State school and continue to require ELL services.
ELLs with disabilities	ELLs served by an Individualized Education Plan (IEP). An IEP team determines a student’s eligibility for special education services and the language in which special education services are delivered.
Students with interrupted/inconsistent formal education (SIFE)	ELLs who have attended schools in the U.S. for less than twelve months and who, upon initial enrollment in schools are two or more years below grade level in literacy in their home language

	and/or two or more years below grade level in math due to inconsistent or interrupted schooling prior to arrival in the U.S.
Former ELLs	A Former ELL is a student who was identified as an ELL and has met the criteria for exiting ELL status. Upon exiting ELL status, Former ELLs are entitled to receive at least two years of Former ELL services.
Ever ELLs	An Ever ELL is a student who had [previously] been identified as an ELL but has exited ELL status. A Former ELL is a student who had [previously] been identified as an ELL but has exited ELL status within the past two school years. After two years, a former ELL will be referred to as an Ever ELL.
Never ELLs	A Never ELL is a student who has never been identified or labeled with ELL status and who has never received ELL services.

Note: Table adapted from “Who are New York State’s ELLs?” (NYSED, 2019a) and “Former ELL Services Guidance Booklet” FAQ (NYSED, 2019b)

The terms used by NYSED (see Table 2) do not consistently align with the terms used in special education law and policy (e.g., limited English proficient; IDEA, 2004), or policies and guidance from professional organizations, such as the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association (culturally and linguistically diverse; ASHA, 2022). As Artiles and colleagues (2011) affirm, terms like “culture” or “culturally and linguistically diverse” turn school-based and clinical professionals’ scrutiny toward EB/LAD individuals and families rather than systemic, institutional, and inter/intrapersonal issues affecting access and inclusion. In a similar vein, terms like “ELL” foreground students’ perceived lack of English proficiency—not to mention that “ELL” is not necessarily synonymous with being bilingual without an educational label. Further, sociodemographic markers like race and country of origin are often used interchangeably or as proxies for cultural identity in research and policymaking (Artiles et al., 2011).

As reflected by the terminology in (Table 2), creating colloquial subgroups of labeled students based on additional administrative or educational labels does not reveal specific or

identity-affirming information about labeled students or their families, nor does it facilitate critical, comparative analysis of student outcomes and experiences between state and national datasets. For example, the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA; 2020) reported a 31% graduation rate for ELL students in New York State during the 2017-2018 school year. State-level reporting from NYSED (OBEWL, 2020)¹⁶ used “ELL-subgroup” terminology (Table 2) to curate a more desirable narrative of educational success of institutions and professionals, but not necessarily an asset-based assessment of student learning outcomes. Rather, the language used by NYSED reveals how school-based professionals and policymakers do not work in partnership with local or regional communities to develop analytical categories which draw attention to local or regional differences and phenomena. Instead, they delineate taxonomies of “ELL”-ness which sanitize the rich, varied raciolinguistic and cultural journeys and identities of EB/LADs and their families.

School-based placement, instruction, and services for EB/LADs

According to NCES (2022), 15.5% of students in U.S. public schools labeled as “ELLs” in fall 2019 were dually identified as students with disabilities, compared to 14.4% of all U.S. public school students labeled as students with disabilities. In New York State, a shocking 25% of students labeled as “ELLs” in fall 2018¹⁷ were dually identified as students with disabilities, compared to 18% of all public school students during the same enrollment period (NYSED, 2020). Students labeled “ELLs” only make up 9% of the total student population in New York

¹⁶ OELA data included data for all students currently labeled as “ELs” at the time the data were collected. OELA only offered comparisons of “EL” students to an “All Students” category (i.e., total students including those considered “English Learner”). OBEWL and NYSED chose to disaggregate the data for “ELLs” into multiple subgroups using some of the terms in Table 2, but, crucially, not “ELLs with Disabilities.” NYSED and OBEWL, two state-level organizations, even included students who were not currently labeled “ELLs,” but had been previously, which contributed to a seemingly higher graduation rate for “ELL” students in New York State than OELA, a national organization, reported for New York State.

¹⁷ This is the most recent data report concerning EB/LAD demographics available from NYSED.

State (NYSED, 2020). In the 2018-2019 school year, EB/LADs identified as “ELs with disabilities” across the U.S. from ages of 14 and 21 were less likely to graduate with a regular high school diploma than “non-EL students with disabilities,” yet more likely to be identified with disabilities in the categories of specific learning disabilities, speech or language impairments, or intellectual disabilities (OELA, 2021).

Although EB/LADs are clearly disproportionately represented in segregated and/or special education programs and categories, variability in policy interpretation and implementation (Kangas 2018a), discounting or misunderstanding nondominant cultural, linguistic, and racial identities (Klingner & Eppolito, 2014), as well as varied terminology and demographic trends across the U.S., even within school districts (Artiles, 2013; Artiles & Klingner, 2006) make data and research findings difficult to generalize.

Another element affecting EB/LAD educational placements, instruction, and services is the siloing of school-based professionals into categories based on separate policies and educational labels for students (see Kangas, 2018b; 2017; 2014; Migliarini et al., 2019). Because of their multiple educational labels and diverse needs, EB/LAD students are often supported by multiple school-based professionals who are certified or authorized to provide instruction, therapy, or intervention in different, yet ultimately related, areas. However, because educational policies are also conceptualized and developed in siloes, school-based professionals do not have sufficient guidance or knowledge of how policy contexts intersect to compound the exclusion and oppression of EB/LAD students in their schools. At the same time, without adequate guidance and criticality, school-based professionals—especially teachers working directly with EB/LAD students—act as micro-policymakers who, “view federal...laws through the lens of their own beliefs” (Kangas, 2018a, p. 900). That is, multiple levels of policy—federal, state, agency,

district, school building, and individual educator—function as layers through which conceptualizations of federal law pass. The meaning and effects of federal law change as implementation agents (e.g., teachers) interpret law, policy, and categories at each level.

Research focused on school-level policy implementation reveals the political contention between special education and English-language education within and between meso- and micro-policy contexts. In an ethnographic case study of an EB/LAD-serving bilingual elementary school, Kangas (2017) found that the micro-policies enacted by school-based professionals prioritized special education services over English- and Spanish-language education services. When students were dually identified as “ELLs” and “students with disabilities,” special education services were provided, and language-related services were significantly minimized—or not provided at all. Many school-based professionals conceptualized Individualized Education Programs (IEPs) as contractual obligations to provide disability-related services only—despite federal law and policy (2017; 2018a). As Kangas (2018a) affirms, educators working with EB/LADs often do not understand that acknowledging one protected category of difference does not nullify the “protectedness” of the other. The intersection of these multiple categories and related policies result in a marginalization of EB/LADs, as access, inclusion, and services for EB/LADs are interpreted as “negotiable” because of agencies’ and educators’ beliefs about ELL status, disability status, and the law.

Although federal laws regarding disability (e.g., IDEA, 2004) and English-language education (e.g., ESSA; U.S. Department of Education, 2016) exist, federal law regarding EB/LADs (i.e., explicitly considering the intersection of disability, language, and other identities) is under-supported by federal policy and case law. As the civil rights-based approaches to EB/LAD students’ rights continue to be challenged (Moran, 2005), state- and

district-level policies turn to other restrictive institutional mechanisms to “ensure” equity for student subgroups, such as the creation of new student categories and counting minutes of service delivery (e.g., CR Part-154; NYSED, 2015a; 2015b).

EB/LAD students’ advancement to postsecondary education is, in part, limited by their access to appropriate academic preparation in high school, such as honors or extracurricular courses—even when they meet expectations to ostensibly leave or “test out” of sheltered courses (Kanno & Kangas, 2014; Umansky, 2016). School-based professionals often place EB/LADs in low-track or remedial classes where they do not have the same opportunities to develop skills related to problem-solving, critical thinking, and overall enjoyment of learning in classroom climates which effectively cultivate positive, trusting relationships with teachers (Kanno & Kangas, 2014; see also King Thorius & Sullivan, 2013). As Kanno and Kangas (2014), Umansky (2016), and the findings of the present study affirm, school-based professionals explicitly and implicitly steer EB/LADs away from advanced-track courses and other preparation for four-year colleges and universities based on their assumptions about their language, culture, and abilities.

At the classroom level, special education teachers, general education teachers, and English-language teachers regularly work independently from one another and struggle to envision their practice beyond their own specialization context (Kangas, 2018b; Migliarini et al., 2019). Siloing teachers and services based on specialized categories of need makes it easier for teachers to distinguish their own roles in their shared students’ education while preserving their own professional comfort. However, this approach to serving students with complex, intersecting needs only allows students to be included in spaces as long as their identities and needs are labeled, legible, and isolated. To disrupt isolated service delivery, Kangas (2018b) urges teachers to co-create IEPs—typically associated with solely disability-related needs—to include information

regarding students' language-related needs and their relationship to their disability-related needs. She describes how specialized teachers can serve one another as consultants, conducting observations in each other's instructional spaces and providing recommendations to improve practices within their areas of expertise. Of course, the expertise and values of EB/LADs' parents, families, and communities are missing from the invitation to collaborate, as I will explore in the last section of this review.

Sanctuary Policies

In the U.S., (im)migration policy has represented a “double logic” (Dolmage, 2018, p.23) of contingent welcome punctuating a backdrop of exclusionary policies and hypervigilance. Furthermore, the consequences of (im)migration policy as it intersects with education is easily overlooked because of the narrow scope and rigid language of both the policy and the parameters set by researchers (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019). Historically, federal (im)migration bureaucracies and adjacent offices, such as nonprofit organizations, have functioned to protect the interests and power of white, Western, and class-privileged Americans—rather than the refugees and (im)migrants at their focus (Daniels & Graham, 2001).

For example, Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) is a non-partisan, non-profit research organization. With projects funded by private foundations as well as the U.S. Census Bureau and Justice Department, this organization is committed to a, “**pro-immigrant, low-immigration** vision which seeks fewer immigrants but a warmer welcome for those admitted [emphasis in original]” (CIS, n.d.). In contrast, the Census Bureau affirms that *higher* (im)migration would support the sustained growth and diversity of the U.S. population, claiming that “an absence of migration into the country over [the next four decades] would result in a U.S. population that is

smaller than the present” (Johnson, 2020, p. 1). Despite the projected need for higher (im)migration, CIS, who receives funding from the Census Bureau, explains,

...high levels of immigration are making it harder to achieve such important national objectives as better public schools, a cleaner environment, homeland security, and a living wage for every native-born and immigrant worker. These data may support criticism of US immigration policies, but they do not justify ill feelings toward our immigrant community (CIS, n.d.)

Here, the published findings of the Census Bureau are in clear contention with the social and political (yet self-described “non-partisan”) statements of an organization it financially supports—an example of the “double logic” of welcome and thinly-veiled exclusion at work in the U.S.

The double logic of (im)migration policy is further reproduced through sanctuary policies and the designation of “sanctuary jurisdictions” across the U.S. In public discourses, sanctuary policies comprise a spectrum of laws, ordinances, and commitments exercised throughout the country¹⁸. Technically, however, sanctuary policies narrowly concern the relationship between local law enforcement agencies and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) (Houston, 2019). To publicly articulate their commitment to (im)migration, top political or institutional officials often declare “sanctuary city” (or campus, county, etc.) status, which does not require a specific legislative action. Although there is no formal or ubiquitous definition of “sanctuary cities,” zones, or jurisdictions (especially internationally), the designation of a space as a sanctuary jurisdiction in the US is usually legislator signaling; it is intended to rhetorically

¹⁸ Bauder and Gonzalez (2018) attempt to clarify the term “sanctuary city” across the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. by establishing their common characteristics, such as: (1) local officials articulate an official commitment to the premise of sanctuary; (2) officials publicly challenge dominant, criminalizing narratives about (im)migration; (3) leaders articulate collective urban membership or identity; and (4) local agencies resist or reject national (im)migration laws.

enshrine spatial identity as a tolerant or “safe” place for primary and secondary migrants, regardless of their migratory status.

The term “sanctuary” in relation to policies, zones, and communities in the U.S. emerged from the Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s (Collingwood & Gonzalez O’Brien, 2019). In response to an increase in migration as a result of civil war, oppression, and violence in Central America, practices of faith-based congregations who sheltered refugees and (im)migrants under threat of deportation grew to encompass “a coalition of religious congregations, local jurisdictions, educational institutions, and even restaurants, that commit to supporting immigrants, regardless of status” (Paik, 2017, p. 5). Rhetorically, these policies aimed to establish social and political commitment to, “valuing immigrants as central members of their communities and protecting them against their increasing criminalisation and threats of deportation by the federal government” (2017, p. 5).

Throughout the 1990s and immediately following 9/11, sanctuary policies shifted from a focus on physical safety and refuge to the social and political incorporation of more diverse “undocumented” and/or asylum-seeking migrants primarily through facilitating trust in local law enforcement agencies. That is, in many communities of “undocumented” and/or asylum-seeking migrants, crimes, violence, and other harms (e.g., domestic violence) were under-reported to law enforcement or related emergency services due to the precariousness of their migratory status. The involvement of police or other officials might result in revealing a community member’s undocumented status, which would in turn result in the involvement of ICE and eventual detention or deportation (Collingwood & Gonzalez O’Brien, 2019). Of course, limited support from emergency services and, arguably, law enforcement compounds the vulnerability of multiply marginalized communities of mixed migratory status. As such, the Sanctuary

Movement shifted from faith-based organizations to sanctuary policies and declarations at the city and county level, followed by other institutions (e.g., university campuses), and, in the case of Oregon and California, states.

With limited exceptions, the issue of sanctuary policies was not discussed much outside the local/regional contexts or the Sanctuary Movement throughout the 1980s and 1990s (see Hughey & Parks, 2014) and therefore did not widely concern public opinion. This abruptly changed in 2015, as the construction of migration as a racial threat to white public safety and wellbeing solidified. That year, Jose Inez Garcia Zarate, a disabled (im)migrant man from Mexico (Egelko, 2020; Maxouris & Watts, 2020), was arrested and jailed for an outstanding warrant, prompting ICE to file a detainer asking that he be held long enough for them to take him into custody for deportation. Because San Francisco is a sanctuary jurisdiction, the detainer was declined and Garcia Zarate was released. Months later, Garcia Zarate discharged a handgun on a San Francisco pier, shooting and killing Kate Steinle, a white woman (Associated Press, 2022). Long-time critics of sanctuary policies blamed Steinle's death on San Francisco's sanctuary policies which allowed for Garcia Zarate's release from jail and, therefore, temporary evasion of deportation. Later that fall, Donald Trump would fuel this firestorm of negatively racializing public and political discourse by condemning sanctuary policies and jurisdictions, and a multitude of political candidates continue to follow in his footsteps (see Gonzalez O'Brien, 2018; Hughey & Parks, 2014; Paik, 2017).

Sanctuary as praxis

The double logic of sanctuary policies decenters the needs and experiences of refugees and (im)migrants whom they are designed to protect. Instead, the deployment, practice, and contentious discourse around sanctuary policies and spaces concern the social and political

power dynamics of white, predominantly class-privileged Americans who benefit from the rhetorical and material positioning of refugees and (im)migrants as racial threats to the status quo. Meanwhile, the endless debate concerning sanctuary policies (and anti-sanctuary policies) can distract local officials and institutions from how they can materially support and collaborate with people presently living at the intersections of migration, race, and disability in their communities. As anti-(im)migration and anti-sanctuary policy and sentiment accelerate (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019), many school-based professionals—especially those in smaller or rural areas—are unaware of their students’ and families’ migratory status, yet end up functioning as first responders to the economic, psychological, and physical distress experienced as a result of surveillance, detention, and deportation (Crawford & Hairston, 2020; Dee & Murphy, 2020).

Houston (2019) disrupts the public construction of sanctuary jurisdiction as a binary state of being (i.e., pro-sanctuary and therefore pro-(im)migrant versus anti-sanctuary and therefore anti-immigrant), instead conceptualizing “sanctuary”—both as policy and place—as a process. He argues that letting sanctuary policies and jurisdictions stand as rigid ideological positions contributes to their narrow reach and limited support of the lives and wellbeing of refugees, (im)migrants, and other marginalized people in communities across the U.S. He argues,

Perhaps the very contradictions embedded within sanctuary, and the troubling of border fixing and the rebordering that it offers, have the potential to build solidarity among residents and lead to altered legislative systems organized around flows and encounters. This could represent a vital move toward instantiating *transformative practices that meet the needs of diverse communities* residing in cities and counties throughout the United States [emphasis added].” (2019, p. 575)

In conceptualizing “sanctuary” as a process of critical reflexivity¹⁹ for local officials and community members alike, I take this idea one step further. It is not enough to continue to attempt to predict “the needs of diverse communities” that officials and institutional professionals aim to address through policymaking. Predicting communities’ needs, rather than proactively bringing communities into discursive and decision-making spaces, merely functions to position refugee and (im)migrant families as objects or targets of policy (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019). Rather, officials and institutional professionals need to reconsider the need for sanctuary in the legislature, the boardroom, city hall, and the district office. In other words, until sanctuary policies and spaces are actively shaped by the community members most affected by them, our communities will continue to be bound by the stifling double logic of (im)migration policy and practice.

Disproportionality

Like the paradoxical conceptualization of “sanctuary” for many through specific, narrowly focused policies, research about disproportionality underscores the tensions of examining broad issues of inequity through building and reinforcing categories and parameters of difference. Disproportionality is a multidimensional problem that refers to “group differences in special education identification, both under- and overidentification, and other outcomes for students from marginalized sociodemographic groups” (Sullivan & Osher, 2019, p. 396). In other words, disproportionality is a way of naming and understanding how student groups are affected by institutional processes like disability identification, school discipline, and education

¹⁹ Critical reflexivity is an interdisciplinary concept and therefore has many meanings. In the context of this study, I draw on Zembylas’ (2014) understanding of critical reflexivity as a “process of self-confrontation” (p. 212). Further, it acknowledges “the tension between, on the one hand, the reflective individual who responds to an immediate context and makes choices to change and...the power relations that influence the reflective process and the individual’s self-critical approach” (p. 212).

placement in comparison with one another. It is merely one of many ways that researchers, policymakers, and school-based professionals attempt to identify and minimize the influence of bias in educational evaluations and decisions.

Some of the earliest discussions of disproportionality as a problem emerged in the early 20th century (e.g., Hollingworth, 1923) and illuminate the surging prevalence of academic tracking and segregated special programs as public education in the U.S. gradually became more diverse through processes of (im)migration, compulsory attendance laws, and racial integration. Within schools and (im)migration centers, “the insinuation of mental disability was conflated with a semiotics of exterior markers” and “undesirable bodies were ‘raced’ as nonwhite, or as disqualified whites” (Dolmage, 2018, p. 17). Here, racialized and linguistically diverse (im)migrant families were read and evaluated through “snapshot diagnoses” (Birn, 1997): the subjective, imprecise process of identifying and labeling deficiency or propensity for future defectiveness. Later on in the mid-20th century, Dunn (1968) critically discussed how the use of intellectual functioning and learning disability labels (e.g., “educable mentally retarded”) in tandem with segregated classes and schools functioned as surreptitious tools to keep students from minoritized racial, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds out of mainstream school spaces in the years following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954; see also Ferri & Connor, 2004; 2005). Although the tools and language of measurement have changed over the years, EB/LADs and their families are still affected by “snapshot diagnoses” and uncritical policy compliance in schools.

In the last 20 years, discussions of disproportionality have shifted to examine newer, different constructions of student categories, including students labeled as “ELLs.” For example, some studies of emergent bilingual students labeled as “ELLs” have shown that these students

are increasingly enrolled in special education programs and are more likely to receive services and placements outside general education settings than “non-ELL” peers (e.g., Rueda & Windmueller, 2006). Once identified as ELLs with disabilities, EB/LADs’ language- and disability-related needs are typically supported by separate service providers in isolation of each other and in segregated environments (e.g., Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). In bilingual education programs, teachers and administrators intentionally and unintentionally conceptualize disability as a disqualification for access to or benefit from bilingual education—that is, “bilingualism [is] for some but not for all” (Cioè-Peña, 2017, p. 908). This is because language-, culture-, racial- and disability-related needs are often conceptualized as discrete areas by (predominantly monolingual and white) school-based professionals (Artiles, 2013; Kangas, 2014; Migliarini et al., 2019).

Disproportionality is a problem in U.S. public schools not because it is inherently wrong to identify with or experience disability; rather, disproportionality poses a problem because it is the result of uncritical implementation of color-evasive, “acultural” policies and practices common in special education (Artiles et al., 2010). Further, disproportionality research has shifted in scope in the last 20 years to yield conflicting conclusions about over- and underrepresentation in addition to essentializing social groups disaggregated from large-scale data sets. For example, much of the disproportionality research related to EB/LADs directly or implicitly focuses on the phenomenon of “misdiagnosis” of broad groups of students, such as “ELL” or “Latinx” without untangling what it means to be labeled an “ELL” or considered “Latinx” in a particular space, place, or time. Amplifying the phenomenon of “misdiagnosis²⁰” without critically addressing how we construct disability or other markers of social and material

²⁰ That is, the ascription of disability when there is none, or the failure to ascribe a disability label when disability is present.

difference reinforces practitioners' insufficient understanding of language learning, disability, and racial bias in special education. As Artiles and Klingner (2006) suggest, scholars could complement extant disproportionality research by exploring what it means to be an EB/LAD within the varied systems and political climates across the U.S., especially as the second language acquisition/disability binary is reinforced by policy and practitioners' knowledge base. Although uncovering the inequities of disproportionality, placement, and ELL classification is important, it is also crucial that scholars recognize the theoretical underpinnings which construct and inform our understanding of disability, race, language, and migratory status.

EB/LAD Parent and Family Experiences

As Turner and Mangual Figueroa (2019) affirm, EB/LAD parents and families are positioned as objects or targets of policy and research at the intersections of migration, education, and belonging, rather than stakeholders who shape or disrupt the policies and practices which affect them. Uncritically emphasizing and deploying (im)migration policies decenters the lived experiences, along with the immediate and long-term needs and aspirations, of refugee and (im)migrant communities. Likewise, disproportionality research which does not adequately explore and address the contextual factors surrounding disproportionality alongside its theoretical underpinnings and contributions fails to move educational policy and practice forward in dismantling inequities for EB/LAD students and families. In a similar vein, prevailing narratives of multiply marginalized parents in politics, public discourses, and schools, which often narrowly construct parents as passive and neglectful or adversarial and noncompliant, are incongruous with empirical studies and first-hand accounts of multiply marginalized parents and families who navigate school spaces and processes in support of their children (Cioè-Peña, 2021a; Huguley et al., 2020).

For example, Cioè-Peña (2021a) illustrated how the relationships between school-based professionals and EB/LAD families can be damaged when schools rigidly and impersonally carry out institutional or procedural actions which directly impact families, such as making reports to Child Protective Services (CPS) or changing special educational services. Other studies, such as Larios and Zetlin (2018), emphasize how EB/LAD parents feel excluded and/or misunderstood by school-based professionals during formal special education processes, such as annual review meetings. EB/LAD families are situated at the intersections of multiple marginalized identities, including race, class, language, and migratory status. As such, EB/LAD families are the most vulnerable to institutional scrutiny, investigation, and surreptitious communication or reporting practices by school-based professionals. Not only does this function to hold EB/LAD families at a sterile distance from their children's schools for the convenience or comfort of school-based professionals; it communicates to families that they do not belong in school spaces, nor should they trust the professionals who work there. Institutional surveillance and surreptitious communication are also barriers to school-based professionals' development of relationships, culturally responsive and sustaining knowledge and practices, and communication skills with families who come from diverse backgrounds. Ultimately, out of concerns for safety and their aspirations for their children's futures, many EB/LAD families report that they comply or acquiesce to the suggestions, demands, or values of school-based professionals, including English-only special education placements—often unintentionally internalizing the same hegemonic beliefs about language and disability (Cioè-Peña, 2020).

On a broader scale, Cioè-Peña (2021b) investigated the disconnects between schools' policies and practices related to remote learning and the experiences of linguistically diverse families supporting EB/LAD children in remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. Not

surprisingly, Cioè-Peña highlighted how remote learning policies focused on providing high-tech devices and digital content without consideration for prior technological literacy and limited access to internet connections sufficient to support an entire family of remote learners. Perhaps a more significant (and maybe unintended) contribution of this study is that it revealed just how unprepared school-based professionals are to relinquish “control” and to collaborate with families as co-teachers once “the home...becomes the school” (2021b, p. 2).

Indeed, formal and informal community-based networks have undoubtedly emerged to fill gaps in services, support, and learning opportunities for multiply marginalized children and families, including EB/LAD and/or refugee families. However, much of this research centers school-based networks and values (e.g., Quinn et al. 2020). Initiatives and practices developed and deployed by school-based professionals prioritize the values and perspectives of predominantly white, monolingual school-based professionals rather than the culturally, racially, and linguistically diverse communities they aim to serve. This results in missing opportunities for critical reflexivity and fruitful collaboration for school-based professionals as well as minoritized groups. In some studies of school, family, and community relationships, schools proactively form partnerships with community-based resource networks to facilitate family engagement in school-based spaces and involvement in school-based processes (e.g., Haines et al., 2015; Valli et al., 2016). However, the lack of critical reflexivity and shared decision-making of school-based administrative leadership results in the top-down messaging of student achievement and compliance which reflect Western cultural values (Huguley et al., 2020).

On the other hand, there are limited examples of collaborative educational experiences which draw upon and sustain non-Western cultural values. In fact, community-based youth programs supported by community-based organizations offer significant learning experiences

and contexts for multiply marginalized youth (Ngo et al., 2017). For example, Ngo, Dyke, and LoBello (2018) draw on Hmong cultural knowledge about social relationships within homes, neighborhoods, and cultural communities to engage Hmong youth in a community-based youth work program focused on grappling with intersectional identity representations and multi-media. The authors explore how centering and sustaining Hmong cultural knowledge and values, such as familial belonging and consensus-building, though program design and implementation was crucial to student and programmatic success. This study also arguably serves as an example of critical culturally sustaining pedagogy, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3 of this manuscript.

Community-based educators engage linguistic, familial, and social capital to support meaningful community-based learning experiences, but there is still a significant misrecognition and/or disconnect between school-based professionals and families from nondominant cultural and racial backgrounds. For example, Pérez Carreón, Drake, and Calabrese Barton (2005) affirm that, “researchers nor the participants (parents, teachers, administrators, and policymakers) shared a common understanding of what was meant by parental involvement” (2005, p. 466). Given the sparse evidence of asset-based and nondominant cultural approaches to cultivating school-community partnerships—or even a shared definition of parental engagement or involvement—engagement with public schools continues to force families and community-based networks into adversarial or reactionary positions to enact change (Auerbach, 2007; McKenna & Millen, 2013). As such, unless institutions, researchers, and school-based professionals amplify the culturally sustaining practices and values of community-based networks and families, parents of emergent bilingual students will continue to experience limited access to vital special education information and processes and, therefore, rights for their children.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I aimed to unravel the tapestry binding EB/LADs and their families in socio-political binaries at the crossroads of migration, disability, policy, and school-based practices to reveal crucial gaps and shortcomings in research, policy, and practice. In academic literature, researchers in the last decade illustrate how school-based professionals uphold and circulate deficit-based, racialized thinking about EB/LADs' disability, language acquisition, and parental participation. This critical EB/LAD research deploys a variety of theoretical frameworks and disciplinary perspectives (e.g., raciolinguistics, bilingual education, English-only immersion), which delineate how EB/LADs and their families experience exclusion from full educational participation and benefit. At the public level, the rhetorical and legislative double logic of sanctuary policy and jurisdiction, like inclusive educational policies, offers unkept promises of acceptance and welcome. Ultimately, sanctuary policy and jurisdiction is more concerned with legislator and constituent signaling and the compliance (or noncompliance) of local and federal officials. In education, disproportionality research functions in tandem with insufficient practitioner training and knowledge to sustain the reductive "language learner/disabled" binary cultivated by uncritical deployment or engagement with disproportionality research. Finally, depictions of EB/LAD parents and families' abilities to engage with school-based professionals on behalf of their children only offer partial or biased narratives of family engagement.

This study offers a community-focused, as opposed to a school-focused, exploration of refugee EB/LAD parent, family, and community-level perspectives of education, disability, and exclusion through institutional processes. Unlike the bulk of research and policy regarding refugee and/or EB/LAD students, families, and communities, this study employs an

intersectional, transdisciplinary framework in an effort to account for multiple dimensions of identity—disability, race, migration, language, culture—simultaneously rather than foregrounding just one element or relying on an essentializing binary. In the next chapter, I outline the transdisciplinary theoretical framework for this study. I explore each of the four theoretical lenses which constituted the conceptual development of this study, as well as how these lenses guided my exploration and analysis of this work.

Chapter 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this study was transdisciplinary and multifaceted, building on the foundational concept of intersectionality. In her formative works around intersectionality, Kimberlé Crenshaw uses intersectionality as a conceptual lens to demonstrate how inequities result from multiple factors, such as race *and* gender discrimination as opposed to race *or* gender discrimination. Focusing on the experiences of Black women, she writes,

...many of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as these boundaries are currently understood, and that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately. (1991, p. 1244)

Intersectionality can be used as an analytical tool to uncover “the influence of power to provide limited frames for people’s multidimensional experiences” (Artiles, 2013, p. 336), especially as dominant groups strive to treat multiple other social categories beyond gender and race (e.g., disability, language status) as mutually exclusive. Intersectionality, then, acknowledges the interaction or infusion of multiple identity markers with power and oppression. The concept of intersectionality is crucial to understanding the lived experiences of parents of EB/LADs because, given their multifaceted social identities, they live qualitatively different school- and community-based experiences than other social groups.

However, as Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays, and Tomlinson (2013) argue, “the theory is never done, nor exhausted by its prior articulations or movements; it is always already an analysis-in-progress” (p. 304). As a commitment to “analysis-in-progress,” I have drawn from three theoretical lenses in the development of this study.

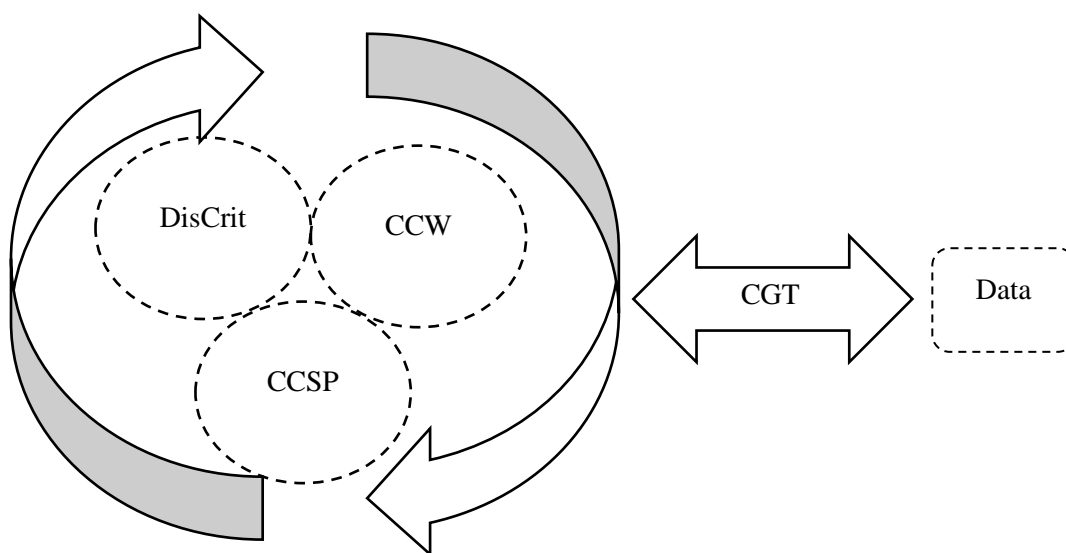
The first lens, Disability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit; Annamma et al., 2013; 2016; Annamma et al., 2022), expands the intersectional framework of identity and oppression by directly addressing and foregrounding race and disability together in multiple ways, rather than relegating one social identity to the periphery of analysis. Because this study was focused on experiences directly tied to racialized and disabled identities, it was critical to engage DisCrit as a lens for research design and data analysis. The second lens, Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005), built on the contributions of DisCrit to this study because it provided a framework for understanding the assets and resource networks of communities of color, including those of refugees and (im)migrants. The third lens, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, emphasized the need for research methods and educational practices which sustain nondominant cultural values while simultaneously pushing back against uncritical circulation of harmful discourses and practices within multiply marginalized communities (Paris & Alim, 2014).

I incorporated these theoretical lenses together as an integrative framework that supported my reading of the data and theoretical construction through critical qualitative analysis; that is, without these lenses, much of what I draw from or bring to the data as the researcher and community outsider (in relation to my participants' communities) would be illegible to me. Further, each theoretical lens on its own is insufficient in supporting my analysis of intersectional experiences and issues. As I address in Chapter 4, I also engaged Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) in this study to support me in mediating my theoretical orientation, positionality, and methodological training throughout the research process. In Figure 1, I provide a graphic representation of how I envision this integrative framework in this study. The three lenses outlined in this chapter are mutually informing in the development of the study, my

training as a researcher, and as analytical tools. The focus of this integrative framework is not to explicate these theoretical lenses, but to draw attention to the ways they inform the present study. These lenses are engaged through Constructivist Grounded Theory, which is represented by a two-sided arrow, to support the connections between the data and extant theories related to EB/LAD student and family experiences.

Figure 1

An Integrative Theoretical Framework



Lens 1: Disability Critical Race Theory

Annamma, Connor, and Ferri's (2013) pivotal work on DisCrit builds on intersectionality as a conceptual lens for understanding interactive and/or compounding oppressions, rather than centering one identity in the foreground (e.g., disability) or dealing with other identity markers only superficially. DisCrit emphasizes the simultaneity of the intersections and relationships between disability and other socially constructed identities, such as refugee and (im)migrant status, thereby potentially looking beyond disability and race. To this end, DisCrit aims to expose deficit-oriented perspectives and ableism in education, analyzing the ways race and

ability are socially constructed and interdependent in the distribution of ability in school spaces (2013). Despite DisCrit's relative lack of specific attention to issues of language, culture, or decoloniality in the framework, research participants' experiences may be humanized—and more comprehensively understood—by this nuanced representation.

The keys to this representation, DisCrit's seven tenets (Table 3), stand as signposts for the ways the theoretical, demographic, technical (Sullivan & Artiles, 2011), and spatial (Thorius, 2019) knowledges of education professionals and scholars stem from hegemonic roots, and how new possibilities for future research might be conceived. While all seven DisCrit tenets informed and supported this study, the theoretical lens of this study specifically engaged tenets two, three, and four.

Table 3

Tenets of DisCrit

Tenet 1	DisCrit is focused on ways that the forces of racism and ableism circulate interdependently, often in neutralized and invisible ways, to uphold notions of normalcy
Tenet 2	DisCrit values multidimensional identities and troubles singular notions of identity such as race <i>or</i> dis/ability <i>or</i> class <i>or</i> gender <i>or</i> sexuality, and so on.
Tenet 3	DisCrit emphasizes the social constructions of race and ability and yet recognizes the material and psychological impacts of being labeled as raced or dis/abled, which sets one outside of the western cultural norms.
Tenet 4	DisCrit privileges voices of marginalized populations, traditionally not acknowledged within research.
Tenet 5	DisCrit considers legal and historical aspects of dis/ability and race and how both have been used separately and together to deny the rights of some citizens.
Tenet 6:	DisCrit recognizes Whiteness and Ability as Property and that gains for people labeled with dis/abilities have largely been made as the result of interest convergence of White, middle-class citizens.
Tenet 7:	DisCrit requires activism and supports all forms of resistance.

Note: Table adapted from Annamma, Connor, and Ferri (2016, p.19)

Tenet three states that DisCrit values multidimensional identities and interrogates singular, deterministic notions of identity. To this end, tenet two acknowledges and affirms that experiences with exclusion and oppression are different across and within groups—and even among individuals within any group—based on their intersecting identity markers. This arguably positions multiply marginalized individuals as knowledge-sources and experts in fields related to intersectionality and oppression, which gives rise to the privileges outlined by tenet four.

DisCrit considers the simultaneity of disability and race as socially constructed “fantasies” (Samuels, 2014) at the same time they are experienced as significant elements of individuals’ lives, especially in relation to the corporeal reality of some disabilities (Hernández-Saca et al., 2018; Liasidou, 2013). However, the significance of race and disability are typically only understood and acknowledged through the firsthand accounts of raced and disabled individuals or in evidence of marginalization at the macro level (e.g., Rueda & Windmueller, 2006; Umansky, 2016).

Finally, DisCrit tenet four recognizes that first-person perspectives of racialized, disabled, and otherwise marginalized individuals and groups are traditionally excluded or overlooked by existing research. As such, the voices of the multiply marginalized are privileged in DisCrit-oriented work. This consideration is crucial to future studies of EB/LADs’ and parents’ experiences, especially as existing methodologies do not adequately engage these perspectives (Trainor et al., 2016; Hernández-Saca et al., 2018). However, where the evolution of DisCrit has fallen short is the consideration of disability as a culture and cultural element worth sustaining. That is, DisCrit does not yet account for the ways experiences are mediated by nondominant cultural practices, values, or language in the ways Critical Culturally Sustaining

Pedagogy engages this approach. As such, although DisCrit contributes an important lens to the design and implementation of this study, additional lenses are needed to effectively conduct this work.

Lens 2: Community Cultural Wealth

While the tenets of DisCrit contributed an important framework for understanding the ways race and disability are interdependently constructed and experienced in schooling contexts, this study is also concerned with the ways parents of EB/LADs access complex social networks of resources within their communities to meet the needs of their children in formal school institutions. As such, while understanding the construction and experience of intersecting social identities is critical to the framing and implementation of this study, it is also important to understand and engage families and community members intentionally as assets to EB/LADs and to formal schooling institutions broadly. To do this, I engaged Yosso's (2005) framework of Community Cultural Wealth as a theoretical lens to support the conceptualization of refugee and (im)migrant resource networks in this study.

Public discourses and education scholarship frequently present children and families of color—including refugee and (im)migrants—as deficient and in need of white intervention, circulating discourses of populations “at risk” or “low income” due to a lack of knowledge, resources, and even motivation to succeed in school and society. At the same time, many scholars and educators use terms like “at risk” or “low income” as proxies for race or culture, even seeking extreme measures to prove that racial and cultural bias are not underlying factors in long-standing educational inequity, especially related to special education (e.g., Morgan et al., 2015). As Crenshaw (1991) affirms, these efforts to remain color-evasive (Annamma et al., 2017) present marginalized social identities, “as vestiges of bias or domination—that is, as

intrinsically negative frameworks in which social power works to exclude or marginalize those who are different” (p. 1242). However, she argues, delineating social differences is not necessarily “intrinsically negative;” rather, naming and engaging these differences can serve as a source of “social empowerment and reconstruction” (1991, p.1242).

The deficit-based construction of marginalized groups, such as refugee and (im)migrant communities, further circulates in scholarship focused on the concept of Cultural Capital. Famously conceptualized by Bourdieu in collaboration with Jean-Claude Passeron (1964a; 1964b), Cultural capital refers to the knowledge held by the white upper- and middle-classes which are reproduced and circulated to maintain the status quo of our hierarchical society. As Patel Stevens (2011) explains,

Bourdieu delineated that favorable positioning in society does, in fact, require capital, but it takes more than one kind of capital. Status in society is connected with the cultural capital (knowledge) and social capital (networks and associations) that will translate to stability and economic capital (money and goods). Within the promise of education as a pathway to a better life is the implicit idea that learning skills and knowledge in school will provide one with the cultural capital, the embodied knowledge that will position them favorably in society. (p. 134)

This Cultural Capital lens reaffirms dominant cultural knowledge as valuable because proficiency therein is necessary to social mobility (i.e., success) for students from marginalized social groups. Likewise, this conceptualization positions nondominant cultural knowledges as less valuable or entirely valueless, as these assets are not necessary to the aspirations of social mobility afforded by mainstream education. Beyond the assumption that dominant cultural knowledge and networks are the only resources which hold value in society, a Cultural Capital

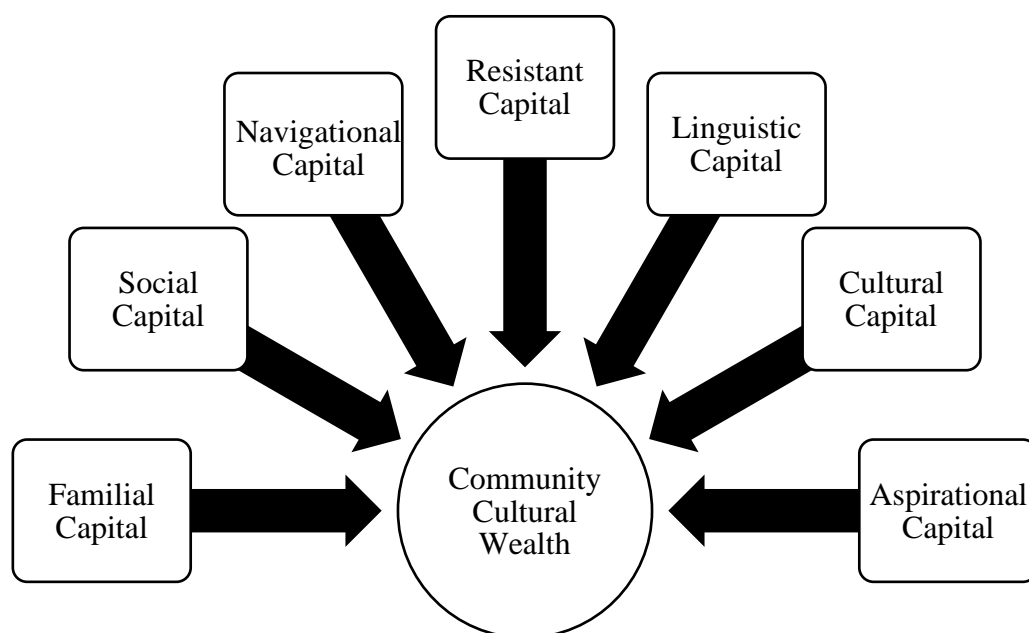
lens assumes that social mobility within the dominant culture and institutions is an aspiration for all social groups. Of course, as Robbins (2005) argues, “we have to recognize the socio-historical contingency of concepts which functioned effectively at one moment but may not necessarily function similarly at a future moment – even when the past conceptualization has in part constituted the present situation.” (p. 27). Furthermore, researchers—especially those who are studying communities to which they do not belong—must,

...ensure that, as social scientists, we are sensitive to the changing market of culture in which we participate and do not deploy the concept of ‘cultural capital’ statically – as an instrument of con-secrated social science – in a way which might consolidate the social inequalities which it originally exposed. (2005, p. 27)

As an example, the concept of Cultural Capital is sometimes interpreted and engaged solely as a racially- or ethnically-bound property. That is, as Erel (2010) argues, researchers conceptualize Cultural Capital as an immutable characteristic of one’s racial or ethnic identity that is transplanted and applied during migration and resettlement experiences. This perspective (re)produces essentializing perspectives of refugees and (im)migrants which erase the nuanced and dynamic processes and characteristics of language, culture, and migration. As a challenge to the deficit views of nondominant social groups afforded by many applications of Cultural Capital, Yosso (2005) proposes a model of Community Cultural Wealth (Figure 2). In this model, communities of color are constructed as places of multiple strengths which comprise and cultivate multiple forms of capital—not just cultural capital (see Table 4). This perspective challenges prevailing scholarship, policy, and pedagogy which enshrine white middle- and upper-class communities as the standard by which other communities must be evaluated.

Table 4*Forms of Capital in Community Cultural Wealth*

Aspirational Capital	Hopes and dreams within a “culture of possibility” (p. 79)
Linguistic Capital	Language, intellectual, and communication skills
Familial Capital	Cultural knowledges nurtured by/among family
Social Capital	Dynamic networks of people and community resources
Navigational Capital	Maneuvering and negotiating through social institutions
Resistance Capital	“Transformative resistant capital includes cultural knowledge of the structures of racism and motivation to transform such oppressive structures” (p. 81)

Figure 2*A Visual Model of Community Cultural Wealth*

Note: Image adapted from Oliver & Shapiro (1995) as cited by Yosso (2005, p. 78)

Whereas existing conceptualizations of Cultural Capital reify a static, cultural mismatch view of marginalized communities which positions such networks as culturally impoverished, Community Cultural Wealth emphasizes the complex, multifaceted, and interactive elements of knowledge and resources which marginalized communities have always cultivated and circulated to survive and resist power. The different forms of capital in this model do not exist in isolation of one another; rather, the elements of Community Cultural Wealth are interdependent and co-constructive. As Yosso explains,

These various forms of capital are not mutually exclusive or static, but rather are dynamic processes that build on one another as part of community cultural wealth. For example...aspirational capital is the ability to hold onto hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dreams a reality. Yet, aspirations are developed within social and familial contexts, often through linguistic storytelling and advice...that offer specific navigational goals to challenge (resist) oppressive conditions. Therefore, aspirational capital overlaps with each of the other forms of capital, social, familial, navigational, linguistic and resistant. (2005, p. 77)

Understanding Community Cultural Wealth was critical to the ways refugee families and networks, as well as the praxis of sanctuary, were conceptualized and engaged in this study. This theoretical lens can provide a foundation for developing a model of Community Cultural Wealth within the refugee and (im)migrant community at the focus of this study. In the following section, I explore Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy as a third theoretical lens, which emphasizes a critical approach to the way community members cultivate and circulate knowledges interdependently. This interdependence is the key to understanding the experiences

and needs of parents of EB/LADs and their community-based networks, particularly in situations where multiple discourses and knowledges must exist (and resist) in tandem and in conflict.

Lens 3: Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy

For refugee and (im)migrant children and families, ubiquitous cultural practices, such as literacy, are often conceptualized using dichotomies, which perpetuate deterministic, hierarchical differences that engender “reductive notions” of culture, thought, and capacity (Gutiérrez et al., 2009). That is, although many activities are practiced across and within cultural groups in diverse ways, when these activities belong to a nondominant social group, they are often devalued or overlooked. Like color-evasion, this allows dominant groups (read: white English-speakers) to focus on introducing (forcing) their own practices to (upon) seemingly deprived nondominant communities rather than addressing the structural inequalities and assumptions which might have created actual crises or needs (usually at the hands of the dominant groups) in the first place.

In their examination of educational risk for nondominant cultural and linguistic communities, Gutiérrez, Morales, and Martinez (2009) emphasize how “[i]ncreased transnational migration, new diasporic communities, and the proliferation of media technologies have resulted in a variety of intercultural activities in which a range of linguistic practices become available to members of nondominant communities” (p. 215). These developments challenge deterministic views of culture in schools, wherein educators practice based on fixed or static conceptualizations of students’ cultures and identities. Such deterministic views of difference and risk, as well as social or academic practices such as literacy, emphasize discourses of deficit and difference which also circulate in academic communities focused on EB/LADs. These ideologies promote—both directly and indirectly—the deculturation of EB/LADs within

clinical/educational settings designed to remediate deficits and “fix” children “at risk” of persisting in their culturally-mediated patterns of behavior (2009).

In Cultural Mismatch Theory, cultural determinism and other static notions of cultural, linguistic, and racial identity focus on culture as a noun without accounting for variance and regularity (i.e. temporal and spatial elements) of cultural practices across and within groups and individuals. Many institutional mechanisms of education subscribe to Cultural Mismatch Theory because U.S. schools persistently focus on identifying children in terms of categories emerging from the culture of U.S. schools themselves. In this system, students who do not meet universal educational standards comprise the “mismatch” group because they: a) have inherent character deficiencies; b) come from a family who, due to their cultural deficiencies, did not adequately prepare them for school; c) are part of a system structurally ill-designed to meet their individual needs; or d) have a cultural background that is so different from the school’s culture that they are determined to fail academically (Gutiérrez et al., 2009).

From Culturally Relevant to Culturally Sustaining

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) emerged in response to scholarship investigating the linguistically affirming practices of teachers working in small, highly contextualized educational settings with racially, culturally, and linguistically minoritized students (e.g., Native Hawaiians²¹; e.g., Au & Jordan, 1981; Mohatt & Erickson, 1981). These early studies made connections between the role of classroom-based speech and language interactions in student success or failure (i.e., language as a medium of instruction as

²¹ The term “Native Hawaiian” is widely preferred among aboriginal Hawaiians to emphasize the distinction between themselves from other racial, ethnic, or cultural groups who occupy or inhabit Hawai’i who often appropriate the term “Hawaiians” as a broad, inclusive category. To many Native Hawaiians, the persistent use of the term “Hawaiians” in reference to all residents of Hawai’i rather than the aboriginal people and/or citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom functions to erase or obscure the occupation of and violence against the Hawaiian Kingdom and Native Hawaiians through time (see Parkhomchuk, 2021; Snyder-Frey, 2013). However, like all diverse groups of people, there are, of course, within-group differences and practices in self- and group-identifying language.

well as a product of instruction) and offered prototypical concepts of cultural appropriateness, congruence, or compatibility (Ladson-Billings, 1995). However, they did not account for structural power dynamics—especially those affecting Black students in the U.S. Ladson-Billings (1995) emphasized the importance of acknowledging and resisting structural and institutional power dynamics while simultaneously delineating what happens—or what can happen—at the microsocial level of classroom praxis. As such, she outlined three criteria of CRP at the microsocial level: “an ability to develop students academically, a willingness to nurture and support cultural competence, and the development of a sociopolitical or critical consciousness” (p. 483). Taking a broader theoretical perspective, Ladson-Billings also offered three “propositions” to conceptualize a spectrum or range of CRP in teachers:

- the conceptions of self and others held by culturally relevant teachers,
- the manner in which social relations are structured by culturally relevant teachers,
- the conceptions of knowledge held by culturally relevant teachers. (1995, p. 478)

In other words, CRP aims to address the deficit-based pedagogies and values which contribute to academic failure or assimilation of Black students. Instead, teachers engaging CRP recognize students’ identities and knowledges as assets which belong in the classroom. Further, culturally relevant teachers and researchers recognize how CPR underlies how students’ identities and knowledges are integrated into classroom curriculum, procedures, and goals.

Much like Bourdieu’s Cultural Capital, it is important to consider the historical, social, and political crossroads through which theoretical concepts emerge. Crucially, Ladson-Billings conceptualized CRP as a praxis of educational theorizing rather than educational reform. At the time, Ladson-Billings critiqued the tendency of educational researchers and policymakers to initiate reform or scholarly projects without making explicit the theoretical underpinnings.

Without a North Star (Love, 2019), educational policy reform, school-level reforms, and educational research ignores the relationships between the structural, institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal.

Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy. Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP) emerged as a respectful critique of how CRP had been adopted and developed through research, teacher education, and educational reform. For example, Paris (2012) articulated how CRP had in some ways contributed to the stagnation or appropriation of nondominant cultures and knowledges at the hands of educators. He argued that it is possible to be “relevant to something or responsive to it without ensuring its continuing presence in a student’s repertoires of practice” (p. 95). Paris proposed that educators should instead aim to be culturally *sustaining*. *Sustaining* requires educators and researchers to be,

“more than responsive of or relevant to the cultural experiences and practices of young people - it requires that they support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence...as part of the democratic project of schooling.” (2012, p. 95)

Therefore, CSP focuses on culture as dynamic and evolving rather than fixed.

Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy. Going further, Paris and Alim (2014) provide a loving critique of asset pedagogies and CSP, advocating instead for a Critical CSP which sustains participants’ cultures, while addressing harmful elements of those cultural identities and practices. Ultimately, Critical CSP aims to support participants’ cultural identities by sustaining “traditional and evolving ways they are lived and used by young people” (p. 91).

Paris and Alim argue that “rather than avoiding problematic practices or keeping them hidden beyond the White gaze, CSP must work with students to critique regressive

practices...and raise critical consciousness” (2014, p. 92). Using the example of Hip Hop pedagogy, they explain that many existing asset-based pedagogies do not teach students—from dominant and nondominant groups—to be culturally or linguistically flexible because they do not effectively deal with problematic student discourse and internalized hegemonic values. This is especially important in an era of increasing transnational migration and communication among multiply marginalized groups (Gutiérrez, Morales, & Martinez, 2009). As Paris and Alim explain, “cultural and linguistic recombinations flow with purpose, [and] we need pedagogies that speak to this new reality” (2014, p. 92).

Although extant literature focused on Critical CSP present critical contributions to an expansive understanding of culture in schools, disability and cultural knowledge and identity remain undertheorized. For example, Gutiérrez, Morales, and Martinez (2009) critique the notion that culturally and linguistically diverse and/or students of color are constructed as “at risk” of disability identification or academic failure because of their cultural identities, but do not contend with the realities of disability as experiences worth sustaining and exploring among multiply marginalized students. While Critical CSP provides an important theoretical lens for this study in terms of engaging participants’ cultural identities through data collection and analysis, it does not validate or center disability as it is currently conceptualized in existing literature focused on EB/LADs. Before disability can be sustained or interrogated by Critical CSP, educators and researchers need to develop a critical, asset-based foundational understanding and approach to disability and its intersections with other identities and forms of oppression. As such, the theoretical lens of DisCrit, in partnership with Community Cultural Wealth, was used as an integrative framework for the critical reflexive praxis of sanctuary for EB/LADs which emerged from the findings of the present study.

Conclusion

In this study, I combined elements of DisCrit with Community Cultural Wealth and Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy to form a transdisciplinary integrative framework (Figure 1). The evolving framework of DisCrit has provided a strong foundation for this exploration of parent and community-based experiences regarding disability, education, and institutional processes, particularly since its tenets position multiply marginalized individuals as experts whose knowledges and behavior can be treated as social and political actions. Further, DisCrit clearly engages race and disability in tandem without extricating one from the other to emphasize inequity; rather, DisCrit acknowledges the socio historical codependency of these signifiers. DisCrit in and of itself, however, is incomplete in that it does not yet contend with the question of the sustainability (and value of sustaining) disability as a marker and element of identity.

Research and policy regarding EB/LADs often seek to extricate either culture from disabled identities or disability from cultural or racial identity through the manufacture of broad education labels and assessment. This makes it easier for professionals to articulate arguments regarding the racialization (or lack of racialization) of disability (Artiles, 2013) or the efficacy of an intervention (e.g., Bal, 2018; Gutiérrez et al., 2009). Further, when social models of disability are implemented in this type of scholarship, the corporeal realities of disability are disregarded or rewritten (Liasidou, 2013).

The work of Paris and Alim (2014) regarding Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy alongside the Community Cultural Wealth converge with DisCrit into a strong network of theoretical lenses to explore the experiences of parents of EB/LADs seeking resources and connections to access vital educational processes in community-based contexts. First, Critical

CSP and Community Cultural Wealth help educators and researchers see culture in non-deterministic ways, but rather as a dexterous, cross-pollinating element that mediates participants' experiences across contexts. Further, Critical CSP emphasizes the collective responsibility of participants (and for participants) in challenging internalized hegemonic values or language across cultures and contexts.

Finally, although DisCrit provides a critically important background for understanding oppression in the wake of sociohistorical processes, it must be placed in conversation with Critical CSP and Community Cultural Wealth when used as a framework for professional learning and academic research. Although disability is acknowledged by Disability Studies scholars as a consequential element of identity, it is often not positioned as something that should be sustained as a cultural identity—even in nondominant cultural communities. Disability is also not made central in existing curricula, pedagogies, or research—particularly for EB/LADs and their families, whose experiences are often mediated by dynamic, non-Western or non-dominant cultural and linguistic norms and values. In the work of understanding and supporting EB/LADs and their families, as well as multiply marginalized communities' experiences and knowledges related to disability, it is crucial that researchers, practitioners, and policymakers adopt a pluralistic and affirming approach to disability. In many ways, EB/LADs and their families live transnational, translingual, and transcultural lives. As such, our expanding knowledge and praxis around disability must be able to account for the ways that disability can be and result from transnational, translingual, and transcultural experience. In this study, I highlight how participants grapple with restrictive, dominant cultural and institutional definitions of disability which devalued or isolated the characteristics and experience of being disabled for multiply marginalized people. The findings of this study contribute to the theoretical expansion, critique,

and cross-pollination of DisCrit toward aspirations for ability pluralism in scholarly and praxical work focused on educating people with disabilities.

In the next chapter, I explain how I used the integrative theoretical framework presented in this chapter in tandem with Constructivist Grounded Theory in the research design and methodology for this study.

Chapter 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs and their networks of community-based educators and resources. Although there is a small—yet growing—body of research focused on the school-based experiences of parents of EB/LADs navigating special education processes (e.g., Cheatham & Lim-Mullins, 2018; Cioè-Peña, 2020; Larios & Zetlin, 2018), this study contributes a home- and community-based perspective to these experiences because many school-based processes and resources are inaccessible and culturally unresponsive to refugee and (im)migrant families (Ijalba, 2015; Kalyanpur & Harry, 2012). Taking this approach to the exploration of EB/LAD education centers cultural practices and values which are often unaddressed or peripherally acknowledged in existing scholarship of the EB/LAD education contexts. Further, taking a home- and community-based approach to this study, rather than a school-based approach, through a variety of qualitative methods more directly addresses how and under what circumstances parents of EB/LADs access *community*-based networks to address educational gaps for their children labeled as disabled, as well as their needs related to the formal schooling context in ways that are often invisible(ized) in (by) the formal schooling context. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs as they navigate disability, education, and institutional processes?
2. How do community-based education networks assess and address the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs?

The integrative theoretical framework (Figure 1) guided my conceptual design, approach, and positionality to this work. However, the major research structures and processes for this project

drew heavily on Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014). To this end, the analysis I conducted engages the theoretical lenses used to design study to expand the extant concepts already known in order to further build theory.

Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) is a grounded theory method which directly acknowledges researchers' subjectivity and involvement in the collection, interpretation, and presentation of data (Charmaz, 2014). Like other grounded theory methods, CGT provides an inductive, open-ended approach to analysis in which action and meaning are foregrounded. However, CGT is critically different in researchers' engagement in theory *construction* through data analysis rather than theory application to or description of the data. That is, the goal of the researcher is to provide an analytical product, not merely a descriptive account (2014). To do this, CGT researchers read their data *through* the theoretical frameworks relevant to their field of study and training without necessarily being bound by (or to) the extant concepts of those frameworks. As such, CGT serves researchers by grounding them in the nuanced local contexts of their participants and data, thereby supporting the investigation of ecological factors and practices which concern equity and experience for EB/LADs and their families (Charmaz, 2020). Although it adopts many of the same methodological practices and strategies as other grounded theory methods, such as coding, memo-writing, and theoretical sampling, CGT is crucially different from other grounded theory methods because it, "also locates the research process and product in historical, social, and situational conditions" rather than narrowly focusing on individuals and individual analysis (Charmaz, 2017, p. 34-35).

In this chapter, I begin with an overview of the participants and methods used in this project, including the chronological steps and phases of the study. I illustrate how the design and methodology changed during (and as a result of) the COVID-19 pandemic (Kholey & Dhole,

2020). Then, I provide an in-depth description of the setting and participants, followed by a discussion of the data collection and analysis processes. Rather than provide a separate critical positionality statement, my positionality as a researcher and how it related to the present study is infused throughout the manuscript. Ultimately, the design and methodology work in partnership with the integrative theoretical framework (Figure 1) to follow, “points of departure for studying the empirical world while retaining the openness for exploring it” through sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1969) which “guide, but do not command inquiry” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 30-31).

Sensitizing concepts give rise to themes which emerge through iterative processes and in conversation with extant concepts. Through this, I ensure that the findings amplify the voices of participants by co-constructing meaning through data collection and analysis processes, rather than speaking for them. That is, as Charmaz (2020), affirms, “our participants can be crucial publics who we try to hear, not for whom we speak” (p. 166).

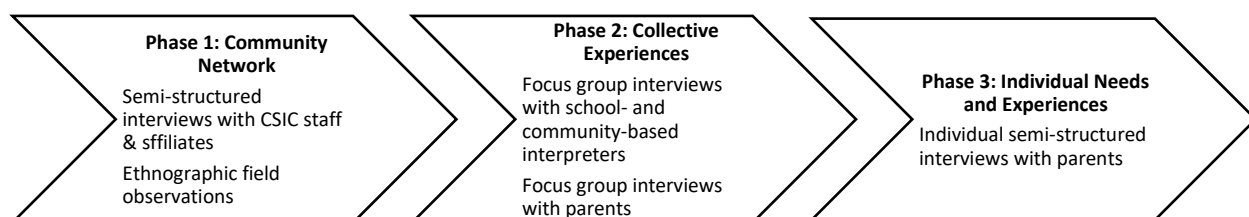
Research Design and the COVID-19 Pandemic

This study was originally designed in the autumn of 2019 and submitted for approval through the Office of Integrity and Research Protections Institutional Review Board process in January 2020. Of course, these were the early months of what would eventually be known as the COVID-19 Pandemic, which continues to change, limit, and shift educational research and practice globally at the time of this writing (DeMatthews et al., 2020; Pourtskhvanidze, 2020). The original design and methodology of the study relied heavily on physical access to participants and community spaces (see Figure 3). At the time, my training as a researcher supported the idea that physical presence was necessary to be, “fully present during the interview and deep inside the content afterward,” thereby validating my “participant’s humanity” (Charmaz, 2010, p. 981). As such, this study initially focused on two participant groups residing

in Central Springs, a mid-sized city located in Upstate New York. The first group included refugee parents or family members of emergent bilingual²² children who were: (a) already labeled with disabilities at the start of the study; or (b) currently under referral for special education services at the start of the study. The sampling for this study was meant to include mothers, fathers, and other custodial guardians, such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, or older siblings, who identified as refugees or (im)migrants. As such, refugees in the sampling category of “parent” needed to have at least one child who qualified as an emergent bilingual student with a disability label or an in-progress special education referral to be considered for this study.

Figure 3

Chronological Sequence of the Original Phases of the Study



The second group of participants was intended to include individuals who identify as refugees or (im)migrants in Central Springs who work or volunteer in the following areas: interpretation and translation, case management and social work, education and tutoring, organization and administration, and faith-based supports and services. In addition, non-refugee and –(im)migrant participants were also considered and selected for this study. These non-refugee and –(im)migrant individuals were to be referred to me by refugee participants in order

²² For the purpose of this study, which takes place in New York State, the term “emergent bilingual” refers to public school children enrolled in kindergarten through grade 12 who have been labeled as “English language learners” based on their scores on either the New York State Identification Test for English Language Learners (NYSITELL) if they are newly enrolled students or the most recent administration of the New York State English as a Second Language Achievement Test (NYSESLAT).

to be considered on a case-by-case basis depending on their role and experience in the community.

This original design also relied on a variety of qualitative methods to engage participants in discussions focused on their needs and lived experiences related to educating, supporting, and parenting EB/LADs and/or providing resources related to accessing educational resources such as interpretation, social support, or training. Qualitative methods, such as semi-structured intensive interviews (Charmaz, 2014), offer a supportive, responsive approach to data collection because they provide a direction for discussion and questioning and can yield unexpected or unanticipated relationships or themes (O'Donoghue, 2007). This was especially important in terms of my positionality as a white, U.S.-born outsider who, through my professional work as a teacher of emergent bilingual children, has been complicit in the systemic oppression of this community (Warren, 2000). Further, as Ijalba (2015) affirms, qualitative methods have often been useful in exploring parents' understanding of disability and language development because such methods support the *co*-construction of family-centered frameworks of culture, disability, and aspirations.

The original design and methodology included individual semi-structured interviews with CSIC staff and affiliates, ethnographic field research conducted at community-based education centers (Emerson et al., 2011), and focus group interviews (Madriz, 2000). I chose these multiple data collection methods to provide a comprehensive corpus of data from which I would have been able to cultivate an in-depth perspective of parents' needs and experiences in accessing vital education processes and develop a model of the resource networks parents of EB/LADs access following Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth model (2005). I wanted multiple data sources to support the triangulation and validity of the findings through participants' "feelings, actions, and

intentions as well as the contexts and structures of their lives” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 23) which might not be revealed in a single data source alone.

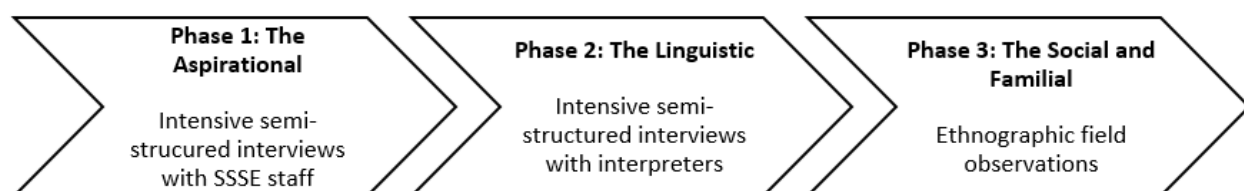
The original design followed three data collection phases centered by data source types as illustrated in (Figure 3). However, as the COVID-19 pandemic relentlessly spread across the U.S. and the rest of the world, institutions, schools, and community centers strictly limited or completely suspended any in-person activities at the advisement of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2021). The need for physical distancing and in-home isolation as a result of the highly transmissible SARS-CoV-2—the virus which causes COVID-19—meant that I would not be able to collect data in-person for an indefinite period. As I discuss in a later section of this chapter, this significantly impacted my approach to sampling, acquiring participant consent, and building relationships with participants.

As seen in Figure 4, the revised design included three phases of data collection which took on a more thematic focus rather than types of data sources. In the first phase, I relied on the connections and relationships I had made prior to the institutional restrictions on in-person research activities to explore the aspirations of community-based educators working with EB/LADs in Central Springs. In addition to the ethnographic field observations I was able to conduct before the widespread shut-down due to COVID-19, I conducted intensive semi-structured interviews through Zoom, a web-based video conferencing platform. Through working with the participants in Phase 1, I was referred to or connected with potential participants for Phase 2. In Phase 2, I conducted intensive semi-structured interviews predominantly with interpreters and community-based educators who were focused on language-related work and initiatives in the community. Finally, in Phase 3, I was invited by three participants to conduct ethnographic field observations at their summer youth education program

organized through CSIC. Thanks to relaxed–yet still in-effect–COVID-19 restrictions, this in-person education program took place either outdoors or in an exceptionally well-ventilated community center with masking requirements.

Figure 4

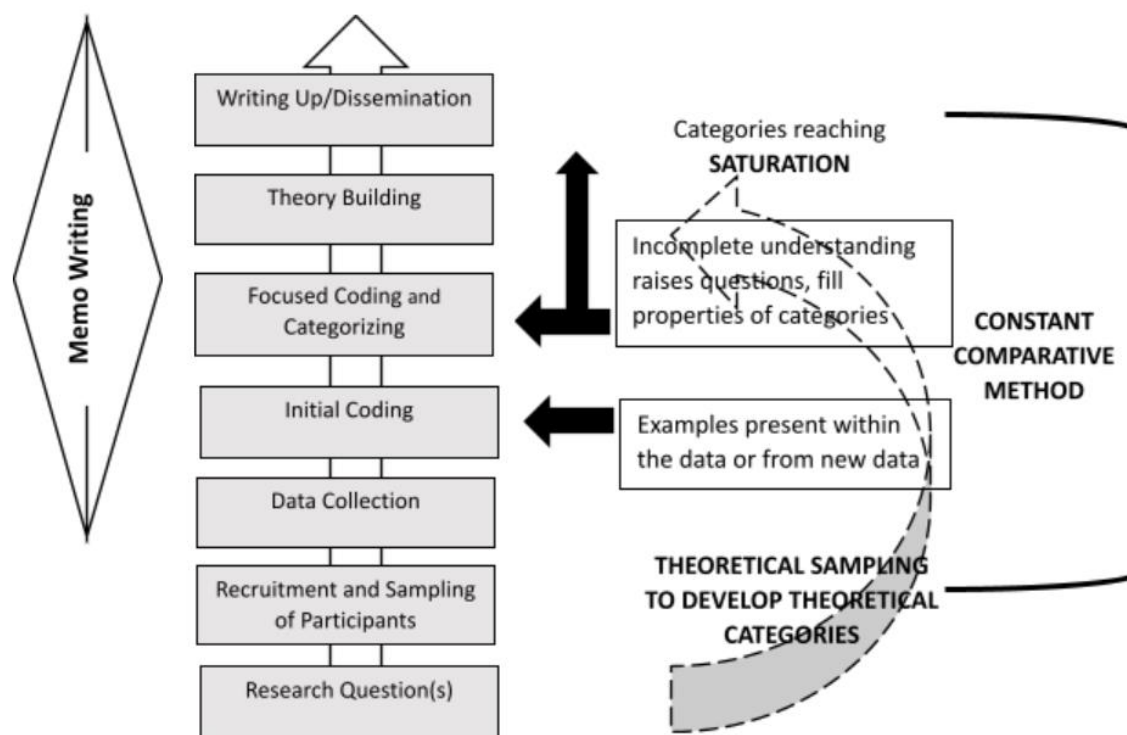
Chronological Sequence of the Actual Phases of the Study



Following the model provided by Tweed and Charmaz (Figure 5), each phase of the study included an iterative analytical process wherein data collection, analysis, and memo writing comprised a constant comparative method (2011). This, as Charmaz (2014) affirms, helped, “add new pieces to the research puzzle or conjure entire new puzzles *while we gather data*” (p. 25, emphasis in original). This is a central value of Constructivist Grounded Theory, since researchers who draw on this methodological framework aim to study how codes, themes, and, eventually, theory emerge from the data.

Figure 5

Visual Representation of Constructivist Grounded Theory



Note: Image adapted from Tweed and Charmaz (2011, p. 133), as cited by Charmaz (2014, p. 18)

Setting

This study took place in the mid-sized sanctuary city of Central Springs in Upstate New York, which is located on ancestral lands that are part of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy²³. Central Springs, like similar cities across New York State, is situated in the Rust Belt—a constellation of post-industrial U.S. cities. Since the mid-20th century, Rust Belt cities have been subjected to steady decline in employment opportunities, divestment, fair housing, and opportunity for all residents (Streissguth, 2020).

²³ I want to respectfully acknowledge the Haudenosaunee and the Nation on whose lands the setting for this study is located. However, I am obligated to protect the identities and potentially identifiable information of the participants of this study and, therefore, cannot specifically name that Nation.

Although Central Springs residents of different racial backgrounds and migratory status have always experienced stark differences in opportunity and wellbeing in the area exacerbated by the physical and political divisions of the city into four quadrants: Northside, Southside, Eastside, and Westside. CSIC's primary community center, which was one of the research sites and my primary point of connection to participants in this study, is located in a Southside neighborhood consisting of a squat, brick public housing complex where many of the families at the center of this study reside. This public housing complex straddles each side of a highway viaduct inhibiting pedestrian or cyclist access and is nestled within a sprawling nexus of towering medical services buildings and high-rise parking garages. Without access to a car or opportunities for financial mobility, the fates of the residents of the Southside quadrant are effectively sealed within the stark, concrete beams and gusts of debris and exhaust of the highway.

Like many Rust Belt cities in Upstate New York, Central Springs experienced an increased flow of refugee resettlement which started in 2001. Between 2001 and 2012, roughly 7,000 refugees arrived in Central Springs from countries such as Cuba, Burma/Myanmar²⁴, Sudan, Bhutan, and Nepal. This number does not include "secondary migrants"²⁵ who are also considered part of the refugee and (im)migrant communities there. As such, Central Springs draws a significant number of children and families from a wide range of linguistic, cultural, and racial identities to the city's schools. For example, the Central Springs School District's website reports that over 70 different languages are spoken by its students; Spanish, Somali, Arabic, and

²⁴ I use both "Myanmar" and "Burma" to reflect the ongoing social and political conflicts surrounding the naming and of this polity in the wake of British colonialism, as well as the local cultural significance and reference to Burma/Myanmar in Central Springs. For more information, see Ra and Ju (2021) and Luyt (2017).

²⁵ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines secondary migrants as refugees initially resettled elsewhere but who, for a variety of reasons, relocate to be closer to family, economic opportunities, or cultural communities (Ott, 2011).

Karen representing the four most frequently documented in student files. However, like most public schools across the U.S., Central Springs School District’s faculty and staff are predominantly white and monolingual English-speakers (NCES, 2020; NCES, 2010).

Central Springs is situated as a “sanctuary” jurisdiction—a designation which enshrines its identity as a resettlement hub for primary and secondary migration (CIS, 2020; MPI, 2007). Although there is no formal or ubiquitous definition of “sanctuary” cities or jurisdictions (i.e., counties), sanctuary policies²⁶ comprise a spectrum of processes and commitments exercised throughout the U.S. (Houston, 2019). At the same time, such policies are often constructed by (usually anti-immigrant) opponents—including the last three presidential administrations²⁷—as unpatriotic and detrimental to local public safety and national security (Gardner, 2019; see also Migliarini et al., 2022). The common argument underlying most iterations of sanctuary policies is that the federal government cannot obligate or force local jurisdictions to take part in immigration enforcement. However, as Houston (2019) argues, the contestation of the definition and regulation of what a sanctuary place or policy *is*—as well as the turbulent public discourses embracing and decrying sanctuary policies—reveals how highly contextualized and ideological—and, as I argue throughout this study, praxical—sanctuary status is. For example, during the Trump administration, the presidential administration in power at the time of this study, sanctuary policies either increased or strengthened across the U.S. This growth happened despite the administration’s attempts to retaliate or to sow division and distrust of such policies and places (ILRC, 2019).

²⁶ For accessible information on sanctuary policies, see <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/sanctuary-policies-overview>

²⁷ The last three presidential administrations at the time of this study include those of George W. Bush (2001-2009), Barack Obama (2009-2017), and Donald Trump (2017-2021).

I selected Central Springs as the setting for this study for multiple reasons. First, although located in the same state, mid-sized cities across Upstate New York share much more in common with each other than New York City, the largest city in the state. For example, like other mid-sized cities across the state, there are significantly fewer bilingual (e.g., dual language or transitional bilingual education) education programs publicly available to children and families in Central Springs than there are in New York City (NYSED, 2020). In Central Springs, there are three Spanish dual language or transitional bilingual education programs available. In contrast, as of 2017, there were roughly 399 estimated Spanish dual language and transitional bilingual education programs in New York City (NYC Open Data, 2017). Instead, Central Springs mostly offers immersive, English-only language education and support (i.e., ENL) following CR Part-154 (NYSED, 2015a; 2015b). This means, in practice, refugee and (im)migrant families in Central Springs have fewer options for culturally and linguistically sustaining education for their children²⁸--especially those who do not speak Spanish as their primary language (NYSED, 2018). The lack of bilingual education resources also affects the availability of school-based professionals to provide any sort of language support for refugee and (im)migrant families. In fact, according to multiple participants, emergent bilingual students are often called upon by teachers and administrators to interpret or translate confidential or otherwise sensitive information for their peers' parents when language support was unavailable.

The city school system in Central Springs enrolled over 3,500 emergent bilingual students K-12 as of the 2019-2020 school year, with approximately 15% of emergent bilingual students being labeled as disabled (NYSED, 2020). The children of all refugee parents who

²⁸ The language of CR Part-154 and its corresponding guidance document, *The Blueprint for ELL/MLL Success* promise access to culturally and linguistically affirming instruction and support, but with inconsistent implementation and results. For more information, see Migliarini and Stinson (2021).

qualified as participants for this study attend CSSD, and many of the participants are graduates or former students of CSSD. My personal and professional connection to schools throughout Upstate New York significantly supported recruitment and selection of participants, which were hindered by the public health restrictions of the COVID-19 pandemic. I was also able to engage this knowledge to support my interactions and connections with participants during interviews and field observations. Further, as a researcher aiming to engage the tenets of DisCrit through Constructivist Grounded Theory research, this connection was instrumental in grounding me in the specific context of this study.

Participants

The participants in this study (Table 5) comprise a purposeful sample, as the purpose is to provide insight into life in a specific social context (Chase, 2010). I began recruitment through CSIC, where I had been volunteering or working part-time since 2017. Prior to the widespread shut-down and ensuing restriction of in-person activities during COVID-19, I frequently visited CSIC's Southside community center to post parent recruitment flyers and conduct ethnographic field observations. This led to many positive introductions and interactions with potential participants. Once it became unsafe and/or prohibited to physically access the Southside center and other community spaces, this sampling method became unsuccessful. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed a wide variability in technology access and literacy among refugee and (im)migrant families which has caused significant stress and hardship to the dynamics of home and home-school relationships (Sayer & Braun, 2020).

As I observed school-, community-, and home-based learning systems shift from a state of chaos to a state of complexity (Richmond et al., 2020), I saw the need to “pause” data collection (Patel, 2016; Richmond et al., 2020) in order to proceed with recruitment and data

collection in a way which upheld and honored the humanity of my participants in a pandemic (Charmaz, 2020). I made the decision to prioritize sampling and recruitment of community-based educators and interpreters for individual interviews. Following the advisement of my earliest participants, I did not want to pressure parents or caregivers who were already burdened with new obligations and educational debt because of the pandemic. So, I started with specific staff members to whom I was referred by Hassen and other colleagues whom I had met through my work at the center. Because I had become a trusted member of the community at CSIC, I was still able to recruit from a tight-knit network of community-based educators and interpreters through email.

Table 5

*Participant Backgrounds*²⁹

Name ³⁰	Race	Language(s)	Gender	Role in Community
Aaden	African or Black	Somali English	Male	Educational Youth Program Coordinator Adult Education Program Coordinator School-based Mental Health Specialist
Aimee	Asian	*	Female	Educational Youth Program Coordinator
Amadu	Black/African American	Bassa English	Male	Education Assistant
Barwaaqo	Black	Somali Arabic English	Female	Youth Program Coordinator

²⁹ A shaded row denotes that a participant shared during intensive semi-structured interviews that they identified as disabled and/or a parent of an EB/LAD child.

³⁰ All names of participants and places in this study are pseudonyms.

Dhyansh	Asian	Nepali English Hindi	Male	Case Manager Former School-Based Interpreter
Hamzh	Black	Somali Kizigua Swahili English	*	Interpreter
Helene	White	English	Female	Education Program Director
Jawala	*	Nepali Sign Language American Sign Language** English (read/write)	*	Interpreter
Laura	White/Caucasian	English	Female	Education Program Director
Maura	White	English American Sign Language Nepali Sign Language**	*	Interpreter
Momolu	African/African American	Bassa English	Male	Teen Coordinator
Ranjana	*	Nepali Sign Language American Sign Language English (read/write)	*	Interpreter Educator Advocate

* Indicates data missing or not explicitly provided by the participant

** Indicates that the participant reported emergent or developing proficiency in this language

Table 5 offers a brief snapshot of each participant, including how they racially identified themselves on their demographic forms prior to the interview. The racial representation in this study closely resembles that of CSSD and, in particular, students labeled as English language

learners in CSSD (NYSED, 2020). However, Spanish-speaking participants and/or participants identifying as Hispanic, (Afro)/Latine, and/or Chicanx³¹ were not successfully recruited for this study. Black participants articulated their racial identity using combinations of “Black,” “African,” and/or “African American”—seemingly intertwining their racial and migratory status. Of the 12 participants, five spoke about their experiences as a person with a disability and/or their experiences as a parent of a child with a diagnosed or suspected disability during their individual interviews. Eight participants identified as first-generation refugees, with four graduating from high school in CSSD. Two other participants had tried to attend—or, as one participant remembered in her interview, was forcibly subjected to—adult education for refugees through the school district, but instructors and district officials refused, ignored, or overlooked their disability-related needs. Only three participants—Hamzh, Dhyansh, and Aaden—worked or had worked for CSSD with children labeled as disabled and/or their families.

Starting with my contacts at CSIC, I recruited six participants in Phase 1. These participants were all community-based educators facilitating programs for children and youth between the ages of four and 21. Then, in Phase 2, I recruited six additional participants whose primary work focused on interpretation and translation in addition to some form of community-based education. Of all 12 participants, three were white, U.S.-born women who worked closely alongside refugee and (im)migrants in the community. Only one of these women was multilingual (English, ASL, and emergent NSL), whereas the other two were monolingual English-speakers. I decided to include the perspectives of white community outsiders to contribute data related to how Community Cultural Wealth might be conceptualized by school-based professionals and other community outsiders who, according to NCES (2020), are

³¹ I use these three terms to reflect the multiple identities—racialized, gendered, colonized—erased by the commonly used racial category of “Hispanic/Latino.”

overwhelmingly white, female, monolingual English-speakers. Non-refugee or -(im)migrant participants shared insight into how outsider communities could conceptualize refugee and (im)migrant networks in Central Springs. I felt that this was valuable in devising recommendations for future research and initiatives related to developing partnerships between community networks and formal institutions which do not possess critical insider cultural knowledge or resources.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred across 17 months from 2020-2021. Although an original research design was initiated with different methods and sampling techniques across the three phases, the safety precautions and public health guidelines regarding COVID-19 at the time of the study required a drastic shift in research scope, recruitment, sampling, and data collection. As such, Phases 1 and 2 shifted focus to intensive, semi-structured interviews. Phase 3 focused on ethnographic field observations. In the following subsections, I illustrate how, starting with Phase 1, each subsequent phase of the study emerged from what I learned from the previous phase.

Phase 1: The Aspirational

I began Phase 1 according to the original plan illustrated in (Figure 3) with individual semi-structured intensive interviews and four hours of ethnographic field observations on-ground at the CSIC Southside community center. Once COVID restrictions prohibited physical access to the community center in March 2020, I shifted Phase 1 (Figure 4) to focus on intensive, semi-structured interviews with CSIC staff I had already met or had already been connected to through email. This included Aaden, Aimee, Laura, Amadu, Momolu, and Helene. The aim of these interviews was to gain insight into the cultivation of Community Cultural Wealth in the Central

Springs refugee and (im)migrant community by individuals from that community. However, to remain accountable to the values of Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy and DisCrit, the interview protocols needed to provide an open interactional space which combined flexibility and control so that the conversation is meaningful for both the researcher and the participant (Charmaz, 2014). This also provided a direction for discussion and questioning to yield unexpected or unanticipated relationships or themes from the perspective of the researcher (O'Donoghue, 2007).

Following these parameters, my interview protocol followed a typical intensive interview progression, beginning with initial open-ended questions, then intermediate and ending questions (Charmaz, 2014, p. 67). Since all participants agreed to be recorded, I was able to take notes during interviews as well. This was particularly helpful in promoting cross-cultural understanding, as I was able to capture qualitative descriptions of gestures, facial expressions, and tone the participants used—and, when an interview was mediated by a sign language interpreter, how participants communicated and collaborated with the interpreter and the researcher.

In Phase 1, interview questions focused on the social and professional backgrounds of the participants, how they conceptualize the refugee and (im)migrant communities and the community networks, and their own personal and professional experiences within those networks (Appendix A). Of course, the interviews were semi-structured, and the participants were individuals who brought different emotions, histories, and connections to the study and to their work in the community. This resulted in a dynamic constellation of aspirations for and critical reflections about the refugee and (im)migrant communities in Central Springs with the common focal point of community-based education work at CSIC.

Phase 2: The Linguistic

In the easy chit-chat which frames a recorded interview like a preamble and post-script, the multilingual participants in Phase 1 spoke directly with me about language: the languages they spoke, my background as an ENL teacher (and, ostensibly, grammar maven), and profuse apologies for any imperfections they might commit (or might have committed) during our interviews. Although I offered every participant the opportunity to provide oral consent, to read and review the consent document, and to conduct their interview in the language of their choosing, nearly all participants elected to conduct their interview in English. As I began the processes of transcribing, journaling, and initial coding Phase 1 interviews, early themes and questions emerged from the data around the refugees' relationships to their mother tongues, to the other languages they had acquired, and to English. These thoughts guided me into the redesigned Phase 2, which took on a focus on linguistic capital among the refugee and (im)migrant community of Central Springs. Like Phase 1, I conducted intensive, semi-structured interviews following the same protocol. However, Phase 2 participants were all working as interpreters—or, in Barwaaqo's case, a multilingual tutor and educational program coordinator—in the community. As such, my experience from Phase 1 made me more attuned to the ways my refugee participants might discuss language with me, a white English teacher—and, because they were often positioned as language and cultural educators, they expertly guided me.

Phase 2 participants included Dhyansh, Ranjana, Jawala, Maura, Barwaaqo, and Hamzh. In this phase, only Maura identified as white and a U.S.-born citizen. However, Maura also identified as multilingual; as a nationally certified American Sign Language (ASL) interpreter, Maura was proficient in English and ASL, and was developing proficiency in Nepali Sign Language (NSL). As a trusted community outsider, Maura was instrumental in helping me

procure interpretation from the preferred interpreter for Ranjana and Jawala. Although all of the participants who identified as refugees in this study were proficient in at least 2 languages, all of the participants in Phase 2 were proficient in three or more languages. This included Arabic, Somali, Kizigua, Swahili, Nepali, Hindi, NSL, ASL, and English.

Phase 3: The Social and Familial

Drawing on what I was learning from participants in the first two phases, Phase 3 was focused on understanding the social and familial capital of the refugee and (im)migrant community in Central Springs. This phase primarily included ethnographic field observations (Emerson et al., 2011) at CSIC's "Advance" summer program, which was based at CSIC's Southside community center throughout August 2021. Aside from youth attending educational programs, CSIC community center space is most frequently accessed by parents and families receiving supports and services from CSIC staff, including education, training, meals, and interpreting services year-round. It is also a gathering place for the community, especially as there are often meals, food pantry items, and other donated goods freely available for visitors to the center to take. As such, it is a crossroads for the cultivation and circulation of various forms of capital (Yosso, 2005).

The utility of ethnographic field observations in this study was multifaceted. It was critical to consider the physical setting, among other contexts, of the cases investigated through the study (Stake, 2000)—especially given the limited opportunities for physical presence as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. Conducting ethnographic field observations allowed me not just to observe a physical setting shared by most, if not all, participants in some capacity, but to *occupy* that space with them (Charmaz, 2010). Although limited to roughly 14 hours of observations during the "Advance" summer youth program, the invitation to visit the program

offered contexts for me to engage with participants following their interviews, which yielded rich data which (re)established familiarity with the physical setting and those who share in it in a way that virtual or remote data collection cannot.

Considering Language Difference

Because the participants represented a wide diversity of linguistic backgrounds and abilities, I wanted to meaningfully demonstrate honor and respect for their identities, abilities, and personal comfort in how they communicated with me for the purposes of this study. All participants were allowed and encouraged to complete individual interviews in the language of their choosing. I was prepared to obtain trained interpreters for any participant who chose to conduct their interview in a language other than English (or in multiple languages) through my connections at CSIC. With the exceptions of Ranjana and Jawala, all participants chose to conduct their interviews in English. Likewise, the interactions and communications recorded during fieldwork at CSIC and represented in this study occurred in English (unless otherwise specified). Participants and EB/LADs in Central Springs reflect a diversity of English variations and English. As such, I transcribed all interviews to reflect the precise language use of each participant. In many cases, this meant preserving “ungrammatical” or “nonstandard” English language use. Further, I analytically engage with excerpts as they were originally communicated by participants without correcting grammatical “mistakes” or editing for “clarity.”

Data Analysis

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, the four theoretical lenses discussed in Chapter III contributed primarily to the background and design of this study, whereas Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) contributes primarily to data analysis for the purpose of expanding the extant concepts established by the theoretical lenses. In alignment with the tenets

of DisCrit and Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, CGT obligates researchers to actively engage with their positionality and role in knowledge production through research and inductive analysis. In this way, attention is drawn to power and epistemology. That is, CGT “treats research as a construction but acknowledges that it occurs under specific conditions—of which we may not be aware and which may not be of our choosing” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13). For example, researchers are grounded in the “specific conditions” of their data collection and interpretation through the use of focused coding using gerund forms. This serves as a heuristic to bring the researcher to the data for the purpose of interaction and fragmented study (p. 121). Charmaz (2014) also urges researchers using CGT to “[k]eep your involvement in mind as you proceed” with the initial and focused coding processes (p. 140). Such practices were critical in this study of EB/LADs and their home- and community-based contexts because many previous studies are not critical of the subjectivities and positionalities of researchers or mechanisms of data collection. Further, these elements of CGT serve researchers by grounding them in the nuanced local contexts, thereby supporting the investigation of ecological factors and professional practices which concern equity studies for EB/LADs, their families, and their communities.

Validity

The process of data analysis followed several phases which aim to cultivate interactive analytical spaces. However, prior to these analytical phases, I needed to ensure that I had tools to establish trustworthiness of the data and credibility of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). One approach I took was triangulation of multiple data sources—individual interviews and multiple sessions of ethnographic field observations—to develop a comprehensive understanding of how

community-based education networks assess and address the needs and experiences of refugee and (im)migrant parents of EB/LADs (Patton, 1999).

Another crucial step I took was member checking (see Doyle, 2007). As I transcribed each interview in Phases 1 and 2, I sent the completed transcript to the corresponding participant using the email address I had used to recruit them. In the consent script, as well as in each email communication, I affirmed that participants could add, remove, or change any information they provided in the transcript at any time. This also supported us in the co-construction of meaning throughout the study, despite the limitations of COVID-19. Some participants, such as Aaden, followed up with me via phone call or Zoom meeting to add ideas to their original statements. Others, like Ranjana, asked specific questions about the aim and scope of the study, as well as what form the final “product” of the research would take. To these questions, I explained that the research would be published as part of my dissertation to fulfill my PhD. I explained that there would be a formal presentation of the study at Syracuse University for that purpose, as well as a less formal presentation which would be made accessible to the Central Springs refugee and (im)migrant communities.

Coding and Memo Writing

Once I completed member-checking, the first analytical phase was initial coding (Appendix B), which is “the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 113). Initial codes are “provisional, comparative, and grounded in the data,” (p. 117) and focus on possibilities suggested by the data, rather than data accuracy. In this study, I used line-by-line coding rather than word-by-word coding, as the corpus of the data was small, yet thematically and conceptually rich and diverse across the three phases of the study (Charmaz, 2014).

Following initial coding was focus coding (Appendix C), wherein codes become more conceptual in nature and lead to theoretical categories (Charmaz, 2014). This phase of data analysis was critical to remain aware of how preconceptions influenced by existing theoretical lenses—such as the four used in the inception and design of this research project—can force data into preconceived codes or categories. As such, during the process of focus coding, researchers must “define what is happening in [the] data first” (p. 159).

Alongside memo writing (Appendix F), the final phases of analysis included iterative processes of theoretical sampling, saturation, and sorting (Appendix D). In CGT, theoretical sampling is unique to other conventional qualitative sampling methods because it is not a process of “gathering data until the same patterns reoccur” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 199). Rather, theoretical sampling leads to further empirical inquiry through the process of abduction, which fosters the development of new hypotheses which could exist beyond the parameters of theoretical lenses used in the design of the study. These developments are critical in the present research project focused on a multiply marginalized community of which I am not a member.

Following the process of theoretical sampling was theoretical saturation and sorting (Appendix E). These processes focused on the use of diagraming to show positions, processes, and the strength of relationships between themes within and across data sets. Ultimately, these phases supported me in seeing how the grounded theory from the data fits together (Charmaz, 2014).

Strengths and Limitations

The implementation of multiple data collection methods, semi-structured intensive interviews and ethnographic field observations, in tandem with a constant comparative method, help establish the credibility and conformability through member checking and data triangulation

(Guba & Lincoln, 2005). One limitation of this study was the barrier of COVID-19 restrictions on being able to recruit more parents of EB/LADs as I had originally planned to do. Although I had the ability to use web-based recruitment strategies and communication, there are many barriers to web-based communication and engagement for participants from multiply marginalized communities (see Cioè-Peña, 2021b). Similarly, another limitation of this study was the small sample size of participants (n=12) acquired via convenience sample. However, since this research aimed to provide insight into a specific social context, this limitation could also be perceived as a relative strength of this study because such a small sample allowed for stronger, more meaningful relationships among the researcher, participants, and the work of cultivating community cultural wealth for emergent bilingual children labeled as disabled.

Conclusion

The three theoretical lenses of this study converged with many of the elements of Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) to provide an integrative framework (Figure 1) for this exploration of parent and community-based experiences regarding vital special education processes, particularly as CGT and each theoretical lens carefully position the knowledge and experience of multiply marginalized individuals in an asset-based framework. Just as the theoretical lenses provided an important foundation for data collection and engagement of participants, CGT provided an important foundation for data collection and analysis which foregrounded the exact language and behavior of participants in the emergence of codes, themes, and theoretical expansions.

Chapter 5: THE ASPIRATIONAL

This chapter follows Phase 1 of the present study, which is focused on the ways community-based educators engage and build aspirational capital and other forms of Community Cultural Wealth to meet the needs of refugee EB/LADs and their families in the sanctuary city of Central Springs. The participants in this phase identified as community-based educators who worked in the education department of a refugee-serving 501c3 organization called Central Springs Self Empowerment (CSIC). Although Central Springs purports “sanctuary” status, local officials and community members do not effectively engage in critical partnerships or reflexivity with refugee communities. The findings from Phase 1 illustrate how deficit-based constructions of refugee communities reinforce a subjectivating³² philanthropic approach to refugee resettlement, disability-related support, and education. However, the community-based educators at CSIC offer examples of how they conceptualize and bridge the gaps in supports, services, and connections with EB/LADs and their families through community-based youth work. Although they do not specifically name it, many of their stories and ideas point to a critical culturally sustaining pedagogical approach. In the following sections, I address each of the three mutually informing themes related to community-based education for refugee EB/LAD youth and families to highlight how the participants understand, engage, and build critical aspirational capital through community-based education. I introduce and contextualize each theme in relation to the literature and constructs in Chapter 2 and 3, then provide empirical data which substantiate my arguments.

³² Following the work of Milgjarini (2017), subjectivation refers to the processes by which migrant, racialized, and disabled youth become, “rendered a subject and subjected to relations of power through discourse...as s/he is individualised, categorised, classified, hierarchised, normalised, surveilled and provoked to self-surveillance,” including by means of institutional technologies of assessment and evaluation (p. 188).

Theme 1: Engaging critical positionality

As Houston (2019) affirms, meaningful “sanctuary” policies and practices comprise a process of critical partnership and critical reflexivity which centers the families experiencing migration and migration policies. Much like DisCrit tenets 4 and 7 (Table 3), critical partnership and reflexivity require the prioritized, active, and sustained participation (and knowledges) of multiply marginalized communities. In Central Springs, sanctuary status and policies merely subjectivate migrant families as objects or targets of policy and public discourses (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019). In Phase 1, participants were explicitly aware of these incongruencies regardless of their migratory status. As such, Theme 1, *Engaging critical positionality to contextualize knowledge and role in Community Cultural Wealth*, highlights how the community-based educators at CSIC were critical of their positionalities as they related to the children and families with whom they interacted, as well as their contributions and roles in the wider Central Springs migrant community. Participants engaged these critical positionalities in a variety of ways, but the primary differences emerged along migratory status distinctions; whereas refugee-identifying participants enmeshed, articulated, and reiterated their personal experiences as refugees, EB/LADs, and within-group members, non-refugee-identifying participants offered cursory positionality statements alongside often uncritical conceptualizations of allyship and outsider intervention in Central Springs

Community-based educators at CSIC predominantly identified as Black, African, or South Asian refugees. However, there were a few educators on-staff and several volunteers who represented other racial and migration identities. Three of the participants in Phase 1 voluntarily identified³³ themselves as refugees (Aaden, Amadu, and Momolu). Three other participants

³³ Any information about a participant’s migratory status was volunteered, unprompted, by the individual participant; I did not actively solicit migratory status or citizenship information from any participant in this study.

voluntarily identified as non-refugees, with two identifying as white, US-born American citizens (Laura and Helene). One of the non-refugee participants, Aimee, identified as Asian and did not specify her migratory status.

Regardless of their migratory status, all Phase 1 participants engaged in critical positionality to contextualize their knowledge of the refugee community and experience in Central Springs, as well as their role in the cultivation of Community Cultural Wealth. However, there were specific differences in *how* these positionalities were articulated and engaged depending on participants' migratory status. Generally, participants who identified as refugees or former refugees continuously anticipated, read, and navigated linguistic and cultural differences between us during individual intensive, semi-structured interviews. This occurred through two primary methods: pragmatic practices and narrative voice or storytelling. Further, these participants carefully contextualized and disclosed certain types of information to make legible the layers of within-group cultural knowledge that might otherwise be illegible to me as a racial, cultural, and linguistic outsider. Although all Phase 1 participants contextualized their community-based work by offering a spatial and temporal context of the CSIC organization, the refugee participants pedagogically led me through their responses.

As an example, when asked to describe the mission and vision of CSIC, Aaden, a young father and community-based educator at CSIC, took a long time to think before he responded to this first prompt.

Chelsea: ...So, um, please describe, um, this organization, including the organization's mission or vision for equity...

All identifying information about participants, besides their state of residence at the time I conducted the study, has been anonymized to protect their identities.

Aaden: Okay. Um, the mission of CSIC is basically to promote and empower refugees and immigrants. Um, hold on. Gimme...gimme just one second.

C: Okay.

A: Okay, okay. Can you repeat the question one more time?

C: I sure can. So, please describe CSIC as an organization, including their mission of their vision for equity...

A: Okay. Alright. Well, to start with just the mission of CSIC. The mission of CSIC is basically to advocate and promote self-sufficiency through, like, education, employment, and social service, um, around [countywide] community. And that basically came about the start...due to the needs of the immigrants and refugees around Central Springs. And we were formerly known as the Somali Bantu community before CSIC. And I guess maybe we can go back like how CSIC started or begin?

C: If you want to, sure, absolutely.

A: Yeah, I would just kind of like to share how CSIC came about and why CSIC is doing what it's doing right now. I feel like it's important to kind of just go back to the beginning. [Interview_Aaden_472020]

In this excerpt, Aaden, who identified as Somali and a first-generation refugee, carefully listened to the way I initially phrased the prompt before he responded. He then began to answer the question, but then asked for more time to develop his thoughts. Several moments pass before he asked me to repeat the question, which I rephrased to support his understanding. He offered a brief summary of CSIC's primary objective, then realized that the full meaning and context of this objective are illegible to me unless I had the same historical perspective that he did as a

community insider. He even went as far as to rationalize the direction he wanted to take in the interview.

Phase 1 participants who identified as refugees engaged their personal experiences as refugees, EB/LADs, parents, and/or community-based educators (respective to the different ways they identified themselves) to illustrate the affective and institutional barriers to belonging across cultures experienced by EB/LADs and their families in Central Springs. Similarly, these participants used their personal experiences to contextualize their individual and collective approaches to their work in the Central Springs refugee community through CSIC. Aaden, Amadu, and Momolu used a rich, narrative tone and structure which created an immersive, storytelling environment during the interviews. They each used first-person collective pronouns (we, us, our), as well as second-person narration (you) to illustrate their ideas and experiences. This also functioned to draw me into the narrative alongside them and even to experience their thought processes through internal monologues and dialogue. In some instances, participants fluidly switched between pronouns and perspectives in the same response:

[F]rom what I've seen, the view and the missions is to help any refugee that is living in Central Springs community that needs help with whatever it is to make their lives easier. Not just students, but their parents. So, having that missions makes people who have just moved here...makes it easier for them to think like, 'Okay, I know I've just moved to a new place, but knowing that I have organizations like this that are willing to help people like myself from different places to just get everything that I need for this country,' you know, 'I have to take opportunity of that.' So, that missions to me is just what we need and what the community of Central Springs need. [Interview_Amadu_432020]

Amadu aligns himself with EB/LAD families' and individuals' struggles in two ways in this excerpt. First, he takes the perspective of a CSIC client, using the first person and offering a thought or musing from the perspective of a client. Second, he follows up this statement using "we," saying, "...just what we need and what the community of Central Springs need." Amadu maintains proximity to the perspective and experience of resettlement and migratory status. This stance seems different from other, non-refugee CSIC staff who conceptualized their work as a mission to "self-empower" and "prepare" refugees and migrant families for employment, education, and participation in the local economy. As an example, Helene, a young white woman who started at the entry-level position of education assistant at CSIC but replaced Laura as the education program director by the time she was interviewed, described the mission of CSIC differently than Amadu, saying,

I would say, the overarching goal is independence, and helping refugees and immigrants get to that in an American society, um, helping them understand what that even means, and what the avenue is to even get to that point [Interview_Helene_6222021]

In addition to race and migratory status, the difference between Helene's and Amadu's descriptions of CSIC's mission and the purpose of their work might be related to the fact that Amadu is a relatively new staff member and holds a lower-ranking position than Aimee, Helene, or Laura. Amadu, like most of the other staff members who identified as refugees, was an education assistant, whereas the non-refugee staff interviewed in this study worked as coordinators or directors. This gives Amadu a more on-the-ground, personal closeness to families, but contributes to an imbalanced power dynamic between him and his white coworkers.

Throughout analysis, I was reminded of how "nonstandard" English use by emergent bilingual students—especially those who are Black, Indigenous, or People of Color (BIPOC)—is

often constructed as a “red flag” of disability in school spaces. This deficit-based framing of nondominant variations of English—especially those variations which emerge in BIPOC communities (see Baker-Bell, 2020)—often condemns EB/LAD students to special education referral or “Ever-ELL” status in Upstate New York, where “standard,” or white, variations of English are the only ones approved for incorporation into the “academic language” space (see Daniels, 2018; Stinson & Migliarini, 2021). EB/LAD students are often taught and expected to rigidly conform to conventions about parallel structures, verb tenses, narrative perspective, and subject/verb agreement, and their inclusion and access to opportunities in school are contingent on linguistic compliance. I thought about my experiences administering and scoring the NYSESLAT and seeing students’ short and extended written responses be subjected to negative scoring by evaluators for transitioning between narrative perspectives or inappropriately incorporating dialogue. However, the multilingual refugee participants’ nonconformity to “standard” white English is not evidence of linguistic error or limited proficiency. Rather, these participants offer vibrant examples of the affordances of language variation. Rather than obscure comprehension for the listener, their narrative, mixed-perspective approach functioned as invitations to call me, a white, community outsider, into their experiences as a learner. Refugee participants also engaged in this practice to conceptualize the nuanced thoughts and biases of teachers and other school-based professionals. For example, Momolu explained,

The competition to get good grades is number one. Is the first thing everybody think about. Now you have to think about, ‘I gotta learn the language, I have to do the reading, I have to get the grades...’ It's impossible to do all that. You know? And that's why the system is set up to do. They're like, ‘Hey, we got to get everybody on the same level. We don't care if we speak the language or not, you have to do the work, you have to get the

grades. And if you don't know how, we just push you through.' Teachers just try to push you through and just get you over the next level, because they just want to get to the next student, they want to help the students that they know that are going to college. So as a refugee student, I feel like...I'm not saying that all teachers don't love refugee student, but there are certain teachers who feel like these students are like a problem, because, 'What I'm trying to teach, they're gonna slow me down. And I need to be able to get to these lessons.' Because it's not the teacher's fault...is the system! Because they have to teach these lessons to everybody at the same pace. Because they have been looked at and evaluated just as they're evaluating the students. [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

In this excerpt, Momolu explained how the aspirations and concerns of school-based professionals who educate EB/LAD students do not align with the aspirations and concerns of the students and families whom they are supposed to serve. Rather, much like sanctuary policies, the system enacts harm by enforcing norms and values around meritocracy, achievement, and opportunities contingent on compliance and conformity. He uses narrative voice to bring the listener into the mindset of a refugee EB/LAD student and a teacher simultaneously, both of whom are constrained by a neoliberal, evaluative system. He illustrated the affective experience of the EB/LAD student by emphasizing the piling-on of constraints and expectations: "I gotta learn the language, I have to do the reading, I have to get the grades..." It's impossible to do all that. You know?" He continued by highlighting how teachers can uncritically uphold the norms of a neoliberal education system by offering their perspective as dialogue, "Hey, we got to get everybody on the same level, we don't care if we speak the language or not, you have to do the work, you have to get the grades. And if you don't know how, we just push you through."

However, he used the same narrative technique to imagine the perspective of the teachers working within/against the system.

Momolu's approach not only facilitates understanding between a researcher and a participant with very different experiences; it highlights how Momolu's adolescent experience as a refugee EB/LAD student and adult experience as an educator working across school and community spaces cultivate capital. Ultimately, the interviews with Momolu, Aaden, and Amadu show how refugees who are community-based educators enmesh their personal positionality and experience with critical aspirations for their community. This deep connection to their individual and collective memories inform their choices to work in the community after "making it out" (as they called it). Their unique post-secondary experiences in predominantly white institutions and working alongside white community-based educators contribute to the development of critical aspirations: hopes and goals for their community framed by a criticality and transgressive knowledge of how white-dominated systems and institutions operate. This was especially evident in their responses to questions about how they conceptualized educational equity and their aspirations for their communities:

[T]o be fair, I don't think there's such thing as equity. But, like, to define it...it would be like everybody getting the same opportunity to, you know, to be able to move forward in the world. But in reality, everybody don't have the same opportunity. We will never have the same opportunity, it's just how it is, so...equity...there's a vision for it, but it is...is it ever gonna happen? Nah. So. I don't know. I don't wanna sound too negative, but it's how I think about things like that. [Interview_Amadu_432020]

To be honest, you can't really put a justice on it because the damage has been done. Once somebody missed two, three years of an education, is so hard to catch up on it, especially when it comes to education. You missed a year in school, you're already falling behind, because there's so much that is left out. So if you see a refugee kid who's never been to school, and they are told, 'Oh, you have to be in the 11th grade. And you have to try to graduate when everybody's trying to get these grades.' Already there's no equality in that. There's no equality in that. And that's what it's been, the system has been set up. So until we change the whole system to make sure that refugees get a fair shake, a fair starting point and not just put them in the middle of everything, there will never be equity in education [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

The DisCrit lens of this study's integrative framework, especially tenets three, four, and five (Table 3, p. 39), draw attention to how both Amadu and Momolu pushed back against educational equity as it is popularly and institutionally conceptualized. Both participants located their lived experiences as EB/LAD students within a collective, critical understanding of education and equity through institutions. Both cast doubt on the idea that institutional intervention could result in fair or equitable outcomes. In Momolu's response, he elaborated by including an imagined dialogue between a "refugee kid" and an anonymous school-based professional "other" to further illustrate the improbability of equity when there is little agency for individuals or groups subjectivated by an institution or system.

Because most of them experienced it first-hand in their youth, community-based educators at CSIC are explicitly aware how EB/LAD students are harmed through assimilation pedagogy and linguistic imperialism through English-only immersion in the local public school district. However, they describe how their marginalizing experiences in school and society are

systemic, institutional, *and* intrapersonal. Just as sanctuary policies can reinforce oppression in society and politics, Aaden highlights how education can be an oppressive experience despite its promises and value in his community:

Education is dynamic. I feel like education changes based on just the need of the people, you know? Um, I feel like also education for, for immigrants and refugees it's...it's vital, but at the same time—how do I say this? Okay, so this might sound totally off, but I feel like the education that are in the school district is for citizens, almost, or those-who-were-born-here kind of thing. For those who were just kind of like, American citizens, or native-borns, or whatever...so when an immigrant is trying to learn this education, they almost, like, leave a little bit behind of themselves. If that makes sense...

[Interview_Aaden_472020]

Throughout his interview, Aaden emphasized the importance of education socially in his community as well as in his own personal worldview. However, Aaden believed that education should be responsive to the needs of the people seeking it. He pointed out that the education he and many other EB/LADs experience was perhaps designed for someone else. Here, the process of becoming educated is subtractive, wherein students must reconcile their desire and necessity for education and opportunity in the U.S. with their desire and necessity for family and belonging. Aaden continued,

...Because they're learning this, they're learning something new, they're learning *that*, but they're not learning their culture. They're forgetting their culture, they're forgetting their language, and they almost leave a little bit of themselves behind. I feel like I'm forgetting some things, and I'm like, 'Oh no, oh no, this can't be' because I'm losing my identity...I'm losing my identity, kind of thing...[Interview_Aaden_472020]

Here, Aaden illustrates the subtractive process of learning as an EB/LAD in U.S. schools. Despite the significance of one's culture, language, and identity, being able to demonstrate learning and achievement in U.S. schools often means displacing one's own cultural knowledge and sense of self in order to comply with the norms and values of the dominant culture in school. Aaden's thoughts in this excerpt connect to Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, which supports educators and learners in recognizing the importance of multiple identities, knowledges, and experiences in individual and community development. In other words, it is insufficient to sustain just the "home" culture or the "school" culture in isolation through education; rather, educators and learners must envision pluralistic futures and possibilities for cultural, linguistic, and ability pluralism.

Phase 1 participants drew on aspirational capital and critical positionalities in shaping their beliefs, motivations, and practices as community-based educators and, in Aaden's case, a parent. Aaden drew on his conceptualization of the American Dream—acquired through his experience as an EB/LAD student—to illustrate the tensions between assimilation pedagogy in the city school district and his community's efforts to provide culturally and linguistically affirming learning spaces and experiences outside of school. This unfolded as Aaden elaborated,

...Because, at least my biggest thing is, I want students to have both. I want them to have the American culture as well as their own cultures: to be the person that they wanna be, because you can't leave your history behind, you can't leave your culture behind trying to go for something new. Yes it's exciting, yes it's something different, but I feel like it also changes a little bit of you. I feel like you should take in and add it on to what you already have, and I feel like there's that notion of like the American dream almost. What is the American dream? It's different for everyone. The American dream for me, is education.

For me, is being able to adapt but also not forgetting where I come from, you know? To go further, to better my community that I'm already in. To better my home I'm in right now, you know? I guess that would be considered the American dream for me, not to become an American [Interview_Aaden_472020]

Aaden saw attaining an education, an aspiration commonly associated with an idealized American experience, as a way to cultivate his community's nondominant cultural and linguistic knowledge and practices. Aaden did not view education as an escape toward financial or social success through adopting the language, practices, and values of the dominant group (i.e., white, middle-class Americans). Instead, Aaden, like other refugee educators in this study, saw the potential in education to support his desire “not to become an American.”

Theme 2: Conceptualizing whiteness and linguistic imperialism as barriers to belonging

Theme 2, *Conceptualizing whiteness and linguistic imperialism as barriers to belonging and positive post-secondary outcomes in school-based curriculum, structures, and relationships*, builds off of the ways participants—especially those who identified as refugees—articulated and engaged their critical positionalities in their work and communication. In conceptualizing critical aspirational capital, Phase 1 participants highlighted the ways whiteness and linguistic imperialism functioned as barriers to EB/LADs' and their families' belonging in institutional spaces. This required engagement and continued cultivation of navigational, resistance, and social capital, since participants needed to resist systemic, institutional, and interpersonal exclusion and othering. Phase 1 participants recognized how whiteness and linguistic imperialism were enacted through language education policy, curriculum, and school-based processes to form barriers to high school graduation and positive short- and long-term post-secondary outcomes.

In this context, linguistic imperialism refers to the hegemonic power of English enacted—implicitly and explicitly—through a predominantly white and monolingual teaching workforce. As Aaden affirmed, the emphasis on English language development at the expense of EB/LADs’ other language development affects intergenerational family relationships and communication. He explained,

as a child the language is hard, too, ‘cause they’re mostly learning English so much that sometimes they start to forget their language, and parents are learning English, but not as fast as the kids are. So sometimes it’s hard for parents and students to kind of communicate and understand one another [Interview_Aaden_472020]

Here, Aaden referred to the compulsory English-only instruction many EB/LADs experience in Central Springs. As a refugee resettlement hub, there is a significantly wider diversity of languages than just Spanish, English, or other “high incidence” languages spoken in the U.S. In Upstate New York, where this study takes place, there are dramatically fewer school-based multilingual resources and educational opportunities for non-English speaking families beyond Spanish-English (and even that is limited and centers English) compared to larger cities, like New York City. Even in Central Springs, the only “dual language” programs, which are Spanish-English only, are discontinued after students leave elementary school in 5th grade. Furthermore, linguistic imperialism through English-only immersion is codified by law; CR Part-154 (NYSED, 2015a; 2015b) uses language in strong support of bilingual education, but the bar is low for district-level compliance (see Stinson, 2018). So, for refugee families like Aaden’s, who primarily spoke Somali, there is little choice or agency in sustaining intergenerational multilingualism or language learning.

Whiteness also emerges as a barrier to positive post-secondary outcomes for EB/LAD students across Phase 1 interviews. In this context, whiteness does not refer to the individual racial identity or characteristic of school-based professionals. Rather, whiteness refers to the beliefs, practices, and mechanisms that maintain white *racialized* identity and norms as the desired standard that has been established and predominantly upheld (or enforced) by white people, institutions, and systems (see Garner, 2007). For EB/LADs in the U.S., school-based professionals can reproduce mechanisms of whiteness and exclusion by unintentionally upholding or reproducing linguistic imperialism, racism, and other forms of marginalization (Baker-Bell, 2020; Daniels, 2018; Stinson & Migliarini, 2020).

Phase 1 participants highlighted examples of school-based professionals' deficit-based thinking about EB/LAD students and their experiences. In these examples, participants illustrated how school-based professionals' attitudes and actions towards white students were very different from their attitudes and actions towards EB/LAD students. For instance, Momolu described how school-based professionals constructed his racial and linguistic identity, as well as his migratory status, as indicators that he was not college-bound. In his high school, school-based professionals, especially guidance counselors, prioritized assistance and relationships with white, middle-class students. Momolu remembered not even being able to schedule meetings or to contact teachers or guidance counselors, but noticing his white, middle-class peers could. He explained,

And then they'll say, 'Oh, we're just so busy.' And I'm like, I understand that. But I'm like that special needs student right now your attention need to be focused on because I don't know what's going on. This person's got step one, two, and three figured out. I'm still stuck at step zero... When it comes to the language, understanding the system, the

financially understand the process of financial aid...they already have that all figured out. They already have college savings from before they were born. I'm like, 'I don't even have...my parents don't have don't even know what college even is. So how can you tell me you are too busy to help me when the other person already have 90% of their life figured out?' [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

Here, DisCrit tenets one and six (Table 3, p. 39) draw attention to the ways school-based professionals protected the status and access to resources of white students. According to Momolu, the school-based professionals ignored, rejected, or otherwise evaded engagement or communication with EB/LAD students seeking support for postsecondary planning. Because of how EB/LADs are racialized and disabled in predominantly white, school-based settings, school-based professionals either did not consider them college-bound or did not value their postsecondary outcomes as important as those of white and/or non-EB/LAD students.

Because of their experiences as EB/LAD students and educators in community-based settings, Phase 1 participants had significant experience with white volunteers, funders, and supervisors who aimed to benevolently intervene in BIPOC refugee communities through education. Participants' examples functioned to conceptualize white saviorism—that is, the desire to “save” marginalized communities without listening to, respecting, or critically understanding one's relationship to a community or history—and intervention as an extant intergenerational trauma. So, although white school-based professionals were often unwilling to prioritize the needs of EB/LAD students in school as Momolu illustrated, they communicated a shallow, deficit-based, benevolent concern for the “trauma” EB/LADs experienced as a result of their family and migration status. In one excerpt, Amadu recognized that fear, stress, and traumatizing experiences did affect refugee EB/LAD families. He explained,

I have to survive here, and my children have to survive, you know? My education is not that important to me right now compared to my children and my families back home.

Because parents here are not only here for themselves, but they're also here for families back home [Interview_Amadu_432020]

Amadu highlights how many refugee parents of EB/LADs support both the family members who migrated with them and the family members who are “back home” (i.e., did not migrate with them as a unit). He shows how strong feelings of survival and obligation motivate family members—especially parents—to prioritize certain responsibilities or commitments. This could be misinterpreted by white, school-based professionals who understand the role, make-up, and priorities of family units in a fundamentally different way than refugee EB/LAD families. However, as Phase 1 participants continuously pointed out, school-based professionals were unable to understand and respect the characteristics and values of refugee EB/LAD families because they failed to meaningfully engage and listen to members of these communities. As Momolu affirmed,

you are there to listen, not to give them advice, but to listen to their story to *learn* about them. Because a lot of people want, they want to help refugees, they just want to help them they don't want to like, listen to them...And if you really want to gain that trust, you *show* it to them by listening to them by helping them not in words of like, money or anything like that, but opportunity so they can...so they can be themselves in power [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

This excerpt also underscores the mistrust between refugee community members and school-based professionals, especially as it relates to the labeling of EB/LAD students as disabled. These emotions and experiences connect to the concept of subtractive language learning,

wherein a socially dominant language—in this case, English—is taught (enforced) to replace other languages as the primary language of the student (Rojas & Reagan, 2003).

Participants described ways they engaged resistance capital to combat subtractive language learning through their roles in developing and sustaining a community-based learning around language, faith traditions, and academic enrichment experiences.

For example, at CSIC, community-based educators—many of whom identified as parents of EB/LADs—engaged linguistic, familial, and social capital to meet families “where they are at,” to provide wrap-around supports and services for parents in addition to children. This included interpretation, translation, and English language education in mostly small, homogenous groups. Momolu reflected on what made CSIC effective at sustaining linguistic knowledge and access in the community,

Just the environment that they are in...So, [CSIC] is an environment, like, where any refugee is welcome because when you walk in there, you see people dressed like you, you see pictures of people that's looks like you...so, instantly you feel like you are at home...you are able to decompress and express yourself...whereas in school...they don't even look up to acknowledge who you are... [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

Momolu described CSIC as an intentionally culturally and linguistically affirming environment, where every element of the environment welcomes community members who seek supports and services there. As Momolu explained, sustaining linguistic and cultural knowledge among his community's children meant more than teaching the language; for many community-based educators like Momolu, the work of resisting subtractive language learning meant cultivating community spaces that activated emotional, affective, and sensory responses in addition to language.

Theme 3: Locating disability and educational labels

Drawing on DisCrit tenets one, two, and three (Table 3, p. 39), Theme 3, *Locating invisible disability and educational labels within systemic and institutional oppression*, reflects the ways whiteness, linguistic imperialism, and ability are often mutually constitutive in the construction of different categories of—and, therefore, approaches to—disability among Phase 1 participants. Discussing disability with nondisabled members of a multiply marginalized community as a white, nondisabled community outsider requires critical awareness of one’s own ideology and relationship to disability (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2012). In general, even dominant cultural knowledge and practice around disability in the U.S. is color-evasive and euphemistic; outside of disability-affirming spaces, communities, and research, disability is typically constructed from a deficit-based, narrow perspective which negatively constructs people with disabilities—often without acknowledging how race and language interact and co-construct who is disabled (Annamma, et al., 2013; 2016; Annamma et al., 2022). Further, as evidenced by the diversity of racial, linguistic, and other self-identifying language used (or eschewed) by participants in this study (see Table 5), I needed to be prepared to meet participants across all phases of the study wherever they were in their understanding and approaches to disability and issues of race, language, and migration. Most responses to disability-related questions began by participants hedging their knowledge and experience with disability, like this:

I mean, I can’t judge on that because I’m not a professional about, like, disability...

[Interview_Amadu_432020]

I’m not sure how to define disability... [Interview_Aimee_432020]

Cursory statements like these from Amadu and Aimee suggest that, like in the field of special education, working with students with disabilities or significant ability differences requires a

special or professionalized knowledge (see Bratlinger, 2005). Whether intentionally or unintentionally, they do not construct disability as a natural part of human diversity; rather, it is a designation which requires specific, institutionally granted knowledge to understand and address. As Laura, the education director for all children and youth programming at CSIC at the beginning of this study, affirmed, “[I]t’s the first community I’ve worked with where disabilities are not discussed” [Interview_Laura_3242020]. As such, these interactions where participants evaded or discounted the prevalence or significance of disability among EB/LAD students and families underscore a need for Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy and practices related to disability in addition to culture and language.

Regardless of their social identities, Phase 1 participants demonstrated awareness of the systemic and institutional function of labeling in the schooling experiences of EB/LADs, especially in relation to external markers of disability. For example, Laura concisely described how the educational label of “ELL” often functioned to preclude school-based professionals’ recognition of disability-related needs.

[I]n terms of disabilities, I’ve been kind of fascinated, especially by the kids, because I think what I see happen is a lot of the kids are, like, put in ENL classes. And because they’re ENL, they might have a disability that isn’t being identified.

[Interview_Laura_3242020]

Laura explains how emergent bilingual children who receive ENL instruction are only understood under the lens of their broad educational label. Because they are only seen as “ELL” students, their needs, abilities, and difficulties are only related to their deficit-based language proficiency status. This is connected to the issues in disproportionality research and policy discussed in Chapter 2, as well as DisCrit tenets one and two (Table 3, p. 39), which are

underscored and exacerbated by practitioners' and policymakers' narrow, siloed understanding of disability, race, culture, and language. Laura also unintentionally highlights how the persistent focus on the mechanisms of educational labeling—determining whether a student's difficulties are evidence of disability or emergent English language proficiency—obscures more generative questions about how students identify themselves, or how they articulate their own needs, abilities, and preferences in school.

In a similar vein, Amadu articulated how many emergent bilingual students who have unrecognized disabilities are not appropriately evaluated or supported by school-based professionals or their families. He conceptualized the lack of critical awareness around disability cultural knowledge and language differences across groups as a barrier to critical partnerships between school-based professionals and families. Ultimately, this limited EB/LAD students' access to culturally, linguistically, and disability-affirming learning experiences.

And then there is the language barrier. But most of these kids speak pretty good English because they been in the school system for a while. That is a language they picked up pretty quickly. And...but I think the fact that they are from different places kinda makes it a little bit difficult for you to be like, 'Alright let's have this kid tested to see if he's got any mental problems,' because parents—growing up, that's not something that the parents will like go to, you know? Once it's there, they'll be like, 'Oh, he's just a happy kid, let him be,' but not knowing there's a reason why he's 'so happy'...if you don't know about these situations it's hard for you to just give into your kids being tested for something you don't know about. [Interview_Amadu_432020]

Refugee participants across all groups in this study emphasized their fear for EB/LAD children in formal education settings due to mutual construction of disability, language, race, and

migratory status. As Phase 2 data will more substantially illustrate, this fear was underscored by diverse iterations of cultural associations between disability, shame, and the Western medical gaze. This common fear and shame affected how parents and caregivers participated in vital special education processes, but also contributed to a critical perspective of school discipline and curriculum development. Community-based educators who had attended the same schools as their EB/LAD students in Central Springs directly addressed these phenomena. For example, Aaden described how teachers constructed male Somali students as inherently “behavior problems” through assumptions about their exposure to trauma and violence as refugees as well as their Blackness. He explained,

[T]hey see a student and be like, ‘Ugh, he’s just another bad kid. He walks around the hallway all the time.’ And it’s just like, yeah, but *why* does he—*why* do they do that?

[Interview_Aaden_472020]

Here, Aaden highlights how teachers construct male Somali students as “bad kid[s]” while failing to address the reasons behind the supposed “bad” behavior. Examples like Aaden’s show how refugee, migrant, and emergent bilingual students are labeled as disabled, “another bad kid,” or traumatized without consideration for the underlying needs—or a plan to address those underlying needs. In the case of emergent bilingual students without formal disability labels, their racial and linguistic identities become part of their “pathology”: signs of deficiency in need of treatment or removal through pull-out instruction and services, leveled tracking, and disciplinary action.

The tenets of DisCrit (Table 3, p. 39) highlight the tension in these data, which reflect cross-cultural and translingual sense-making and communication. The tension in these data is that disability is both/and; it is both socially constructed and materially experienced. What Phase

1 participants' conceptualizations fail to do is support a nuanced perspective of disability which validates individuals' identities, experiences, and interpretations of their needs while also critically pushing back on systems and institutions and individual ideologies which enact or permit harm/oppression. As many community-based educators explained, EB/LADs in Central Springs were subjected to subtractive language learning in school spaces because nearly all teachers, related service providers, and staff were monolingual and under-supported in culturally and linguistically responsive and sustaining pedagogies. Meanwhile, cultural associations between disability, shame, and mistrust of the Western medical gaze affected parents' and caregivers' participation in vital special education processes, thus presenting the need for Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogical approaches and thinking in community- and school-based education for students and families. As Aaden noted, disability and access to linguistically affirming environments in school compounded the invisibilizing of EB/LADs at home and at school:

I realize disability is something that's not really talked about within the immigrant refugee community. I will say...We don't really deal with it at home like they [school-based professionals] do...so you kind of get pulled out of society almost

[Interview_Aaden_472020]

Here, Aaden expresses his aspiration for a different experience for EB/LAD children in his community. He highlighted how deficit-based perspectives of disability across school and community spaces function in tandem with subtractive language learning through English-only instruction and related services in schools to further exclude EB/LADs. Because EB/LADs' disability-related needs and identities are constructed as deficits—albeit differently—at home, in the community, and at school, they are “pulled out of society.” So, although the community-

based educators at CSIC understand systemic, institutional, and social mechanisms (and harms) of educational labels for disability and language which affect their students and children in Central Springs, they are also aware of the need for change within dominant and nondominant cultural communities in how disability is recognized, discussed, and supported.

Conclusion

This chapter presented findings from Phase 1 of the present study. Phase 1 explored how community-based educators engaged and built forms of Community Cultural Wealth to meet the needs of refugee EB/LADs and their families in the mid-sized city of Central Springs. Phase 1 participants were all community-based educators, but represented a diversity of migration experiences, languages, racial identities, and cultural knowledge. Refugee participants in Phase 1 demonstrated how they cultivated and engaged multiple forms of capital which contribute to their Community's Cultural Wealth. They described how intergenerational and cross-culturally gaps in multiple layers of cultural and linguistic knowledge—including, in some cases, functional communication as a result of English-only immersive language instruction—contributed to EB/LADs' families' mistrust of school-based professionals and school-based processes, such as disability labeling. Ultimately, community-based educators in Phase 1 explained how they engaged and cultivated multiple forms of capital unique to their communities' experiences because they aspired to create more affirming learning experiences for EB/LADs who attended their community center.

In Chapter 6, I will explore Phase 2 of the study. Phase 2 focuses on the role and construction of linguistic capital through the perspectives of interpreters and bilingual tutors whose work and experiences with disability bridges institutional, community, and home spaces.

Chapter 6: THE LINGUISTIC

Phase 2 investigated the experiences and perspectives of six community-based interpreters and bilingual tutors who engaged and cultivated linguistic capital in an effort to bridge the gaps in support for EB/LAD students and families. In so doing, Phase 2 participants aspired to resist and disrupt the deficit-based, subtractive approach to disability- and language-related needs provided by school-based professionals. Five out of the six participants in this phase of the study identified as refugees from minoritized racial backgrounds; one participant, Maura, identified as white and U.S.-born. Four participants identified as disabled and/or as parents of an EB/LAD student who had attended Central Springs City School District. All participants in this phase of the study were multilingual.

As in Phase 1, findings from this phase of the study highlighted how EB/LADs and their families' institutional and school-based experiences are situated within the nexus of ableism, linguistic imperialism, and racism. As the data presented in this chapter affirm, ableism circulated alongside racialized notions of literacy and language proficiency. EB/LADs and their refugee parents were either presumed to be literate in their primary languages or completely illiterate, and therefore objects of pity. In either case, Phase 2 participants reported how EB/LADs and their parents were subjected to negative racialization and insufficient language services without material support from school-based professionals. In the experience of Deaf EB/LADs and/or refugee parents, audism and oralism circulated in tandem with ableism and racism across home and school spaces, reflecting the experience of getting “pulled out of society almost” to which Aaden and other participants alluded in Phase 1. As such, EB/LADs and their parents were endlessly subjectivated by hypervigilance of their linguistic abilities, which were

often constructed as barriers to learning and belonging—even when their linguistic knowledge served them as an asset in the community.

Theme 1: Conceptualizing disability and linguistic identities

Theme 1, *Conceptualizing disability and linguistic identities as nuanced, enmeshed subtle cultural knowledge*, is focused on how Phase 2 participants understood and articulated their experiences with disability and language across cultures and spaces. The data in Phase 2 gave rise to codes surrounding how participants critiqued cultural knowledge and practices in their communities around disability without (re)producing deficit-based overgeneralizations about them. This ability to critique while respecting and upholding extant cultural knowledge and practices as a form of generative discourse reflects a Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogical approach to education, connection, and resource mobilization among refugees who work in Central Springs as interpreters and educators. For example, Dhyansh, a Nepali man in his late 40s, had worked for several years as a teaching assistant and school-based interpreter for the Central Springs City School District. At the time of the study, he had left the district to work full-time as an interpreter, advocate, and case manager for CSIC. Speaking of his time working for the school district, he explained how many EB/LADs' parents were hesitant to accept and use their children's prescribed disability diagnoses and educational labels. As Dhyansh described it, their resistance was more about their fear and shame around issues of disability and disclosure of impairment, rather than desires to resist deficit-based thinking about their children's abilities. He explained,

Whatever people hate to tell, 'Hey, you know what? My child is this...diagnosed with this one [disability],' and the neighborhood is, 'Oh, you or your child is like that?! Oh, we didn't know that, though...' You know how our families are so intact? So, so, so, if I

speak one word today, everybody in the community know. They are highly social, and they don't want to disclose unless it is very, very intense, like they have issues that need to be addressed. So people will not tell that there was ADHD or anything. They will not disclose until, you know, there is a educated person or member in the community or in the family say, 'Hey, you need to disclose this. This is going to have a long term impact on your child. Let the teacher know. Let the doctor know your child is of this kind and then he needs to be treated well in time.' [Interview_Dhyansh_3192021]

In this excerpt, Dhyansh critiqued parents' hesitance to proactively seek diagnosis or disability-related support for themselves or their children because they were aware of how this might negatively (or even dangerously) position their family within the community. As Momolu and other Phase 1 participants highlighted, many refugee EB/LAD parents and caregivers understandably continue to operate in a survival mindset upon resettlement. In many ways, a disability diagnosis—especially one that is incongruent with their own cultural experiences and knowledge around what constitutes disability and the need for outsider intervention—can be seen as dangerous. Dhyansh did not necessarily blame his community or position its members as inherently at fault, either; instead, he emphasizes that they are “highly social” and interdependent. He substantiated this by adding that when an “educated” member of the community or trusted outsider intervenes to support, the community bands together with the family to allocate resources.

Examples like Dhyansh's contextualize refugee EB/LAD families' pursuit or rejection of resources and support from community insiders and outsiders. Likewise, Phase 2 participants illustrated how differences in families' disability knowledge and practices were dependent on the varying social construction of disability. As a powerful example, Ranjana, a Deaf Nepali woman

who worked as an interpreter, advocate, and community-based educator in Central Springs, illustrated how her own understanding of disability and language transformed as she became more engaged with Western, predominantly white disability resource networks in Central Springs. Ranjana arrived in Central Springs as a young woman in her early twenties. At that time, she was married to her first husband. She described feeling isolated and living a sheltered life. In their interviews, she, Maura (a white sign language interpreter), and Jawala, Ranjana's husband at the time of this study, explained how Nepali culture constructs deafness as a deficit. According to these interviews, Deaf Nepali people are constructed as incapable of community life and are seen as "less than." As such, many Deaf Nepali people experience limited access to language, language learning, and linguistically and culturally affirming experiences. Ranjana described how many hearing family members dispossess their Deaf family members, even undermining their authority over their own lives or their relationships to their biological children. As such, it was very important to Ranjana that she proactively cultivate a community of Deaf refugees once she learned what resources and allies were available in the Central Springs area.

Ranjana explained the nuances of how disability, language, and cultural knowledge were cultivated among Deaf and otherwise disabled refugees in Central Springs. She began by explaining how her positionality as a refugee who lived in refugee camps supports her in establishing familiarity, trust, and a collective identity with Deaf refugees in Central Springs,

So our Deaf [refugees] is a very small collective group, right? We have a history of oppression in oppressive situations... [Interview_Ranjana_772021]

Here, Ranjana conceptualized oppression as an experience—a history of multiple, ongoing experiences—and as spatial habitation. That is, oppression is both temporal—through memory and events which pass—and spatial—through systems, institutions, and locations. She continued,

...Deaf [refugees] in the Central Springs area, most are from Nepal, many are from Nepal, and they're Nepalese people. But we trust each other because my relationship with a Nepali people is not just setting up this forum. It's Nepal...it started in the refugee camp. So my relationship with them started in the refugee camp

[Interview_Ranjana_772021]

Ranjana complicated the Western colonial hegemonic notion that one's country of origin is the central characteristic binding refugees to categories assigned to them. That is, she explained how it is not enough to be from Nepal or to be Nepali to cultivate a trusting relationship. Rather, Ranjana emphasized the importance of shared disability experience and, therefore, knowledge and recognition—not just knowledge of the experience, but recognition of one another as having inhabited and endured the same oppression. In her case, this meant that she drew on the knowledge and recognition of life in refugee camps to initiate relationships. Although she explained, “So my relationship with them started in the refugee camp,” she did not appear to literally mean that she knew and interacted with every Deaf refugee in Central Springs in a refugee camp. Rather, any relationship she cultivated with refugees in Central Springs were possible through knowledge and recognition of the individual's experience with and proximity to/within disability and oppression. She elaborated,

...I support a Deaf [former refugees]...well, Deaf refugees at the time in the camp. And I worked there, and I was supporting them by developing language. And when we moved here to the Central Springs area, it wasn't hard to establish that trust because we knew each other. And there are some Deaf people that I haven't met. But so far, I haven't had any issues with building that trust [Interview_Ranjana_772021]

As she continued, Ranjana made it clear that, although she *did* actually meet and support some of the Deaf refugees who ended up living near her in Central Springs, she had not previously met *all* of them in that way. However, because of her intimate knowledge and recognition of oppression through her refugee status and Deafness, she was poised to cultivate a trusting relationship with the Deaf refugees she has and has not met before resettlement in Central Springs.

Like other refugee and former EB/LAD participants in this study, Ranjana spoke as though she were very intimate with her past. That is, Ranjana's testimony connects to the Phase 1 theme, *Engaging critical positionality to contextualize knowledge and role in Community Cultural Wealth*, wherein participants' deep connection to their lived experiences supported their personal and professional praxis and aspirational capital. Throughout interviews, Ranjana, Jawala, and other participants who experienced migration and marginalization in similar ways, leveraged knowledge of the past and recognition of others who shared it to build relationships as part of their commitment to their community and to their disability and/or cultural and linguistic work. However, especially in Ranjana's case, this meant that each memory and embodied outcome of the past was a precious resource, no matter how painful or personal.

Ranjana's testimony drew my attention to my own memories of working in mid-sized urban school districts in Upstate New York. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic and the public discourses around police brutality and anti-Blackness in the U.S. at the time I conducted this study, many schools have begun to work harder to understand the diversity of needs of EB/LAD students and families. Teachers and administrators, who are already overextended, are usually so exasperated and defensive about the extent of the labor they invested to effect change—and, in terms of initiating basic changes to practice and mindset, they are making some progress

(see Stinson & Migliarini, 2020). However, it is important to remember that the burden of school-based professionals' labor cannot decenter the burden and long-term consequences of racialization, ableism, and other forms of oppression endured by students and families (see Capeheart, 2021). Ranjana and others in her community inhabit an inescapable wake of oppression. Because of their marginalized identities and commitments to cultivating linguistic, social, and aspirational capital, Ranjana and others cannot (while also choosing not to) set their memories of violence and exclusion aside—especially not when these memories are what bind them together when they begin to establish the connections to draw each other together in community.

Further, school-based professionals might feel pressure or frustration when their practices are critiqued as inequitable or insufficient, and hearing refugee EB/LADs' stories like Ranjana's can draw out strong emotions (see Migliarini et al., 2022; Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). However, school-based professionals cannot prioritize their own feelings or need for a sense of accomplishment over the lived experiences of the refugee and/or EB/LAD families they serve. Although school-based professionals might be committed to educational equity in their professional work, the lived experiences of refugee communities are still woven through the long-term and recent memories of the individuals, like Ranjana, who have actively worked within and outside of professional spaces to cultivate it. Even more importantly, school-based professionals discount these memories of wrongdoing and implicitly refuse to listen, acknowledge, and mindfully inhabit what refugee community members are telling them. In order to move forward with equity initiatives, school-based professionals need to meaningfully engage with stories like Ranjana's to truly transform language access and education for EB/LADs in Central Springs.

Theme 2: Conceptualizing disability and disablement through multiple processes

Whereas Theme 1 explored disability within refugee community spaces, Theme 2, *Conceptualizing disability and disablement through the process of colonization, migration, and assimilation*, demonstrates how participants understand and engage institutional professionals' knowledge and practices at the crossroads of disability, language, and migration. Codes in support of Theme 2 highlight the systemic erosion of collective care and community networks despite members' values regarding collective identities and knowledge systems. Participants conceptualized disability as a bureaucratic process of articulation which reinforced ableism through uncomfortable Western processes of evaluation and treatment. In this phase of the study, experiences around disability and disablement were conceptualized as the results of migration and proximity to whiteness and Western medicine. Because of their adverse experiences, participants articulated broad mistrust of medical institutions and processes within their community.

For example, Hamzh was a Black, refugee interpreter who owned and operated his own business, Central Springs Interpreter Network, at the time of the study. He also identified as a father of an EB/LAD son. Hamzh spoke four languages—Kizigua, Somali, Swahili, and English—and was a certified medical and legal interpreter; he also had experience providing interpreting and testing accommodations for EB/LAD students taking exams in school-based settings. In addition to his U.S.-based certifications as an interpreter/translator, Hamzh demonstrated a clear understanding of language families and linguistic relationships. For instance, when I asked him how he became proficient in so many languages, he explained,

Yeah, the only way I became professional in this language is, for example, Kizigua is my native language. Maimai is a language that close to Kizigua, and Somali is in between. So

everybody in the community speak that, so I don't need to go to school for that. So Somali and Swahili, those are the language that I need. I went to school when I was in school in Kenya refugee camp. I studied those two language. So I learned them like English [Interview_Hamzh_6182021]

Hamzh's work as a certified interpreter typically brought him to medical appointments and school-based events, such as state testing and special education meetings. Much of his interview was focused on how Hamzh often assumed the role of cultural mediator during medical and school-based appointments. He began by explaining the limitations of medical appointments between monolingual, English-speaking medical professionals and patients, saying,

let's say, you have an appointment, you are patient, you have an appointment, you go to the doctor, you cannot communicate with your doctor with your needs. And if there is a language barrier...language that the doctor cannot communicate with you and you cannot communicate with the doctor. So that's create a problem. But...when they get someone from their own country [who] speak their own language, with the doctor, they feel comfortable speaking to the doctor, and also explaining their problem

[Interview_Hamzh_6182021]

Hamzh explained that his work is more than just direct, literal translation between doctor and patient. He described feeling compelled to facilitate trust between his clients and the doctors who are supposed to be treating them. Rather than focusing on how doctors need adequate training and coaching to appropriately engage with and support their patients in understanding their medical procedures and conditions, Hamzh seemed to feel that patients needed to be educated, supported, and changed in the ways they enter into medical care.

In a corroborating example, Dhyansh, a middle-aged Nepali father of a teenaged EB/LAD daughter who had worked as an interpreter and advocate in the local public school district and community-based settings, explained,

we have been moved all over the places [in the school district] to support for interpretation, only...But we found a lot of instances of having difficulties within a family. And families were new to the country that they don't know what even simple, very simple issues that could be a big problem to school, learning, and getting learned things. So like, as you mentioned earlier, visual, delayed learning, autism and even...ADHD, which has--most of the families--they have that issues. I think Central Springs City Schools has not a intense program to find out the conditions that children [who] come from refugee camp have [Interview_Dhyansh_3192021]

Here, Dhyansh articulated tension between school-based professionals' expectations of interpreters and his colleagues' approach to their work. Dhyansh explained that he and his colleagues were "moved all over" the district to provide decontextualized or depersonalized language "services" for students or parents. However, he and his colleagues saw their role as mediating or facilitating access to cultural and institutional knowledge--not just direct translation--for families, especially when it came to understanding their children's disabilities and what the school could do to help. Crucially, Dhyansh also highlighted how school-based professionals appeared to underestimate the prevalence of disability-related needs among EB/LAD students and families in the district. He critiqued the school's existing mechanisms for identifying and measuring students' and families' disability-related needs resulting from migration, saying that they, "has not a intense program to find out the conditions that children [who] come from refugee camp have."

Going further, Hamzh explained,

The difficulty comes with the culture. Because...our culture is different. And the culture over here is different....that belief, it's coming from where we came from. For example, we used to live in a village. We never had, I never see a doctor since I was born...until I came to the refugee camp, I never see a doctor. My father, my mother, my grandmother, they never saw a doctor, you know, since they were born until they died, they never saw a doctor! So they used to be in the Somali village, they used to have their kid in their house. So they never see a midwife—they have their own midwife. So, that's a problem. So when we come here, everything, it has to be done by the doctor. So you have to go to the doctor, the doctor, they have to examine you. They have to say, 'Okay, I have to do a draw blood, I have to make sure everything is okay, don't have infection.' Our...our people don't believe that, you know, because that's something they never experienced, since they were born up to now [Interview_Hamzh_6182021]

Hamzh illustrated how seeking medical care and allocating the resources to do so (e.g., navigating health insurance) is made to feel abstract, intangible, or arbitrary in the ways that special education processes are made to feel (e.g., Cioè-Peña, 2020; 2018). Hamzh described how his clients resisted diagnosis and medical intervention in part because they were aware of what it meant to be officially labeled as disabled in the U.S., where safety, resources, and opportunities were already limited to them. His testimonies alluded to his awareness of technicianism³⁴ at play in medicine and education, as well as the cultural mystique of medical practice that affirms doctors as professional beyond comprehension and reproach. Potentially,

³⁴ According to Kalyanpur and Harry (2012), technicianism in special education refers to school-based professionals, “following instructions without making an effort to engage in individual problem solving or hypothesis testing” (p. 16).

this mystique and awareness of technicianism foster more distrust of school-based and medical professionals because it actually reifies ableism and other harmful values regarding disability and treatment which circulate in nondominant cultural knowledge systems.

Like Dhyansh and Ranjana, Hamzh also spoke about his community's general rejection or resistance toward disability diagnosis, especially in their children. This seemed connected to cultural beliefs around self-reliance as a result of not having sufficient social safety nets due to disrupted ways of life and social networks in their home countries. He explained,

[Y]ou know, in our country, we never had this kind of benefit we have here right now. Like, that's all, like, what is the Medicaid, the security, the testing, we don't know anything about that, you know, in our country. So all the only thing we know, you have to depend on yourself. So you have to be a farmer, you have to cultivate, to feed your family. You have to work. If you don't have a job, you have to go...I mean, to have to go to your farm and make your own production. And if you cannot do that, then your family, like, will suffer you know, from hunger. So that's the thing we learned since we were young [Interview_Hamzh_6182021]

According to this account, community members who experience disability also experience precarity; if one could not work outside to provide for oneself or family due to disability, one needed to tend the land through farming—otherwise, there was no other way to meet basic needs. Although Hamzh and members of other refugee communities in Central Springs demonstrated and described a strong sense of community and collective struggle, knowledge, and cultural wealth, Hamzh's testimony also addresses feelings and experiences of scarcity of material support. As such, when material support from a formal institutional or systemic body is unavailable, there are few resources which can be collectively, equitably distributed. Being

physically, geographically, and politically separated through migration and resettlement also disrupts the distribution of resources through these community networks. As such, it is understandable that this mindset of self-sufficiency for oneself and one's immediate family has emerged and prevailed and affected how this participant's community approaches disability and philosophy. This also points to why Hamzh might be focused on reducing harm in the moment (i.e., with the individual patient in the middle of an appointment), an individualistic approach to a systemic and institutional problem.

Although Phase 2 participants all identified as disabled or as parents of EB/LAD children, they conceptualized disability differently. Unlike Jawala, Ranjana, and Maura, Hamzh and Dhyansh primarily conceptualized disability as a bureaucratic process rather than a state of being or social identity. This difference is likely due to Hamzh and Dhyansh's years of experience with disability through their professional work and relationships. In Hamzh's interview, he explained how disability status was confirmed through the same depersonalized, institutional processes which his community is subjected to for medical intervention:

If you have a disability, you cannot just say, 'Okay, I have a broken leg, I cannot work.' You cannot just say [that], okay? You have to go to the doctor, the doctor has to ask you why you broke your leg, what happened, you know, all those kinds of questions...for example, during the Civil War, I broke my leg running while saving myself. So now I come here, I cannot work because my leg is broken from saving my life, you know. So now the doctor has to ask me, 'Why you broke your leg? What happened?' So if I...if I bring my emotional back, [with] 'What happened that day?' And the doctor asked me today that, that...it brokes my heart [Interview_Hamzh_6182021]

In this excerpt, Hamzh highlighted how the process of seeking a disability diagnosis or disability-related services can be a risky and retraumatizing process which renders an individual and their family vulnerable to outsider scrutiny and evaluation. Further, he highlights the emotional toll that disability disclosure can have on an individual—especially at the intersections of culture and gender. In Hamzh’s experience, disclosing disability-related needs to an institutional professional and community outsider, such as a doctor, meant admitting that he was unable to perform gendered expectations in his family or community (i.e., engaging in physical labor to earn income). Disability disclosure also meant having to re-encounter painful or traumatic memories in an impersonal or culturally insensitive clinical setting. Here, Hamzh’s articulation of risk and heartbreak, in conversation with Ranjana’s relationship to her past experiences in Theme 1, underscores the need for EB/LADs’ and their families agency and dignity in interview and evaluation processes related to disability and special education.

On the other hand, Families’ reluctant disclosure and acknowledgement of disability could also reflect (or reinforce) ableist cultural knowledge and cultural stigma around disability. In both Dhyansh and Hamzh’s interviews, they discussed families’ fears of being discussed in public discourses without their consent or knowledge—yet this is what happens in schools as a result of insufficient informed consent and parental partnership through surreptitious communication (e.g., Cioè-Peña, 2021a). The tension which emerges from Theme 2 in this phase of the study is that the primary recommendation for better participation and support is to include community-based educators and social networks to educate both sides of the table and to foster trust and advocacy. However, the fear of being publicly and dispassionately discussed by others is what compels so many of these same people to resist diagnosis or embracing disability identity.

Theme 3: Illustrating the layers of deficit-based thinking and bias in special education

EB/LADs and their families experience a systemic lack of intersectional support and policies exacerbated by fragmented policy implementation due to the fluctuating levels of state and local control of public schooling and educational resources (Hunt, 2011; Migliarini et al., 2019). Due to a lack of shared language, principles and practices for addressing disability rights as afforded by DisCrit and disability-affirming cultural knowledge, EB/LADs are subjected to educational and medical incongruities at the intersections of ableism, linguicism, racism, and xenophobia. Theme 3, *Illustrating the systemic, institutional, and individual layers of deficit-based thinking and bias (re)produced through school-based special education*, highlights how systemic, institutional, and individual layers of deficit-based thinking and bias influence school-based professionals' treatment of EB/LADs and their families. Across all interviews, participants articulated examples of harm done by systemic and institutional siloing of student needs in tandem with school-based professionals' knowledge and practices, and how these factors upheld oversimplified or culturally insensitive views of disability. Participants also critiqued how special education processes, such as special education referral and disability evaluation, child find policies, compulsory age-based education placement were insufficiently responsive to what they conceptualized as ability pluralism among EB/LAD students.

Dhyansh, who had years of experience as a school-based interpreter and as a parent of an EB/LAD student, began his interview by conceptualizing “educable stability.” That is, he suggested that school-based professionals needed to determine determine: (1) how long a child has actually been in the U.S.; (2) the family’s relationship with a primary care physician; (3) the need for a basic medical and psychological screening; and (4) whether or not the child is “stable

enough” to learn in terms of language, content knowledge, and behavior [Interview_Dhyansh_3192021].

Although his language around “stability” might belie a certain element of ableism as it is circulated in Dhyansh’s cultural knowledges, he articulated a critique of the formal education enrollment and inclusion processes for migrant students, especially newcomers. First, although schools in NYS do screen for English language skills using the NYSITELL assessment, they do not necessarily measure or consider the context of linguistic knowledge in English or the other language(s) spoken by the student. As a trained school-based interpreter, Dhyansh clearly recognized that English language proficiency isn’t about language alone. Rather, it is about connections, academic language skills, exposure and engagement with different types and levels of complexity of content, as well as other school-related behaviors and routines. He argued,

I think Central Springs City Schools has not a intense program to find out the conditions that children [who] come from refugee camp have. That is the most important that they have to start figuring out when the refugee come in are—if they are in for some time at east a year—they have to have a connection with their PCP, or at least have a good doctors ro screen them to find that they are very stable to learn, or they’re okay to learn this level of English or this level of whatever subjects that their program at school, in their class level or grade level. [Interview_Dyansh_3192021]

Beyond a comprehensive social history and assessment of the EB/LAD student and family’s resource networks, Dhyansh argued,

If the school districts and parents do not align together, go side by side with the doctors, with the community members, with the educators, with, like, a psychologist or PhDs, or

whatever thing, they cannot make children learn the right way. They have to partner with so many different disciplines so that they get going [Interview_Dhyansh_3192021]

Dhyansh highlighted the disconnect between migrant communities and the school officials, healthcare professionals, and other ‘experts’ (e.g., PhDs) who screen, identify, and, ostensibly, support EB/LAD students. From his perspective, children cannot ‘learn the right way’ without a collective effort towards comprehensively understanding their needs and abilities from multiple perspectives (i.e., cultural, medical, psychological, academic). However, this collective effort requires consensus-building focused on establishing a shared understanding of the student’s disability, the family and community’s beliefs, practices, and aspirations, as well as the medical and educational resources available to adequately support the child and their teachers.

In another example, Maura, a highly trained sign language interpreter and director at an organization serving ‘people with sensory loss’ [Interview_Maura_4162021], argued that institutions charged with supporting refugee families, such as schools and privately-funded charities, lacked understanding and criticality about the intersectional experiences of refugee and EB/LAD families and identities. She remarked,

[T]hese relocation entities, the resettlement programs, did not educate the Deaf [refugees] coming over about the depth services in this area. Interesting, because there's a dependency on hearing family members to know what's best for Deaf people.

[Interview_Maura_4162021]

In this excerpt, Maura points to two major issues in the provision of disability and educational services for refugees in Upstate New York. First, that institutional professionals do not connect families or individual clients to the vital disability, language, and educational services to which they are entitled. Second, institutional professionals are not aware of—nor do they acknowledge—

the ways disabled and, in particular, Deaf refugees are marginalized. In a similar example, Ranjana described how her Deafness was illegible to public-school professionals when she arrived in Central Springs,

When I got here, there was no services for the Deaf when I moved here in the Central Springs city area. At that time, I was unaware of what was available. And I was put into English as a second language class. And they wanted to evaluate my level of English, I guess. And they had some kind of tasks. And I remember standing in a long line, and the hearing people were going and then it was my turn in line. I stood there, I was told to stand there, and they told me to speak. And I said, 'I don't even understand what you're saying, I'm Deaf.' And so that was their first awareness, and they pulled me aside. And they didn't check first to find out if the person was Deaf and what kind of accommodations they need and how to communicate effectively. It was just automatically assumed and judged that I would be able to speak.

[Interview_Ranjana_772021]

Ranjana's experience illustrates how school-based professionals lacked a nuanced understanding of the relationships between impairment and disability. The officials at the public school who evaluated her unquestioningly placed her in an English language class, as if her only need as a refugee was to learn how to speak. Their narrow conceptualization of what it meant to be a "refugee" was not just xenophobic, racist, and linguicist; their assumption that Ranjana "would be able to speak" underscores how ableism circulates together with racism, xenophobia, and linguicism to construct the category of "refugee" or "disabled," or "English language learner."

Between Maura's and Ranjana's testimonies, it is clear how school-based professionals, especially those working in special education contexts, are not equipped to support EB/LADs or

their family members who are subjectived by systemic, cultural or familial practices rooted in ableism. In other words, EB/LADs' disability and impairments are, in many cases, illegible to these service providers because they lack an intersectional and ontological understanding of disability. Further, these data affirm how educational policies and other service delivery policies and practices must be supported by all DisCrit's tenets (Table 3, p. 39). In particular, Tenet 3 addresses how social constructions of disability—in this case, the narrow conceptualization of disability as an externally visible category mutually exclusive to the category of refugee and, therefore, impossible to be experienced simultaneously—have material consequences. In the cases presented here, the consequences emerge as the invisibilizing of disability cultural identity, autonomy, and appropriate educational, disability, and language services. Further, school-based professionals operate within policy contexts which do not critically address intersectional nor ontological models of disability, race, migratory status, and language. As such, these policies narrowly focus on English language acquisition and expeditious immersion into Western cultural learning experiences for the purpose of assimilation. Ironically, as DisCrit Tenet 5 affirms, the mechanisms of this system, which hinge on the surveillance and categorization of deficits and difference, are rooted in traditional special education and steeped in the medical model of disability.

Conclusion

This chapter presented findings from Phase 2 of the present study, which explored the perspectives of interpreters and bilingual educators whose work and experiences with disability bridge institutional, community, and home spaces. The findings center on the role and construction of linguistic capital, which Phase 2 participants cultivated and leveraged through shared experiences, connections, and years of service work across cultural and linguistic

boundaries. Because Phase 2 participants either personally identified as or allied themselves with people with disabilities, they were poised to offer more nuanced, clearly articulated knowledge around disability, culture, language, and migration than Phase 1 participants. For Phase 2 participants, school-based professional's effort to translate Prior Written Notice or an EB/LAD's Individualized Education Program is insufficient; rather, it is imperative that school- and community-based educators collaboratively leverage the linguistic, social, and familial capital as access points to parent education and educational rights. In a similar vein, Phase 2 participants do not believe it is sufficient to attempt to foster trust with refugee EB/LAD families in preparation for the annual review meeting; rather, it is about establishing trust with the family through engaging whom they trust and leveraging those networks for the purpose of connection and belonging—experiences which might have seemed impossible upon their arrival to the U.S.

Chapter 7: THE SOCIAL AND FAMILIAL

Phase 3 explored how community-based educators and EB/LADs collaboratively engage familial and social capital to establish and/or strengthen in-group identities and knowledges through a summer-long community-based youth education program. Unlike Phases 1 and 2, which relied on individual intensive semi-structured interviews conducted via web-based video conferencing, Phase 3 relied on ethnographic field observations conducted on-site at CSIC's Southside community center. Phase 3 ethnographic field observations were supplemented by Phase 1 interview data from participants who were also working as the facilitators during the education programs observed in 2020 and 2021. This Phase of the study revealed how community-based educators from Phase 1, Barwaaqo, Amadu, Aaden, Helene, and Momolu, developed a summer education program to support students' social, emotional, and academic needs in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic. The data revealed how centering youth's needs, current abilities, and preferences through a collective mentorship approach cultivated a Critical Culturally Sustaining space for EB/LAD youth in a time of precarity (i.e., the transition out of the COVID-19 pandemic). Further, the participants exemplified how intentionally creating cultural spaces and practices helped EB/LAD students to express themselves and practice agency, especially in how they experienced, negotiated, or conceptualized ability differences.

CSIC's Southside center is located in the heart of a Central Springs City Housing Authority housing complex. Because it is centrally located in the midst of this housing community and adjacent to a local elementary school, a public park, and two small corner stores, the center and surrounding space always seems to bustle with energy and activity. However, because of the presence and history behind the infrastructure development in Central Springs, CSIC almost exists as a sequestered oasis.

Across the street from CSIC on Wood Ave is Southside Elementary, a K-5 public school in the Central Springs City School District. Beyond Southside Elementary, the Interstate overpass is visible just above the sagging, moss-covered rooftops of Victorian and turn-of-the-century houses. The overpass cuts across this side of the city, a physical barrier between the East Side, which houses a complex of universities and the city's wealthier neighborhoods, and the South Side, a historically black neighborhood since the local government evacuated and razed the historically Black neighborhood to build the interstate viaduct through the city [Fieldnotes_Afterschool_322020]

Its separation from the wealthier, strategically drawn neighborhoods of Central Springs offers a clue about how CSIC's Southside neighborhood has been constructed by city officials and more privileged residents. A closer look at the pavement and concrete sidewalks reveals potholes, exposed ancient cobblestone, and jagged, mismatched sections of sidewalk. The nearby park is ill-maintained by the city's parks and recreation department as evidenced by the chipped exterior of the playground equipment, which reveals layers of rust underneath. Despite this divestment by the city and county governments, the Southside is a family- and community-centered neighborhood.

As I turn right from York Street towards CSIC, small family groups stand outside of the public housing community at various curbside drop-off points. At almost 4:00 PM, the Central Springs City School buses have begun dropping off elementary students at their homes; many children who appear to be in middle and high school are already waiting at the curbsides or walking down sidewalks in small groups. As I pass Southside Elementary in my car, some 4-door sedans linger in the school bus lane and parking lot. Presumably, these are late parent pick-ups waiting for their children to be escorted by

school staff out of the building where they were waiting to meet them

[Fieldnotes_Afterschool_322020]

Rows of houses face each other on a maze of streets named “Truth Terrace” and “Prospect Place.” It is 2:50 PM on a July Monday, so the elementary summer school program has just dismissed students for the afternoon. Black children and youth dart in and out of traffic and sidewalks on foot. Adults--Black men and women--stride purposefully toward Southside Elementary, cell phones delicately balanced in the palm of a hand as they continue conversations on speaker phone. To my left, a group of four Black boys with slender limbs and cropped hair run away from a Black woman wearing a periwinkle spaghetti-strap top and blue leggings with sandals who has just stepped outside the door of a townhouse in the public housing complex. She touches a light-colored wrap on her head as she calls after them, then reaches for the screen door to her left and returns indoors [Fieldnotes_Advance_8122021]

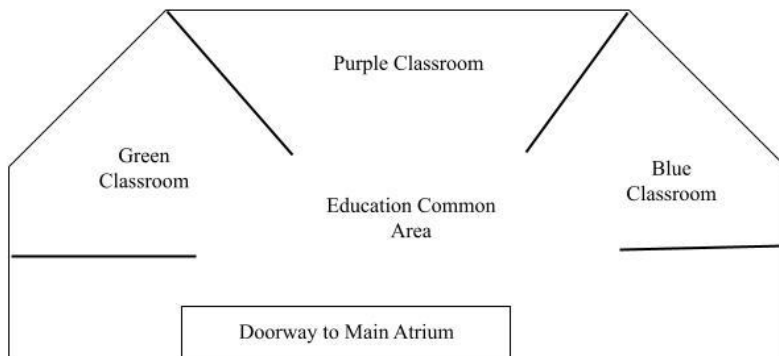
The fieldnotes excerpts here illustrate how, at different moments over a year apart, the movement and energy of the neighborhood is focused around the school that serves its children. Despite being constructed as a “poor” or even “undesirable” space—implicitly and explicitly—by city officials and more privileged residents, Phase 3 observational data told a counterstory about a community. Here, children from multiple family units joyfully band together to play—and perhaps escape reprimand—outdoors and between houses. Parents and caregivers are able to walk or drive to the community school to escort their children home. Southside residents have conversations, watch over children, and live in community with one another.

The CSIC community center is a Central Springs Housing Authority-owned building, so it was built to be minimally accessible—that is, basically compliant per the Americans with

Disabilities Act (ADA; 1990) regulations. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the main atrium of the CSIC community center was constantly bustling with case managers, community-based educators, families, and unaccompanied groups of children, usually siblings or cousins. CSIC staff adorned the walls with photos from previous adult and youth programs and fieldtrips, along with children's artwork and flyers printed in Somali, English, and Nepali. Donations of clothing and home goods were piled around the center, making them freely and casually accessible to anyone in need. The atmosphere of the center upon entering immediately set it apart from other refugee-serving spaces I had visited. The space featured an open floor plan design, with some cubicle-style barriers minimally separating classroom spaces and staff offices (Figure 6). The open floor plan functioned to connect all of the different spaces within the CSIC community center, reflecting the cohesive, wrap-around support the organization strove to offer refugee families. As Momolu explained in his Phase 1 interview, the environment itself at CSIC was culturally affirming. He explained,

Just the environment that they are in...So, [CSIC] is an environment, like, where any refugee is welcome because when you walk in there, you see people dressed like you, you see pictures of people that's looks like you...so, instantly you feel like you are at home...you are able to decompress and express yourself...whereas in school...they don't even look up to acknowledge who you are... [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

Momolu articulates a sense of being recognized by the staff and other individuals seeking assistance or resources at CSIC. Because of the wide diversity and prevalence of other racially, linguistically, and culturally minoritized people, it is easy to encounter "people dressed like you...pictures of people that's looks like you..." [Interview_Momolu_3182020].

Figure 6*Floorplan of CSIC's Education Wing***Theme 1: Resistance through connection and care in community-based education**

Theme 1, *Resistance through connection and care in community-based education*, is focused on how community-based educators at CSIC recognize the ways EB/LADs are labeled and marginalized through their school-based experiences. As Phase 1 interviews illustrated, much of CSIC's education department staff identified as former refugee EB/LAD graduates from Central Springs City School District who returned to the community to teach and facilitate community-based youth work and education. Because of their own experiences as students labeled and marginalized in school, CSIC educators like Barwaaqo, Aaden, Amadu, and Momolu developed a deep, personal understanding of what EB/LADs need in order to feel recognized, affirmed, and like they belong. Field observation data gave rise to two primary strategies or approaches to resisting the mechanisms of labeling and marginalization EB/LADs experience in school. The first, *Connections over compliance*, illustrates how community-based educators at CSIC prioritized relationships and connection to students, rather than behavioral compliance and rigid procedures. The second strategy, *Negotiating disability and labels*, refers to the discursive

freedom CSIC staff offered students as they explored contentious topics, such as disability, gender, and education placements in school.

Connections over compliance

Community-based educators at CSIC provided a flexible, yet predictable, environment in which EB/LAD students could learn, socialize, and, crucially, make mistakes. During his Phase 1 interview, Aaden, who held several different positions at CSIC and eventually accepted a job working as a behavior and mental health specialist for the school district, described how many EB/LAD students—especially Black boys—were constructed as behaviorally disordered or problematic by school-based professionals. Aaden said,

[T]hey see a student and be like, ‘Ugh, he’s just another bad kid. He walks around the hallway all the time.’ And it’s just like, yeah, but *why* does he—*why* do they do that?

[Interview_Aaden_472020]

Here, Aaden clearly demonstrates a connection-focused approach toward supporting students’ behavioral and social wellbeing. During field observations at CSIC, Aaden demonstrated his approach and mindset in the ways he diffused tension and affirmed students’ agency through gentle humor, patience, and modeling.

In one example, Aaden was distributing snack during an afterschool program at CSIC. Noor, a student with whom I was familiar through my own work at CSIC and local schools, refused the snack Aaden offered her:

Aaden re-enters the middle classroom with a large, yellow cardboard box. Smiling, but looking down into the box as he walks, he calls out, “Snacks!” Noor, a young Black girl with a physical disability, looks up from her worksheet and raises her eyebrows at him, then scrunches her face up into an exaggerated scowl. Aaden replies, jokingly, “What,

y'all don't like pretzels? Wow." The girl smiles, giggles softly, and shakes her head, "No." Because she doesn't want her snack, Aaden, smiling, redistributes it to another student sitting at the same table [Fieldnotes_Afterschool_322020]

In a more formal or school-based setting, Noor's behavior—making an exaggerated scowl at an adult who is offering her food—might be considered to be rude or insubordinate behavior.

Further, Noor's identity as a Black girl means that she is more likely to be hypersurveilled by white school-based educators and punished more quickly for smaller "infringements" on school policies or expectations (Annamma et al., 2019). Rather than reprimand or correct Noor for scowling at his offer of food, he gently jokes with her by feigning disappointment and surprise at her refusal. He maintains a regulated, joyful affect as he continues to facilitate snack distribution:

Within two minutes, Aaden has returned to the middle classroom with Caprisun drink pouches for each student working in the room. Another young Black girl, Zahra, makes a dramatic hissing noise at him and another holds her hand out for a drink without saying, 'Please,' or, 'Thank you.' He raises his eyebrows at her, and, as he holds the juice out to her, he maintains a tight grip on the pouch until she lets out an exaggerated, dramatic sigh and says, 'Thank you.' Both are smiling during the exchange...Aaden looks down at Noor, who has retrieved an additional juice and snack (a cereal bar) from her backpack. He jokingly says, "Y'all got double the snack, double the juice...I wish I could be like y'all!" Noor laughs, and digs into her snack [Fieldnotes_Afterschool_322020]

In this example, Aaden recognizes the limits and proximal development needs of the Black EB/LAD girls with whom he is interacting. He is aware that he can push the boundaries of correction with Zahra, whom he gently prompted to use polite language when receiving her snack. On the other hand, Aaden understood that Noor might not respond positively to public

correction. Rather than push the limits of correction with Noor, he chooses to invest in their positive connection by using gentle, affirming humor. This seemed to function to help Noor feel safe and secure in her environment, while also preserving their positive relationship.

Community-based educators at CSIC prioritized connections over behavioral compliance in how they engaged and invested in social and familial capital. CSIC educators like Barwaaqp and Amadu regularly paused procedures and held time and space for students to share personal details about themselves, their family connections, and to establish and strengthen their relationships to individual children. I observed CSIC staff pause to recognize, communicate, and affirm through physical and discursive closeness even when they were in the middle of a time-limited task or busy schedule.

In one example, Barwaaqo and Amadu were frantically trying to take attendance at a summer youth program at CSIC. That day, several students who had not been previously enrolled in the program suddenly arrived. These children had attended CSIC programs in the past and also lived in the housing community nearby.

Two adolescent boys, Shermake and Jaamac [pseudonyms], enter the green room.

Barwaaqo retrieves her slim black binder, opening to a new page in her attendance roster section.

Barwaaqo: What's your name?

Shermake: Shermake.

Barwaaqo: Where is your registration form? I don't have it here.

Shermake: I had it fully signed and then my brother ripped it.

Barwaaqo, flipping frantically through her paperwork: Can you just sign your name here? I will add you to the list. What's your name?

Jaamac: Jaamac.

Shermake: That's my stepbrother.

Amadu comes back into the green classroom and the boys—including Osman and the others—appear to get very excited. They shout, 'Amadu!' Amadu smiles, asking if he thinks they're gonna be taller than him in 5th grade. The boys say yes. Osman, another young Black boy in the group, shows a huge smile, asking, "Do you remember my name?"

Amadu: Do you remember *my* name?

Osman, hanging off of Amadu's body in a hugging position: Mr. Amadu!

Amadu: Let's get you guys some nametags. I forget. It's been too long

[Fieldnotes_Advance_812021]

In this exchange, Barwaaqo demonstrates flexibility in the way she accepts Shermake into the program despite his missing paperwork. As Barwaaqo and other refugee participants emphasized in their interviews, the primary way to establish trust with EB/LADs and their families was consistency and availability. Barwaaqo operated under the knowledge that many EB/LAD children would not return once they were turned away because they were missing paperwork. Barwaaqo also likely knew that she would be able to follow up with Shermake and Jaamac's families regarding their registration at the end of the day or at another time since they lived in such close proximity to CSIC. Amadu diffuses any tension in this interaction with humor and physical touch; he is clearly a familiar adult to the boys, and his presence and affect contribute to the patience and flexibility offered by Barwaaqo.

In Phase 1 interviews with Barwaaqo, Amadu, and Momolu, they do highlight some positive school-based experiences that they had during their years as "ELLs" enrolled in

segregated ENL classes. Of course, most U.S.-based ENL programs implement an English-only immersion model for “supporting” and integrating emergent bilingual children. As such, there are several problems with the design, implementation, and underlying ideological commitments of ENL programs and policies in New York State. These issues are sustained and expanded by the uncritical engagement and practices of ENL teachers (Migliarini & Stinson, 2021; Stinson & Migliarini, 2020). From the perspective of the participants in this study, what made their experiences in ENL classes positive, affirming memories were not reflected in the discourse of ENL policies or testimonies of ENL teachers. Rather, these participants described how the relaxed, flexible pace of ENL classrooms affirmed their needs for substantial time and space to process, listen, and engage with content, ideas, environmental stimuli, and each other. For example, Momolu remembered,

I remember when I was in middle school. I remember I was in school the first time I see the snow fall. I remember [my teacher] cancel the class so my brother and I could go outside and play in the snow...play outside in the snow. That memory always stuck with me...she literally...it started snowing, I looked out the window and I turn to my brother like, ‘It started snowing.’ And we were both standing at the window and she was just like, ‘You know what, class? Let’s go outside. Seeing it’s your first time seeing it, let’s go outside.’ And I really...I was like, ‘Wow.’ I spent 8 minute outside and I went right back inside and I said, ‘I’m NOT doing this. Nope, not doing it!’ And everyone laugh, and I said, ‘You can laugh but I’m not doing it!’ [Interview_Momolu_3182021]

There seems to be enough space and time in the ENL classroom for students to authentically and effectively communicate with each other, or even to just play in the snow for the first time. While on the one hand there is a big push to systematize and tighten instruction in the ENL

classroom, the evidence from the experiences of the participants in this study show us that there are access points for intentionally cultivating flexible time and space for EB/LAD students.

Navigating disability and labels

Undoubtedly, deficit-based perspectives of disability across school and community spaces function in tandem with subtractive language learning through English-only instruction and related services in schools to invisibilize EB/LAD refugee youth. As Aaden explained in his interview, EB/LADs “get pulled out of society” due to unacknowledged or unaddressed ableism and color-evasiveness across home and school spaces. However, community-based educators at CSIC are aware of the ways racism, ableism, and other oppressive power dynamics proliferate as the result of complicity or evasion of even discussing them. During field observations at CSIC, I observed EB/LADs engaging in direct, open conversations around race, disability, and educational labeling. For example, Osman was a young Black boy who attended CSIC’s summer youth program. Osman was described to me by participants as exhibiting characteristics of what they thought was undiagnosed Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). When I encountered Osman, I noticed that he did indeed exhibit a high degree of energy; he was a child who seemed to need to move and use his body while he listened, thought, and created.

During one unstructured playtime session at CSIC, Osman appeared to be struggling to initiate and then sustain his attention on a single activity:

Osman is hopping in place front of his seat at the table, bouncing three times on one foot before alternating to the other. Barwaaqo watches this behavior for a brief moment, then quickly descends on him to offer suggestions for an activity to do instead.

Barwaaqo: “Draw something. [Utterance in Somali]. You can use this straw color.

Osman, raising his eyebrows: Yeah, but...everybody in here is *Black*!

Barwaaqo, taking a deep breath, pulls a dark crayon out of the box in the middle of the table: Okay, here is one. Is black.

Osman takes the crayon, yells, “Ah!” and runs away out of the classroom. He quickly returns to grab his paper, then runs out to the common area and crashes into the long wooden table lining the wall where a huge floor-to-ceiling mural is painted. Osman begins looking up at the mural, then back down to his paper, carefully reproducing the outline of the sunburst at the center of the mural. [Fieldnotes_Advance_8132021]

Here, Barwaaqo quietly and calmly observed Osman’s external characteristics in the moment. She read his body language, movements, and facial expressions before offering him a suggestion for his next activity. Osman astutely noted that the colors she offered him would not accurately represent the racial demographics of the classroom. Although his direct language and affect appeared to surprise Barwaaqo—she self-regulates by taking a deep breath—she quickly pivots and affirms Osman’s observation. She does not reprimand him for speaking directly about race or for advocating for the tools to accurately represent the racial identities of the people he wanted to draw. Instead, she affirmed both his racial knowledge and his need for movement in the way she navigated this interaction.

In another segment, a group of Black boys, Jaamac, Shermarke, and Shafik, were gathered around a table in the Blue Classroom. Amadu, who had been circulating the Blue Classroom to work with small groups of students developing self-portraits, quickly exited the room to support Luley, a Black girl who also attended the summer program, who appeared to be having a meltdown in the atrium. Although the other children around them in the Blue Classroom were speaking a variety of languages—Somali, Maimai, Swahili—this group of boys

had shifted to speaking in English. Jaamac, who was in Luley's homeroom at Southside Middle School, began lightheartedly describing the behavior of students with disabilities in his school.

Jaamac: Special ed. in our school, they be running.

Shermake: Yeah, they always trying to fight.

Jaamac, emphatically, standing in front of the table as he makes this next point: They go like this they go like this: Unnnngh [imitates exaggerated stereotypical sound of a person with intellectual disability]

Shafik: Yeah, that's why *you* in that class.

Jaamac, defensively: All the smart people is in the same class as me. Luley [pseudonym]-she in special ed. She don't be in ESL at all.

Jaamac, continuing: In attendance they be like, do they [teachers] be like, 'I'm the special ed class.'

Shafik, dismissing Jaamac and shaking his head as he doodles on his paper: They don't be saying that.

Jaamac: Special ed. kids be having anger issues. *She* got anger issues, I'm telling you...I be just laughing like...how you in special ed., Luley? [Fieldnotes_Advance_812021]

In this exchange, the boys articulated what it meant to be an EB/LAD in their school. Jaamac, who dominated the discussion, seemed to anxiously discursively position their peer, Luley, as far away from himself as possible by exaggerating what he sees "special ed." students and their teachers do and say at school. Jaamac is aware that he could potentially be negatively constructed as a student with a disability because of his placement in the same homeroom as Luley, a student whose disability status was widely known to the other children and youth in the community. At one point, Jaamac seemed to grapple with the false binary of ELL status and

disability status often constructed through educational policy and disproportionality research. He said, “...she in special ed. She don’t be in ESL at all.” This interaction highlights the deleterious effects of narrow, deficit-based thinking enacted through language and special education policy across New York State. Although these boys were not directly engaging with official policy documents, they have learned that there is a difference between educational labels and how they are socially constructed. More importantly, CSIC offers a space for them to negotiate these meanings. The missing step in this context would be intentional deployment of Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy to support them in recognizing the harm in institutional categories, and how, through their own discourse and relationships with people assigned to institutional categories, they can disrupt harm—or remain complicit in the marginalization of their peers.

Theme 2: Cultivating sanctuaries through solidarity-focused community

Community-based educators at CSIC were focused on more than addressing gaps in academic, linguistic, and cultural knowledge as a result of English-only, assimilation pedagogy that their EB/LAD students experienced through school. Theme 2, *Cultivating sanctuaries through solidarity-focused community*, highlighted how community-based educators supported student choice, identity work, and self-determination through familiar dominant and nondominant cultural and language practices. CSIC educators also read, recognized, and respected social and familial networks to initiate and sustain youth participation in their programs. In this context, solidarity refers to the strategies and underlying beliefs that support individuals in power relative to others within a shared space—i.e., a classroom or learning environment—to relinquish pedagogical or political control. One outcome of monolingual education policies, pedagogies, and epistemologies which center English and Western cultural

knowledge is that white, monolingual school-based professionals hold positions as the primary source of knowledge, value, and protocol. As the work of language education researchers, such as Rosa and Flores (2017), Daniels (2018), and Baker-Bell (2020; 2013), affirms, school-based professionals often uncritically maintain “control” of language use, access, and identity in the classroom, especially through their constructions of students’ abilities (or disabilities).

CSIC educators demonstrated practices and mindsets which functioned to relinquish control in the classroom, thereby avoiding the common ways that EB/LAD students are positioned as threats to the English-only classroom order (Menken & Sánchez, 2019). Going further, CSIC educators demonstrated resistance toward “carceral logics” (Miglierini & Annamma, 2018). According to Annamma and Handy (2019), “carceral logics” are fundamental to how most educators—especially white educators—learn about supporting, coercing, or enforcing compliance with so-called “pro-social” or “appropriate” behavior and expectations. “Carceral logics,” in tandem with a top-down focus on teacher control, contribute to conflict and power struggles in the classroom and ultimately limit the capacity of school-based professionals to develop meaningful relationships with students and families. In the programs and spaces at CSIC’s Southside community center, interactions and relationships between students and educators were firmly rooted in observable care and love. In other words, at CSIC, relationships, which cultivate social and familial capital, are as much a part of the curriculum as academic subjects (Annamma & Handy, 2019).

One way that participants communicated and promoted solidarity with students and with one another was through their use and acceptance of minimal responses, gestures, physical movement and positioning, space, and proximity, and turn-taking during individual, small-group, and whole-group communication. During one summer youth program session, Amadu and

Barwaaqo organized several identity-focused activities which integrated reading, writing, illustration, and oral language. Some of the activities were very time- and labor-intensive, such as imagining and designing a mural about what CSIC and education meant to them. Others consisted of simple, printable graphic organizers that provided written prompts to which students would respond in writing, illustration, and textures (e.g., feathers, felt strips, plastic googly eyes), such as an “All About Me” poster. Amadu and Barwaaqo sat among the students and completed their own “All About Me” posters and displayed them on the walls of the Blue Classroom (see Fig. 6). When they finished, Amadu and Barwaaqo began to walk between the classrooms, stopping to conference with students about their posters or to respond to student questions. For example,

One of the younger boys, Mohamed, asks Amadu how to spell the show title, *Phineas and Ferb*. Amadu is kneeling on the floor at eye-level with Mohamed, his elbows resting on the table, while his left hand twirls a pencil, shifting from between fingers across his knuckles. Amadu ponders Mohamed’s request, then slowly rises until he is more gently bent over Mohamed, who is still seated. Amadu slaps his hands onto his knees and admits that he does not know how to spell Phineas. He quickly offers, “Ferb—I know that one. F-E-R-B.” Osman, who has been bouncing (literally) in and out of rooms and spaces since I left the Green Classroom, full-body theatrically shuffles like a Bob Fosse-inspired dancer across the room. Looking from Osman to Mohamed, Amadu raises his eyebrows conspiratorially at Mohamed, nodding his head toward Osman as if to say, “That’s Osman!” [Fieldnotes_Advance_8122021]

Here, Mohamed, a young CSIC student, asked Amadu how to spell the names of the titular characters of his favorite animated show. Amadu positions himself physically, spatially, and

discursively in solidarity as a learner with Mohamed in this context (i.e., *Phineas and Ferb*; Hughes, 2007): he brought his tall, imposing adult frame to a physical position that is just below Mohamed's eye level; he took up space at the table where Mohamed is working with two other students, making sure he was close enough to hear the soft-spoken Mohamed; and he admitted that he did not know how to spell the name of one of the characters. Furthermore, when another student burst into the classroom while the others were quietly chatting and creating their posters, Amadu did not demonstrate the impulse to enforce top-down bodily compliance. By permitting Osman's movement, and by sharing a "look" with Mohamed, Amadu communicated to both students that different bodies move differently, and that was encouraged in that space.

Toward the end of this program session, all of the students gathered in the classroom to share one of the activities they had created during the day. This whole-group activity offered another example of how CSIC educators chose a solidarity-focused approach to "managing" student behavior and interactions in the classroom:

Amadu reads aloud from his "All About Me" paper, but is quickly interrupted as soon as he reads his age,

Amadu: My name is Amadu. How old am I? I am 28 years old...

Shermake: Wait, wait, wait...you're 28?

Amadu: Yeah. Black don't crack. Remember that!

All of the kids begin to shyly giggle, then laugh at Amadu's statement as they look around the room at one another's reactions. He continues to read from his paper,

Amadu: Something interesting about me is that I have never broke a bone—

Jaamac: Isn't the teeth a bone, tho?

Amadu: Hm, okay, okay...

The boys erupt into debate about the categories of teeth, bones, and other body parts. Amadu warns them not to cuss or be disrespectful.

Jaamac, touching his palm to his chest as though indignant: Yo, I don't cuss, I don't do none uh that. I'm spiritual!

Amadu, smiling: You're right, you're alright! Can I please keep going?

And then it'll be your turn [Fieldnotes_Advance_8122021]

In this segment, Amadu was trying to model the expectations for students as they shared their work with their peers; he was standing, he was speaking slowly and clearly in English, and he was speaking loud enough for everyone in the room to hear. When students interjected to gently tease Amadu while he was modeling the activity, Amadu chose to react in a way that demonstrated humor, patience, and humility. Rather than admonishing the students or using sarcasm, which many CSIC educators described their own teachers doing when they spoke about their own schooling memories, Amadu calmly and quickly offered a joke. When a student corrected him, remembering that Amadu had chipped a tooth during the spring semester program at CSIC, Amadu gestured and spoke in a way that suggested he was thoughtfully considering the student's point.

The older boys quiet down so that the younger children can present, read, or describe their works uninterrupted. Osman attempts to read from his "All About Me" poster. As he slowly encodes and annunciates each word, Amadu grunts, nods, and curls his body over the boy in his seat—almost protectively. It is clear by

the way he continues to glance up at Amadu while he reads, leaning toward his direction with his small, rigid body, that he is relying on Amadu's visual and verbal cues that he needs a lot of support in reading and writing

[Fieldnotes_Advance_8122021]

In this segment, Osman, one of the children whom the CSIC educators described as having disability-related needs and characteristics, struggled to read and remember what he had depicted on his poster in words, illustrations, and colorful, textured materials. Amadu modeled respect for Osman by physically and affectively demonstrating attention and comprehension (e.g., minimal responses of grunting, head nods). This suggests that Amadu was aware of his students' linguistic and cultural norms for communicating attention and comprehension and used that knowledge to set the expectation for how the students needed to treat each other. Rather than employing the "carceral logics" of uniform, unquestioning compliance. Furthermore, Amadu signaled to the students that: (1) the acts of creating and exhibiting one's work had meaning and importance; and (2) people deserve time, attention, and celebration for the work they do.

As a form of solidarity-focused resistance, Barwaaqo and other educators at CSIC developed various programs focused on youth work. Youth work is defined as supporting and mentoring youth through developmental stages, especially outside of formal school spaces and hours (Baldrige, 2020). In Central Springs refugee and migrant communities, many of these educational programs centered students' engagement in identity work through storytelling and reading mentor texts written by authors who identified as refugees or migrants. Other initiatives, as Amadu explained, focus on tutoring and guiding students through school-based experiences and expectations. In Amadu's context, tutoring and support target adolescent and college-aged youth because of the differences in opportunities between older and younger generations and

cohorts of EB/LAD students. Amadu did not work directly with his students' school-based teachers and was not aware of all of his students' official disability statuses. Nonetheless, he reported how many older students demonstrated literacy skills far below what was expected of youth their age. To address this gap, he explained in his Phase 1 interview,

...[W]ith the high school kids, there's an intense need for them because not all of them started out where the little kids started out. The little kids started out in elementary, so the little kids kinda have a grasp or understanding of how education works here a little bit. But like the high school kids were just kinda put in the middle of things like, 'Okay, here you go. Just do your best and try to pass these tests and you know gotta make it to college.' So...we try to close up those gaps a little bit by offering tutors, just having more type of tutors there...that way they don't fall back in class or just get overwhelm with assignments. [Interview_Amadu_432020]

During Phase 3 field observations, Amadu, Aaden, and Barwaaqo collaborated to offer tutors of various linguistic and content-area backgrounds to support meaningful youth work in the community. These spaces, initially intended to support immediate academic, cultural, and social needs within the community, also took on a deeper purpose for participating students and volunteers. Another community-based educator, Aimee, an Asian American graduate student who ran the homework help program for teenagers, recognized the importance of solidarity and community-building among her volunteers, many of whom were (im)migrants themselves:

Aimee moves briskly and begins unpacking small boxes of pencils, nametags, and other administrative materials (e.g., a sign-in sheet). As she works, she asks if everyone knows each other. Volunteers share experiences with volunteer orientation. Aimee asks if everyone completed background check form. All but one, Rain, orally confirm that they

have completed the forms. Rain takes the opportunity to complete the form that Aimee immediately hands him. The volunteers sit in a cluster together at a table

[Fieldnotes_TeenHW_352020]

Aimee also explained how youth work in Central Springs provided students with opportunities to share and critique their schooling experiences:

Once I have asked students to understand how their teachers help them, and then they shared methods but um some people had like constructive feedback for their teachers that it wasn't really helpful how they helped them, and other said it was helpful how their teachers help. So, unless we ask hem those direct questions we wouldn't know.

[Interview_Aimee_432020]

In Aimee's program, adolescents met multiple times each week at a local library within walking distance of their middle and high schools to complete projects and assignments both related to school-based coursework as well as life outside of school, such as religion and career planning. In so doing, Aimee and her co-facilitators created a space where students could exercise agency over their educational experiences.

Conclusion

Phase 3 of this study explored how community-based educators and EB/LADs collaboratively cultivated and engage familial and social capital to establish and/or strengthen in-group identities and knowledges. Many of the CSIC staff participants in this phase of the study were also interviewed as part of Phase 1. This supplemented my collection and analysis of ethnographic fieldnotes, as I was able to draw on their interview and field observation data to establish connections between their beliefs, values, and actions. Phase 3 revealed how community-based educators from Phase 1, Barwaaqo, Aaden, Amadu, Helene, and Momolu,

developed a variety of programs, such as after school programming, homework help for teenagers, and half-day summer programming, to support students' social, emotional, and academic needs in relation to the COVID-19 pandemic. CSIC educators consistently centered youth's needs, current abilities, and preferences through a collective mentorship approach cultivated a Critical Culturally Sustaining space for EB/LAD youth in a time of transition and uncertainty. The data revealed missed opportunities for intentional engagement around contentious issues of identity and belonging, such as disability. However, there were also examples showing how CSIC educators offered EB/LADs the freedom to negotiate and understand these identities on their own. Ultimately, the participants exemplified how intentionally creating cultural spaces and practices helped EB/LAD students to express themselves and practice agency, especially in how they experienced, negotiated, or conceptualized their needs and ability differences.

Chapter 8: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In New York State, emergent bilingual students are labeled as disabled as an outcome of screening and surveillance processes which exoticize and (re)construct their language identities and proficiency (see Table 1, p. 6), abilities, families, and migratory status (see Table 2, p. 16) from the time they enter school (e.g., Cioè-Peña, 2018; Nuñez, 2021). These mechanisms are rooted in deficit-based, medical model traditions of U.S. special education, yet operate under the guise of “inclusion” and “integrated” language learning for EB/LAD students (Migliarini & Stinson, 2021). As a result, school-based professionals uncritically uphold essentializing categories and subtractive, assimilationist policies to “educate” EB/LADs instead of proactively learning about and affirming the ways EB/LAD students recognize and identify themselves.

Like the marginalizing effects of educational policies, U.S., (im)migration policy processes EB/LADs and their families through a “double logic” (Dolmage, 2018, p.23) of reluctant inclusion contingent upon compliance and conformity. Consequently, EB/LAD parents and families at the intersection of migration and education are typically positioned as objects of policy—or the “crises” which the policies target. When EB/LADs and their families are constructed as objects or targets of (im)migration and educational policies, it is difficult for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to see and accept them as stakeholders who shape or disrupt the policies and practices which affect them. Further, the nuances of refugee and (im)migrant EB/LAD families at the crossroads of race, disability, language, and migration are easily overlooked or ignored in public and academic discourses because of the narrow scope and rigid language of both the policy and the parameters set by researchers (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019).

This study emerged from my experiences as a white K-12 educator working directly with EB/LAD students in schools and community-based settings. As a teacher, I observed how educational policies and regulations like CR Part-154 (NYSED 2015a; 2015b) supported a narrow, deficit-based perspective of EB/LAD students and their families. The language and implementation training around these policies reduced the complexities of language learning and identity to numbers of minutes of “English as a New Language” instruction in “stand-alone” (pull-out) and “integrated” (push-in) models (see Table 1, p. 6). When these models for language instruction did not yield anticipated English language development or academic progress, school-based professionals and policymakers co-constructed new deficit-based categories to explain or predict why EB/LAD students were not meeting expectations, rather than exploring other factors (see Table 2, p. 16). Further, the school-based implementation of special education and English language policies reinforced a one-sided “check-box” approach to parent engagement. Ultimately, as Aaden explained, these converging policies and practices have forced EB/LADs and, in some cases, their families, to “leave a little bit of themselves behind” in order to ensure safe, minimally adequate educational experiences for their children.

In this chapter, I present an overview and discussion of the findings of Phase 1, Phase 2, and Phase 3 in relationship to one another. Drawing on the intersectional theoretical lenses which comprised the integrative framework for this study, especially DisCrit (see Figure 1, p. 39), the phases of this study were mutually-informing in terms of research methodology and design, as well as analysis. Then, I revisit the integrative framework of the study to focus on its affordances and contributions to the transdisciplinary field(s) of education, especially regarding disability and Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy. Finally, I conclude by exploring the concept of Critical Reflexive Praxis of Sanctuary for EB/LADs and its implications for policy, practice, and teacher

education. I argue that because of incongruent power dynamics of whiteness, class, language, and citizenship, Critical Reflexive Sanctuary Praxis requires that individuals who occupy positions of power relative to refugee EB/LAD families fundamentally change the way they conceptualize and engage in partnerships, especially between schools and communities.

Mutually Informing Phases of the Study

Findings across Phase 1, 2, and 3 foreground issues and experiences of disability, race, language, culture, and migration to articulate how refugee EB/LAD families and educators working in community-based settings understand and address the educational debt that U.S. public schools and leaders owe multiply marginalized communities. In Phase 1, community-based educators who come from refugee and/or EB/LAD backgrounds collaborate with each other and select community outsiders to offer culturally and linguistically affirming educational experiences at the community center founded by leadership in the Central Springs Somali Bantu community. Phase 1 participants, especially those who identified as former refugees and/or EB/LADs, are critically aware of the historicity of EB/LAD and migration experiences across geographic, political, and generational boundaries. They situate their work within the context of their families, migration context, and individual positionalities. Because many of them experienced subjectivation in K-12, higher education, and professional settings, they bring a criticality to their investments in their communities' aspirational capital. They do not completely eschew their cultural communities, nor do they uncritically assimilate into dominant cultural expectations of an "American Dream." Instead, Phase 1 participants envision a new direction for education and belonging for their children and younger family members—one that holds space for intergenerational healing and directly addressing the reticence or rejection of disability/cultural identity.

In Phase 2, disability becomes more boldly foregrounded by participants who identify as disabled refugees or parents to EB/LAD children. These participants contributed a deeper understanding of the relationships between disability, language, and resisting the ELL/disabled binary which obscures issues of within-group ableism and color-evasiveness from the white outsider's gaze, thereby shielding predominantly white, school-based professionals from needing to address their own ableism, racism, and cultural essentialism. Phase 2 participants shared examples of resistant capital in the ways they subverted institutional boundaries to acquire and distribute language, disability, and information resources, as well as practice culturally sustaining communication and sense-making during special education processes. Phase 2 participants represented both "low incidence" disability categories (i.e., Deafness) and languages (e.g., Nepali Sign Language, Kizigua). Despite—or perhaps because—of this attempt to "minimize" the significance of their identities, Phase 2 participants worked as interpreters and bilingual tutors across home and community settings to collaboratively leverage the linguistic, social, and familial capital as access points to parent education and educational rights for EB/LADs.

Phase 3, in tandem with the findings of Phase 1, offered examples of Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy through the ways community-based educators at CSIC developed community-based education and youth work in direct response to the needs of EB/LADs and families in Central Springs. EB/LAD students who attended after school, homework and tutoring, and summer programming engaged in critical discussions about their learning, relationships, and educational labeling. These concrete examples contribute promising next steps in research and praxis focused on improving communication and critical partnerships between school-based professionals, refugee EB/LAD families, and community-based educators and advocates.

Theoretical Contributions: An Integrative Framework

The evolving framework of DisCrit provided a strong foundation for the exploration of parent and community-based educator experiences throughout this study. DisCrit's tenets position multiply marginalized individuals as experts whose knowledges and behavior can be treated as social and political actions. This was evident in the examples shared by participants like Ranjana, Dhyansh, and Aaden, who reported and demonstrated tireless work across institutional and community spaces to take direct action against the oppression they experienced themselves.

DisCrit acknowledges the sociohistorical codependency of race and disability signifiers, but, in its iteration engaged in this study, does not contend with the question of the sustainability (and value of sustaining) disability as a marker and element of identity. Testimonies across all phases further cement the importance of disability as cultural knowledge and experience that is worth "sustaining" through Critical Culturally Sustaining approaches to education. As evidenced by the interactions observed in Phase 3, more development and support are needed to sufficiently address the gaps in disability/cultural knowledge across dominant and nondominant communities. Furthermore, communities like Central Springs, which already have limited resources for nondominant cultural and linguistic groups, are in need of critical disability/culturally affirming and sustaining learning and experiences which address a wide diversity of languages, cultures, racial identities, and migration experiences, rather than just a white, Western perspective.

In this study, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy converges with Community Cultural Wealth to conceptualize a strong framework to articulate what was currently being

practiced in Central Springs, and the future directions of research, practice, and collaboration for this community. The focus of this study was the experiences of refugee EB/LAD families and educators seeking resources and connections to access resources, education, and belonging in community-based contexts. Here, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy and Community Cultural Wealth engages and conceptualizes culture in non-deterministic ways, but rather as a dexterous, cross-pollinating element that mediates participants' experiences across contexts. Further, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy emphasizes the collective responsibility of participants (and for participants) in challenging internalized hegemonic values or language across cultures and contexts. This aligns with the model of Community Cultural Wealth, which builds off of the understanding that among the many assets of marginalized communities are interdependence, collaboration, and collective struggle.

As an integrative framework, DisCrit, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy, and Community Cultural Wealth scaffolded my foundational understanding of the literature, policies, and phenomena related to refugee EB/LAD families and community-based resource networks. DisCrit supported my foregrounding and relationships of multiple participant identities (as well as my own identities), especially race and disability. Community Cultural Wealth supported me in locating participants' multiple identities within a multi-faceted, asset-based framework specifically designed to resist dominant narratives of communities of color, such as those of my participants. Finally, Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy helped me in imagining a new direction for critical research, practice, and practice which, following the testimonies of my participants, affirm EB/LAD students' and families' identities while envisioning a future of critical aspirations for a new American Dream [Interview_Aaden_472020]. The foundational understanding afforded by the integrative framework developed for the purpose of this study

guided me to a deeper understanding of sanctuary policies, which were integral to my further contextualization of the migration experiences of my participants and how those experiences related to their disabilities or their knowledges of disability.

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs and their networks of interpreters and community-based educators. This investigation focused on the relationships (and disconnects) within refugees families' and educators' community-based networks related to language, culture, race, disability, and special education experiences in formal schooling institutions, which often suspend EB/LAD families in dark patterns of surreptitious communication, vulnerability, and surveillance (e.g., Cioè-Peña, 2021a; Larios & Zetlin, 2018). School-based experiences are inaccessible or harmful to refugee families because they typically follow schedules and protocols which are rigidly defined by white, Western, middle-class norms (Ijalba, 2015). As such, this project centered the home- and community-based experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs in an attempt to offer asset-based, critical accounts of how and under what circumstances they access community-based networks to navigate institutions and processes for their children labeled as disabled, as well as their needs related to language, culture, and disability.

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs as they navigate disability, education, and institutional processes?
2. How do community-based education networks assess and address the needs and experiences of refugee parents of EB/LADs?

In addressing these questions, this study sought to contribute to the field of education at the crossroads of emergent bilingual education, migration, special education, and culturally sustaining practice through case study.

Research Question 1: The Needs and Experiences of Refugee EB/LAD Parents

The findings of this study frame refugee EB/LAD parents' needs and experiences in terms of survival, aspiration, and community. Participants explained how they and/or other parents in their communities cultivate and sustain their identities as parents through networks of existing human relationships and shared values and aspirations. In the context of this study, this meant that some refugee EB/LAD parents collaborated to build (and eventually expand) community-based education initiatives. At the same time, parents often fear for their EB/LAD children when they are in formal education settings. This meant that some parents made difficult decisions about disclosing their children's disability-related needs and characteristics, or actively resisted institutional professionals' medical or educational evaluation—even if their children really had disability-related needs that were not being met at school. As such, refugee EB/LAD parents cultivated critical aspiration: They conceptualized and approached the formal education of their EB/LAD children as both risk and rich opportunity which simultaneously affect their family and wider communities.

The findings of this study also illustrate parents' and refugee community members' cultural knowledges around disability, education, and institutions, highlighting the histories and deep connections between disability, oppression, shame, and resistance toward the Western medical gaze. For participants who were identified as disabled parents, their deep connection to their lived experiences supported their personal and professional praxis and aspirational capital. Both disabled and non-disabled parent participants leveraged knowledge of the past and

recognition of others who shared it to build relationships as part of their commitment to their community and to their disability and/or cultural and linguistic work. These participants disrupted wider cultural constructions and treatment of disability as vulnerability, risk, or source of individual and family shame through their engagement with critical positionality. Interview data from all refugee participants showed how critical positionality ultimately guided their work and motivated them to engage and cultivate Community Cultural Wealth to meet the needs of EB/LAD families that were ignored or unmet by the local public schools.

Although this study engaged an asset-based approach to understanding Central Springs refugee EB/LAD families, there are still many needs yet unmet made clear through the data. It is clear that refugee EB/LAD parents, families, and communities need school-based and other institutional professionals to position themselves as critically reflexive learners in their work with refugee communities. This would mean that teachers, related service providers, doctors, and other institutional relinquish their institutional power by taking a cultural reciprocity (Kalyanpur & Harry, 2012) approach to consensus-building. Here, cultural reciprocity means that professionals would work with EB/LAD parents to name and describe cultural knowledge and individual perspectives around specific issues (e.g., a postsecondary transition plan, the outcomes of an EB/LAD student's noncompliance with adult demands) of both the family and the school-based professionals. Then, the mutual understanding of cultural and ideological similarity, difference, and tensions drive problem-solving conversations which aim for consensus-building around the specific issue.

Refugee EB/LAD parents and the school-based professionals who support their children also need a Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogical approach to understanding and cultivating students' identities at the intersection of race, disability, language, culture, and migration. Phase

1 participants highlighted how one of the primary damages of subtractive, assimilation pedagogy was the breakdown in connection and communication between generations of refugees within a family or community. Phase 2 participants highlighted how the treatment and construction of disability across home and school “pulled [EB/LAD students] out of society” [Interview_Aaden_472020]. These findings underscore the need for innovative pedagogical approaches to both school-based and community-based education which value multiple forms of identity from an asset-based perspective, while supporting students’ and their adults’ consciousness of shared and distinct forms of marginalization for the purpose of “explicitly pluralist outcomes” (Paris & Alim, 2014, p. 95).

Research Question 2: Community-based education networks

This study highlighted how community-based educators play multiple roles in EB/LAD students and families’ lives, often simultaneously. Many participants worked multiple jobs and/or had worked across both school-based and community settings to provide interpreting and translation, tutoring, out-of-school educational programming, and postsecondary and on-the-job mentoring. Their constant, critical engagement with their experiences and positionalities as refugees, BIPOC, and/or disabled people (and many others) supported their deep understanding of and consistent engagement with multiple forms of capital which comprised their Community Cultural Wealth. In this study, the interviews and ethnographic observations revealed glimpses of critical culturally sustaining pedagogy in community-based education and services for EB/LADs and their families, which offer a springboard for next steps in research, policy, and education for school-based professionals.

Community-based education networks in Central Springs were primarily built and sustained by community insiders who, because of their critical positionalities, recognized and

deeply understood the needs of EB/LAD students and families. For example, participants like Aaden, Amadu, Momolu, and Barwaaqo had attended and graduated from the city's school system. They drew on their memories from that experience to design community-based education programs which provided consistent, familiar, and affirming space, structure, communication, and relationships that EB/LAD students did not experience through formal schooling institutions. Other participants, especially Hamzh, Ranjana, and Dhyansh, who experienced disability from an individual or parent perspective, mobilized familial, social, and navigational capital to create new resources and communities related specifically to disability and language access.

Crucially, community-based educators in Central Springs provided a strong example of the labor, capacity, and resources which circulate and sustain BIPOC, refugee and (im)migrant, and disabled communities who have been, and continue to be, systemically and institutionally marginalized in the U.S. The Community Cultural Wealth evident in the findings of this study were not recognized, valued, or engaged by school-based professionals according to the accounts of participants, who functioned as a bridge between politically, culturally, and praxically different worlds. As such, school-based professionals and communities in Central Springs would benefit from Critical Culturally Sustaining Pedagogical learning and implementation through critical partnership with community-based education networks constructed and maintained mostly by refugee EB/LAD educators and families. Without critical partnership, EB/LAD students and their families will continue to “leave a little bit of themselves behind” in the shadow of siloed, institutional policies.

Conclusion: Toward a Critical Reflexive Praxis of Sanctuary for EB/LADs

Like (im)migration policy throughout U.S. history, special education and language education policies have represented “double logics” (Dolmage, 2018, p.23) of contingent belonging and exclusionary hypervigilance. The consequences of these policies are evident in the stories and observations of refugee and/or EB/LAD participants in this study, which underscore the deleterious effects of their narrow scope and rigid language (Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019). In order to resist and disrupt the “double logics” at play in educational policy and practice, school-based professionals, along with institutions responsible for educational research and teacher preparation, must work toward a Critical Reflexive Praxis of Sanctuary for EB/LADs.

In Central Springs, like many other Rust Belt cities, political leaders have established sanctuary policies and declarations without foregrounding the perspectives, realities, and dynamics of refugees and (im)migrants who live there. Meanwhile, school-based educators and leaders have attempted to establish centrally controlled procedures for extricating signs of disability from perceived characteristics or conditions of migration and bilingualism without critical reflexivity. Ultimately, these attempts at cultivating sanctuary in many forms are failing the refugee EB/LAD families in Central Springs. Although these families and their community-based resource networks continue to collaborate to provide education, language access, disability resources, and culturally and linguistically affirming experiences for youth, participants in this study shared the same critical aspirations for “better opportunity, better life” [Interview_Aaden_472020] for themselves and their families. In its current state, Central Springs’ “sanctuary” designation is not enough. Following Houston’s (2019) concept of sanctuary as a process, the findings of this study suggest that communities in Central Springs

need to engage in critical reflexivity in order to more effectively support and develop connections, belonging, and safety across all of its communities.

In his interview, Dhyansh expressed that his high level of education relative to others in his community and his years of transcultural experience contributed to his ability to recognize and disrupt the cultural norms around ableism that he had followed for so much of his life. According to him, ableism in his culture was one thing he “left behind” in his pursuit of education and better opportunities for his EB/LAD daughter. In a similar vein, many of the community-based educators who had worked in schools and at CSIC in this study also viewed education as a process of leaving a little bit of oneself behind. These experiences underscore a tension that was infused throughout participant interviews and field observations throughout this study: What, if anything, would be “left behind” if we were to accept and cherish disability/culture as culture worth sustaining?

The theoretical framework and findings of this study support the development of a Critical Reflexive Praxis of Sanctuary for EB/LADs. Here, sanctuary is framed as a critical collaborative process that requires proactive participation across communities. However, because of incongruent power dynamics of whiteness, class, language, and citizenship, Critical Reflexive Sanctuary Praxis requires that individuals who occupy positions of power relative to refugee EB/LAD families fundamentally change the way they conceptualize and engage in partnerships. As Ranjana explained, marginalized communities cultivate deep, nuanced knowledge about their needs and experiences which guide the ways they meet their own needs or seek support from community outsiders. She stated,

Now in my culture, we use total communication, which includes hand gestures, gesticulating, Nepali sign and vocalization, and mouth movements. But how does a hearing person make

the decision that, because I can move my lips and utter some sounds, that I'm hearing? I know what I need in terms of access...And so, really, it's about education to the systems, about what constitutes accommodation and what would be successful for [refugees]...[Interview_Ranjana_772021]

The implications of this study for future policy and practice work in the U.S. are twofold. First, federal- and state-level policy must solidify identity pluralism through recognizing and engaging students', families', and communities' nuanced, intersectional, and interconnected experiences across multiple forms of identity, ability, and experience, rather than reifying extant categories of difference or building new categories through educational labeling (see Table 2, p. 16). Second, rather than relying on top-down policy development to enact change, local institutions must simultaneously develop, implement, and evaluate local or district-level policies and practices through critical partnerships across community boundaries. At the local level, institutions, institutional professionals, and community-based workers must recognize their role as agents of policymaking and implementation (Kangas, 2017) and leverage this role through ongoing consensus-building processes informed by cultural reciprocity (see Bal, 2018; Kalyanpur & Harry, 2012)—both across community boundaries and within community boundaries.

The findings study also highlight the responsibility of institutions responsible for educational research and educator preparation. First, educator preparation programs and faculty must acknowledge and understand how systemic and institutional policies are often written (or re-interpreted through macro- and micro-level policy implementation) to obfuscate the underlying theoretical or philosophical commitments of policymakers. As such, educator preparation programs must support pre-service teachers in accessing and practicing tools for critically reading, parsing, and analyzing law, policy, and institutional discourses. Second,

educator preparation programs must disrupt the siloing of certain topics, practices, and theories as discipline specific. For example, foundational and methods courses focused on “inclusive education” must not be relegated to educator preparation programs designed for students pursuing careers in special education, but should be required for students across certification pathways, including Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), ELL, or bilingual education teacher pathways. Similarly, all educator preparation programs must center identity pluralism in the ways they conceptualize students, families, and communities through curriculum and course sequences throughout all undergraduate and graduate educator preparation programs. Over time, as faculty and institutions solidify and follow through on commitments to studying and accepting social and political identities as dynamic and nuanced, their students will (hopefully) graduate to become critical educators who engage in critical positionality and critical reflexivity across personal and professional experiences, rather than educators who uncritically adopt the essentializing language and marginalizing mechanisms of extant policy and practice for EB/LADs.

The next steps for this research include: (1) supporting school-based professionals in Central Springs in developing critical reflexivity in their understanding, connections, and engagement with marginalized communities; and (2) bolstering the resources, connections and opportunities for refugee EB/LAD families and educators in Central Springs to share, evaluate, and expand their knowledge and approaches to special education, disability, and school-based processes. Until sanctuary is conceptualized as a critical praxis actively shaped by the knowledge afforded by Community Cultural Wealth in Central Springs and communities like it, we will continue to be bound and siloed by the stifling double logic of uncritical policy and practice.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Schedule for Phases 1 and 2

1. Please describe the organization or group you work for, including the organization's mission or vision for equity.
 - a. What is your role or main responsibilities within this mission/vision?
 - b. How were you recruited for this position? What was the hiring/selection process like?
2. How would you describe the community you serve? Have there been any changes in the community over time?
3. What strategies or resources do you use to build trust with students?
 - a. What strategies or resources do you use to build trust with parents?
 - b. What strategies or resources do you use to build trust with community members?
 - c. How do you know they trust you?
4. What are some of this organization's primary initiatives related to education?
 - a. What are some of this organization's primary initiatives related to educational rights?
 - b. How are these initiatives carried out?
5. How do you/your coworkers sustain community relationships? How do you/your coworkers address conflict or negativity in the community?
6. How do members of your community navigate institutions?
 - a. What kinds of school-based services are available to refugee and (im)migrant families in the schools?
 - b. How do families access or request these services?
7. Who or what would be most helpful in supporting refugee and (im)migrant families as they navigate special education meetings and systems? How?
 - a. Could you describe a typical special education meeting? What are some successes or challenges you recall doing this work?
8. Who or what would be most helpful in supporting your work with refugee and (im)migrant families as they navigate special education meetings and systems? How?
9. What are your aspirations for your community?
10. How would you define equity?
11. Would you like to add anything to this interview?
12. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B: Initial Coding Process (Excerpt)

INTERVIEW: Staff
 SITE: Remote: Zoom Video Conference
 DATE: April 7, 2020
 DATA SOURCE: Audio
 LABEL: Interview_Aaden_472020

Data	Codes
Chelsea: ...and we have started recording Aaden: Okay C: ...and I will start with the first question, and if at any time you feel um like you want me to restate a question or rephrase it or go back to something let me know and I can happily do that for you A: Absolutely. C: Or you can skip a question, too, that's fine. So, um, please describe um this organization including the organization's mission or vision for equity. So, what is overall, like, what does the organization do, and what's the organization's mission or idea of equity? A: Okay. Um, the mission of is basically to promote and empower refugees and immigrants um, hold on gimme... gimme... gimme just one second. C: Yeah A: Okay. Okay. Can you repeat the question I more time C: I sure can, so, please describe as an organization including their mission or their vision for equity or fairness or equality A: Okay. Alright, um, well, to start with just the mission. The mission is basically to advocate and promote self-sufficiency through like education, employment, and social service um around community. And that basically came about um the start... due to the needs of the immigrants and refugees around Syracuse and we were formerly known as the Somali Bantu community before. And I guess maybe we can go back like how it started or begin? C: If you... if you want to, sure, absolutely. A: Yeah, I would just kind of like to share how it came about and why it's doing what it's doing right now. I feel like it's important to kind of just go back to the beginning. C: Right	<p>Researcher explaining interview protocol Assuming participant access + rights Accommodating language needs</p> <p>Assuming participant access + rights Reiterating question in different words</p> <p>Beginning to answer, when hesitating Asking for a pause in interview</p> <p>Asking to repeat question</p> <p>Repeating question in different words</p> <p>Introducing context of response Searching to begin with mission</p> <p>Highlighting advocacy Highlighting individual self-sufficiency Highlighting education, employment, and social services for refugees Approaching to needs of community Organizing from single ethnic community Changing name to broader category Asking for clarification of participant</p> <p>Introducing context of response Emphasizing importance of their context</p>

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INTERVIEW: Staff
 SITE: Remote: Zoom Video Conference
 DATE: April 7, 2020
 DATA SOURCE: Audio
 LABEL: Interview_Aaden_472020

A: UM, in the beginning, um, in 2004 there was a lot of refugees and immigrants especially Somali Bantus that were mmm that were coming over to migrating to due to just what was going on back home in Somalia. And we—then wanting to have a better experience, better life, better housing for themselves and for their kids, but when we first got here, there wasn't a lot of services that were helping immigrants and refugees to kind of like get out and do, do, um, be self-sufficient, do what they wanted to do, be able to go to the grocery, be able to go to the doctors, be able to move how they want to move, to better themselves. Because language barrier was the biggest thing as well as culture barrier was the biggest thing and it came about because of um students kinda struggling in school, not being able to get the work done because parents weren't able to help because parents didn't understand what the students' getting. So there was like this struggle okay the parent can't really help the student, the students can't help themselves and the school district wasn't providing enough support so then students were kind of failing. So like uh, uh the Somali Bantu elders, kind of community adults kind of came together and decided that there has to be some type of program that's able to help both: to help the parents and the students and that's how it kind of started and the focus was supposed to—was, was gonna be how do we better ourselves in this country that's unknown to us that is new to us and how do we move about it and how do we better our kids and us as well and how do we become self-sufficient. Um, and how, how do I get a new job? How do I become a citizen? How do I call the doctor? All these questions came about and there was no answer and that's how this kinda how this came to be. And of course later on name did change because it wasn't just the Somali Bantus anymore, it was all other

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Here, with the linguistic/cultural difference of the Somalis the barrier, or is the

physical refugee camps in open
 experiencing 5B as taking
 very much a disadvantage
 that's Somalia at home
 Referring to we/ them simultaneously
 emphasizing need for social identity
 not refused
 emphasizing opportunity + education
 emphasizing support in social services
 emphasizing need for self-sufficiency
 conceptualizing self-sufficiency as
 such to food, medical care, spiritual
 autonomy
 conceptualizing lang + cultural difference
 as barrier
 Identifying educational struggle
 Conceptualizing parents' understanding
 as barrier to children's performance
 at school
 Children not completing work
 Conceptualizing low productivity as
 Parents + school not helping self
 Students not helping self
 Students failing
 School not allowing school + parent
 stations
 Children who children are
 Children's perception on program to help
 parents + students
 Community investigating how to better solve
 Conceptualizing U.S. as unknown +
 Community investigating how to better know
 simultaneously
 Addressing problem of self-empowerment
 collectively
 Defining categories of access needs
 through narrative voice +
 negotiating elements

Further collective by including other
 relevant and narrative categories

Appendix C: Focus Coding Process (Excerpt)

INTERVIEW: Staff
 SITE: Remote: Zoom Video Conference
 DATE: April 7, 2020
 DATA SOURCE: Audio
 LABEL: Interview_Aaden_472020

1

Initial Codes	Focus Codes
Beginning to answer, then hesitating Asking for a pause in interview Asking to repeat question Introducing context of response Asking for clarification of interview protocol and sequence Introducing context of response Emphasizing importance of this context Researcher confirming that participant is finished with his response Participant affirming completion Participant initiating transition Researcher restating participant's statement to confirm understanding Needing to pause to gather thoughts Engaging narrative voice to make point Needing to take time to organize thoughts	Navigating linguistic and cultural differences between researcher and participant
Highlighting advocacy Emphasizing education, employment, and social services for refugees Emphasizing need for social services for refugees Emphasizing gaps in social services offered by local government and state government Wanting better opportunities for children and youth Students needing adults who understand them from experience Conceptualizing job search and application processes as aspects of education Thinking of opportunities for students outside of Salt Springs Trying to expose students to varied options for college and postsecondary learning Supporting application processes for work and college Clarifying financial processes and procedures Helping students in every step of the way in postsecondary learning to completion	Cultivating and engaging navigational capital to subvert institutional barriers

INTERVIEW: Staff
 SITE: Remote: Zoom Video Conference
 DATE: April 7, 2020
 DATA SOURCE: Audio
 LABEL: Interview_Aaden_472020

2

Supporting transition to employment after graduation Asking students questions Teaching students how to ask questions Supporting application completion and resume development Helping with all aspects of education Adding that there are adult education programs as well as youth education programs	
Highlighting individual self-sufficiency Conceptualizing self-sufficiency as access to food, medical care, and spatial autonomy/autonomy of movement and habitual being Students failing to help themselves Community investigating how to better themselves Community investigating how to better their children along with themselves Addressing problem of self-empowerment collectively Engaging self-empowerment perspective to address educational gaps Teaching individualistic dispositions Emphasizing importance of developing confidence	Uncritically adopting individualistic values
Conceptualizing opportunity as education Identifying educational struggle Conceptualizing low productivity as a struggle Children not completing schoolwork Parents and school-based professionals failing to help students Students failing Identifying schools' inability to provide accessible instruction Emphasizing struggle of second generation migrants Parents telling girls they cannot attend college away from home Limiting higher education prospects for female children Being able to navigate one educational institution but not another Critiquing structure of formal schools as barriers to support and relationship building	Conceptualizing and attributing educational debt in public school

Appendix D: Phase 1 Focus Codes in Comparison (Excerpt)

**Phase 1: The Aspirational
Focus Codes in Comparison**

Engaging critical positionality to contextualize knowledge and role in community cultural wealth	
<p>Aaden</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purposively engaging collective identity and experience Illustrating refugee youth experience by engaging own positionality and experiences Engaging personal experience to illustrate affective and institutional barriers to belonging across cultures Navigating linguistic and cultural differences between researcher and participant 	<p>Aimee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critically engaging own positionality and relationship to the community as an outsider to teach about the community Exemplifying how outsiders can contribute to aspirational capital of refugee families and communities Emphasizing importance of outsider adults' proactive and intentional support and engagement with EB/LAD students
<p>Amadu</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Navigating linguistic and cultural differences between researcher and participant Engaging personal experience to illustrate affective and institutional barriers to belonging across cultures 	<p>Laura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spatializing migration within Salt Springs outside of formal resettlement process to demonstrate organizational responsiveness Constructing and tracing boundaries of community, categories, and self to illustrate relationships and belonging Emphasizing importance of layers of cultural knowledge and individual positionality as an outsider
<p>Momolu</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Navigating linguistic and cultural differences between researcher and participant Engaging personal experience as a refugee to contextualize affective role and approach to work in the community Engaging personal experience as a refugee student to illustrate affective and institutional barriers to belonging across cultures Engaging experiences as a community-based educator to illustrate barriers to EB/LAD student success Constructing refugee communities across race and class differences Entangling/enmeshing personal positionality and experience with critical aspirations for his community 	<p>Helene</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appropriating collective identity and experience of refugee colleagues and clients as a white community outsider Appropriating collective identity and experience of refugee colleagues and clients as a white community outsider Articulating and conceptualizing trauma as a white community outsider and aspiring ally

**Phase 1: The Aspirational
Focus Codes in Comparison**

Locating invisible disability and educational labels within systemic and institutional oppression, but locating visible disability and difference within individual deficits	
<p>Aaden</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experiencing marginalization as a refugee parent of an EBLAD Conceptualizing cultural knowledge, values, and practices around disability as anecdotal Conceptualizing disability as visual pathology Conceptualizing barriers to critical parental partnership 	<p>Aimee</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conceptualizing disability as deficit product of educational debt
<p>Amadu</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conceptualizing disability as linguistic, behavioral, or developmental incongruencies Defining the needs, experiences, and key characteristics of EB/LAD youth in his community 	<p>Laura</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speculating about the experience of being labeled as disabled and "ELL" Conceptualizing unlabeled disability in EBs as covert skill deficits in literacy Conceptualizing support for disability-related needs in a community-based education setting Conceptualizing the erasure of EB/LADs and their families' specific experiences at the intersection of race, migration, and language as a result of essentializing and assimilationist policies and practices Speculating about the experience of being labeled as disabled and "ELL"
<p>Momolu</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conceptualizing a dis/abling system of oppression for refugee youth in US public schools Constructing disability and dis/abilization as product of high-stakes testing and limited access to rich, CCSP-informed literacy and language learning Conceptualizing possibilities and contingencies for inclusive education for EB/LAD and/or refugee youth 	

Appendix F: Memo-Writing (Excerpt)

Initial Memo

Barwaaqo is a 24-year-old Somali woman who identifies as a former refugee. At the time of this study, Barwaaqo had been working at CSIC for five months as a Youth Program Coordinator. According to what I have ascertained from Barwaaqo's interview and other participants whom I met through CSIC, a YPC is responsible for overseeing and further developing (as needed) CSIC's flagship youth programs such as the after-school homework help program and the summer program (OC: I need to go back to the interviews and organizational documents to get the specific taxonomy of these programs accurately.). At the time of our interview, Barwaaqo had done her job almost entirely online by offering regular tutoring appointments and homework help via Zoom Video Conferencing. As of July 2021, she had nearly completed her planning and resource allocation for the summer youth education programs which would run in July and August. For the first time, CSIC would run one program at the Southside center for 3 consecutive weeks, then another program on the Northside for 3 consecutive weeks. As she expressed in her interview, Barwaaqo was nervous and looking forward to this transition from virtual to in-person facilitation of youth programming.

From the start of her interview, Barwaaqo seemed deferential and acutely aware of her relationships to her racial, ethnic, migrant, and professional community(ies). She frequently prefaced her responses to questions with cursory comments such as, "I haven't been too long," or "I don't want to talk more into it, because I know I don't have, like, a lot of experience with it..." Barwaaqo also seemed very careful and thoughtful in her conduct as a participant. Like Aimee, she frequently asked for clarifications about the vocabulary I used, such as 'community,' and 'disability.' At other times, she would ask me to restate or explain a question I had posed. The strongest demonstration of these strategies and attributes was when I explicitly asked her about her experience with and knowledge of disability. At this point in the study, this seems aligned with what and/or how other participants who identify as refugees or (im)migrants have shared about their experiences with disability.

Barwaaqo offers a unique perspective as a participant in this study because, like Aaden, Amadu, and Momolu, she graduated in the last 10 years from the Central Springs City School District and attended a SUNY college to obtain a 4-year degree. She also has significant volunteer experience and paid part-time work experience as a tutor in community-based centers for migrant and refugee youth such as CYO. Unlike the 3 aforementioned participants, Barwaaqo identifies as female and pursued a degree outside the field of education; Barwaaqo studied science. She has leveraged this training in "giving back" to the community both through her tutoring and her work as a robotics program aid in a project-based STEM education program for youth on Central Springs City's Northside.

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Vita

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Education

Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Ph.D. Candidate, Special Education (ABD)	Expected
Dissertation (In Progress): <i>Critical aspirations: Disability, education, and community cultural wealth in a sanctuary city</i>	2022
Advisor: Dr. Beth A. Ferri, Syracuse University	
Committee Members: Dr. Valentina Migliarini, University of Birmingham; Dr. Christine Ashby, Syracuse University; Dr. Julia White, Syracuse University	
C.A.S., Disability Studies	2019
M.S., Inclusive Special Education	2018
NYS Teaching Certification Program, Special Education 7-12	

State University of New York at Oswego, Oswego, NY

B.S. Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages	2012
Minor, Linguistics	
NYS Teaching Certification Program, TESOL K-12	

Publications

- Miller, A.L., **Stinson, C.**, & Timberlake, M. (In Press). Grappling with the tensions: Cultivating justice oriented praxis through collaborative autoethnographic poetry. In Hernández-Saca, D.I., Pearson, H., & Kramarczuk Voulgarides, C. (Eds.) *Understanding the Boundaries between Disability Studies and Special Education through Consilience, Self-Study, and Radical Love*. Lexington Press.
- Migliarini, V. & **Stinson, C.** (In Press). "Who is worthy of rights? An analysis of children living at the intersections of disability, citizenship and migration in the United States and Italy" [Invited chapter submission]. In Callus, A.M. & Beckett, A.E. (Eds.) *Routledge International Handbook on Children's Rights and Disability*. Routledge.
- Stinson, C.** (In Press). The Salamanca Statement on inclusive education. In Gonzalez, T. & Tefera, A. (Eds.) *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Social Justice in Education: Bodies and Different Abilities*. Bloomsbury.
- Stinson, C.** & Migliarini, V. (In Press). Migrant asylum-seeking youth with disabilities. In Gonzalez, T. & Tefera, A. (Eds.) *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Social Justice in Education: Bodies and Different Abilities*. Bloomsbury.
- Migliarini, V., **Stinson, C.**, & Hernández-Saca, D.I. (2022). 'It feels like living in a limbo': Exploring the limits of inclusion for children living at the global affective intersections of dis/ability, language, and migration in Italy and the United States. In Annamma S. A., Ferri B., and Connor D. (Eds.), *DisCrit expanded: Reverberations, ruptures, and inquiries* (pp. 62-80). Teachers College Press.

- Coomer, M.N. & **Stinson, C.** (2021). Special Education and Gender in the United States. In C. Mayo (Ed.) *Oxford Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality in Education*. Oxford University Press.
- Migliarini, V. & **Stinson, C.** (2021). A Disability Critical Race Theory Solidarity Approach to Transform Pedagogy and Classroom Culture in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 55(3), 708-718. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.3028>
- Migliarini, V. & **Stinson, C.** (2021). Inclusive education in the (new) era of anti-immigration policy: Enacting equity for disabled English language learners. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 33(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2020.1735563>
- Petit-McClure, S.H. & **Stinson, C.** (2019). Disrupting dis/abilization: An exploration of research methods to combat white supremacy and ableism in education. *Intersections: Critical Issues in Education*, 3(2), 73-90. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/intersections/vol3/iss2/4>
- Migliarini, V., **Stinson, C.**, & D'Alessio, S. (2019). 'SENitizing' migrant children in inclusive settings: Exploring the impact of the Salamanca Statement thinking in Italy and the United States. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1622804>
- Stinson, C.** (2019). Transnational autistic identities: Disrupting ghost authorship with digital discourse. *Autism Policy & Practice*, 2(1), 64-74. url: <https://www.openaccessautism.org/index.php/app/issue/view/4>
- Stinson, C.** (2019). Mohawk Interruptus [Review of the book Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States, by A. Simpson]. *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry*, 6(1). 90-92. url: <https://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/CRI>
- Stinson, C.** (2018). Beyond compliance: An approach to serving ELLs with disabilities. *TESOL Journal*, 9(4), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.405>

Manuscripts Submitted for Publication

- Stinson, C.** & Migliarini, V. (2020). "[R]ace had never been an issue: Examining white supremacy in English language teaching. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Grants

- Ashby, C. (PI), Myers, B. (Co-PI), (**Stinson**) **Mixon, C.**, & Smith, P. (2019). Pre-Employment Transition Services for Students with Disabilities: A Proposal Submitted by Syracuse University's Center on Disability and Inclusion. *New York State Education Department. Bid Proposal: GC# 19-019*. Awarded. Requested: \$1,500,000.
- Ashby, C. (PI), Lewis, S., & (**Stinson**) **Mixon, C.** (2019). The Special Education Technical Assistance Partnership for Equity: A Proposal Submitted by Syracuse University's Center on Disability and Inclusion. *New York State Education Department. Bid Proposal: RFP #19-007*. Not Awarded. Requested: \$5,161,329.

(Stinson) Mixon, C. (2018). "Evidence and Impact: The Continuum of Placements for ELLs in New York State." *Syracuse University School of Education Research and Creative Grant Competition #11-21301-00049*. Awarded: \$491.

Other Works in Progress

Stinson, C., Hernández-Saca, D. I., & Migliarini, V. (In Progress). Critically analyzing the global affective intersections of dis/ability, race, language, and migration. [Unpublished manuscript]

Stinson, C., Miller, A.L., & Migliarini, V. (In Progress). Without consideration: Raciolinguistics, critical spatial theory, and transforming school discipline for multilingual youth of color. [Unpublished manuscript]

Stinson, C. (In Progress). Critical aspirations: Disability, education, and community cultural wealth in a sanctuary city. [Unpublished Manuscript]

Stinson, C. (In Progress). Theorizing for linguistic, racial, cultural, and ability pluralism in inclusive education for disabled English learners. [Unpublished Manuscript]

Research Presentations

Stinson, C. (2022, July). *Critical Aspirations: Disability, Education, and Community Cultural Wealth in a Sanctuary City*. Research-to-practice presentation presented at the Deaf New Americans 2022 National Conference in Syracuse, NY.

Stinson, C. (2022, April). *Beyond the language of 'low incidence': Translanguaging in multilingual community based education*. Conference paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2022 Annual Meeting in San Diego, C.A.

Stinson, C. & Migliarini, V. (2022, April). *Pedagogy of precious gifts: DisCrit solidarity through translanguaging classroom praxis*. Roundtable session paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2022 Annual Meeting in San Diego, C.A.

Stinson, C. (2021, April). *"They leave a little bit of themselves behind": Language learning, disability, and community-based resistance*. Conference paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2021 Annual Meeting (Virtual Conference).

Stinson, C. (2021, April). *"[B]etter opportunity, better life": Constructing Community Cultural Wealth for parents of English learners with disabilities*. Conference paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2021 Annual Meeting (Virtual Conference).

Stinson, C., Miller, A.L., & Migliarini, V. (2021, April). *Without consideration: Raciolinguistics, critical spatial theory, and transforming school discipline for multilingual youth of color*. Conference paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2021 Annual Meeting (Virtual Conference).

Migliarini, V., **Stinson, C.,** & Hernández-Saca, D. I. (2021, April). *Critically analyzing the global affective*

intersections of dis/ability, race, language, and migration. Conference paper presented at the American Educational Research Association 2021 Annual Meeting (Virtual Conference).

Stinson, C. & Migliarini, V. (2020, April). *Compliance, conformity, and procedure: A critical analysis of behavior supports for disabled English language learners*. Research paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting in San Francisco, C.A. (Conference cancelled).

Stinson, C. (2020, March). *Ever saving the man: Fantasies of identification in language teaching*. Research paper presented at the Hawai'i International Conference on English Language and Literature 2020 in Hilo, H.I.

Stinson, C. (2019, October). *Justice for the Mother Tongue: The need for disability studies in ELL education* Paper presented at the American Educational Studies Association Conference in Baltimore, M.D.

Stinson, C. & Migliarini, V. (2019, October). "[R]ace had never been an issue: Examining white supremacy in English language teaching. Research paper presented at the American Educational Studies Association Conference in Baltimore, M.D.

Migliarini, V. & **Stinson, C.** (2019, April). *Exploring the inclusion of disabled English language learners in the (new) era of anti-immigration propaganda*. Research paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada.

Stinson, C. (2019, February). *Transnational autistic identities: Disrupting ghost authorship with digital discourse*. Research paper presented at the Applied Linguistics Winter Conference, Binghamton, N.Y.

(Stinson) Mixon, C. (2018, March) *What Can TESOL Learn from Special Education?* Poster presented at the TESOL International Convention and Expo Doctoral Student Forum, Chicago, I.L.

Independent Education Consulting, Materials Development, and Invited Speaking Engagements

TESOL International Association

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. & Migliarini, V. (2022, November 4). "A Disability Critical Race Theory Solidarity Approach to Transform Pedagogy and Classroom Culture in TESOL." Supporting Students with Disabilities Interest Section Webinar. Fall 2022

Teachers College, Columbia University

Guest Lecturer: Stinson, C. (2022, March 2). "Policies and Practices for Emergent Bilinguals Labeled as Disabled." In C&T 4124: Curriculum and Instruction in Elementary Inclusive Education. Teachers College, New York, N.Y. Spring 2022

Springfield College

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. & Hernández-Saca, D.I. (2021, November 19). "Inclusive Education at the Affective Intersections of Disability, Race, and Language." Springfield College, Department of Education, American Education Week, Springfield, M.A. Fall 2021

Rowan University

Guest Lecturer: Stinson, C. (2021, November 4). “Policies and Practices for Emergent Bilinguals Labeled as Disabled.” In BLED 40405: Current Policy and Practice in ESL and Bilingual Education. Rowan University, College of Education, Glassboro, N.J. Fall 2021

Guest Lecturer: Stinson, C. (2021, October 21). “Critical Research Methodologies for Teacher-Researcher Agendas.” In CASE 90851: Research to Practice in Special Education. Rowan University, College of Education, Glassboro, N.J. Fall 2021

University of Northern Iowa

Guest Lecturer: Stinson, C. (2021, September 29). “‘They Leave a Little Bit of Themselves behind’: Cultural Reciprocity, Disability, and Post-Secondary Transition for Migrant and/or Multilingual Families.” In SPED 4151/5151: Educational and Post-School Transition Programming for Individuals with Disabilities at their Intersections. University of Northern Iowa, College of Education, Cedar Falls, I.A. Fall 2021

Guest Lecturer: Stinson, C. (2021, February 24). “A Disability Critical Race Theory Solidarity Approach to Transform Pedagogy for Culturally, Racially, and Linguistically Diverse Students.” In SPED 4150/5150: Introduction to Special Education: Legal, Assistive Technology, and Advocacy. University of Northern Iowa, College of Education, Cedar Falls, I.A. Spring 2021

Hamilton Central School District

Private Education Consultant: Support evaluation and inclusion of culturally and linguistically diverse student(s), esp. complex disability/support needs Fall 2021

Cazenovia Central School District

Private Education Consultant: Functional Behavior Assessment, Behavior Intervention Plan, observation, faculty/staff training 2019-2020

Massachusetts Charter Public School Association

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2021-2022) “Considering Culture, Language, and Disability in the Multilingual Classroom Professional Learning Series.” 2021-2022

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2021, March). “Considering Culture, Language, and Disability in the Multilingual Classroom Professional Learning Series.” Spring 2021

Bank Street College of Education

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2020, October 24). “‘They Leave a Little Bit of Themselves Behind’: Language Learning, Disability, and Community-Based Resistance.” 2020 Language Series: Anti-Racist Language Teaching. Fall 2020

San José State University

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2020, July 21). “Culturally Responsive and Sustaining Pedagogy: Considering Culture, Language, and Disability in the Classroom.” Education Specialist Intern Institute, Lurie College of Education, San José, C.A. Summer 2020

The Kelberman Center: Autism Services Across the Lifespan

Education Consultant: Instructional and intensive behavioral evaluation (including FBA and BIP development), recommendations, and support in mid-state and central region districts 2019

New York State United Teachers Education and Learning Trust

Course Writer, Trainer: “Intervention and Identification: Supporting ELLs with Ability Differences” 2019

New York City Charter School Center and Special Education Collaborative

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2020, January). “Supporting Multilingual and English Language Learners with Disabilities and Complex Learning Needs” Spring 2020

Invited Speaker: Stinson, C. (2019, January). “Supporting Multilingual and English Language Learners with Disabilities and Complex Learning Needs” Spring 2019

University Teaching Experience

State University of New York College at Cortland, Cortland, NY 2022-Present

Assistant Professor of Inclusive Education (Starting Fall 2022)

FSA 340: Supporting Students with Complex Disabilities-School & Family

FSA 411: Planning and Instructional Strategies for Special Educators

Utica University (Formerly Utica College), Utica, NY 2021-2022

Assistant Professor of Education

EDU 215: Diversity, Disability, and Success

EDU 325/525: Assessment for Children and Youth with Special Needs

EDU 625: Leadership and Collaboration for Quality Inclusion

EDU 616: Environmental Design for Effective Inclusion

EDU 312/512: Practical Teaching Methodologies

State University of New York College at Cortland, Cortland, NY 2019-2022

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 560: Autism Spectrum Disorders

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 652: Master’s Project

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 653: Master’s Project Teaching Students with Disabilities 7-12

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 212: Introduction to Inclusive Education

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 411: Planning and Instructional Strategies for Special Educators

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 340: Supporting Students with Complex Disabilities-School & Family

Adjunct Lecturer, FSA 103: Gender, Race, and Class Issues in Education

School of Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Adjunct Instructor, SPE 600/615: Seminar in Teaching 2019-2020

Graduate Student Instructor of Record, EDU 203: Introduction to Inclusive Schooling 2019

Course Content Developer and Consultant, Diversity in Syracuse: New Americans & Multi-Language Learners (online learning modules)	2017-2020
Graduate Teaching Assistant, SPE 311: Perspectives in Disabilities; SPE 412/612: Adapting Instruction for Diverse Student Needs; EDU 203: Introduction to Inclusive Schooling	2017-2018

University Field Supervision Experience

School of Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Graduate Assistant Supervisor, Syracuse Urban Inclusive Teaching Residency Program	2019-2020
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Cooperate with local urban secondary schools to support full-time teaching residency placements for graduate students in the Inclusive Special Education (7-12) program; evaluate and support pre-service teachers in their field sites through individualized feedback, weekly meetings, and partnership with special education and content-area teachers

Field Supervisor, ELL 655: TELL Student Teaching and Capstone Seminar	2018-2019
Cooperate with local school districts and university staff to coordinate field placements; observe and evaluate students in their field sites; provide individualized feedback and support for pre-service TESOL teachers	

Professional K-12 Teaching Experience

Syracuse City School District, Syracuse, NY

English as a New Language Teacher , Dr. Edwin E. Weeks Elementary (Grades K-5)	2015-2017
Designed, implemented, and adapted stand-alone and integrated (co-taught) instruction for elementary students identified as English learners, specializing in students dually identified as English learners with disabilities in general education settings	

<i>Mount Morris Central School District, Mount Morris, NY</i>	2012-2015
English as a New Language Teacher , Mount Morris Junior-Senior High School (Grades 7-12)	
Designed, implemented, and adapted stand-alone and integrated content-area instruction for adolescent students identified as English learners, specializing in supporting students dually identified as English learners with disabilities and complex learning needs	

Practice-Based Workshops and Presentations

Stinson, C. (2021, May). *Language, Disability, and Inclusion: Supporting Dually Identified Students in the Content Areas*. Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) workshop series presented at Lyncourt Union Free School District.

Stinson, C. (2020, November). *"They leave a little bit of themselves behind": Language learning, disability, and community-based resistance*. Workshop and research presented at the New York State TESOL 50th Annual Conference (Virtual Conference).

- Stinson, C.** (2020, June). *Identity and Identification: Considering Culture and Disability for Children and Families*. Workshop presented at the Blossoming Bilinguals Early Childhood Virtual Symposium in Syracuse, NY.
- Stinson, C. & Scripps, J.** (2020, May). *Policy, Practice, and Possibilities for ELLs with Disabilities amid COVID-19*. Workshop presented for the New York State TESOL Special Interest Group (SIG): Special Education (Virtual SIG Event)
- Stinson, C.** (2019, October). *Untangling the Language Caseload: Strategies for Collaborative Assessment and Support Systems for English Learners with Specific Language and Literacy Needs*. Workshop presented the Annual Conference of the Reading League in Syracuse, NY.
- Stinson, C.** (2019, June). *Critical Issues in Early Intervention: Assessing and supporting culturally and linguistically diverse families*. Workshop presented at the Blossoming Bilinguals: Supporting Culturally & Linguistically Diverse Learners in Early Childhood Conference in Syracuse, NY.
- Stinson, C.** (2019, June). *Inclusive Practices for ELLs in Early Childhood*. Workshop presented at the Blossoming Bilinguals: Supporting Culturally & Linguistically Diverse Learners in Early Childhood Conference in Syracuse, NY.
- Stinson, C.** (2019, June). *Disability and language difference in early childhood*. Workshop presented at the Blossoming Bilinguals: Supporting Culturally & Linguistically Diverse Learners in Early Childhood Conference in Syracuse, NY.
- Stinson, C.** (2018, November). *Connecting students' individualized education plans to the English language classroom*. Presentation and workshop at the NYS TESOL 48th Annual Conference, Albany, NY.
- (Stinson) Mixon, C.** (2017, March). *Including ELLs with complex communication needs*. Poster presented at the TESOL International Convention and Expo Masters Student Forum, Seattle, WA.
- (Stinson) Mixon, C.** (2016, November). *Inclusive practices for ELLs with complex communication needs*. Poster presented at the NYS TESOL 46th Annual Conference, Syracuse, NY.

Other Professional Experience in Education

<i>Mid-State Regional Partnership Center, Syracuse University</i>	2019-2021
Culturally Responsive Education Specialist	
<i>Mid-State Regional Bilingual Education Resource Network (RBERN)</i>	
Consultant Resource Specialist/Teacher Trainer	2018-2019
<i>Refugee and Immigrant Self-Empowerment (RISE), Syracuse, NY</i>	
Summer Education Program Coordinator	Summer 2017

Institutional Service

Utica University (Formerly Utica College)

Member, Association for Advancing Quality in Educator Preparation (AAQEP) Accreditation Committee 2021-2022

School of Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY

Research Assistant: Syracuse City School District-Syracuse University School of Education Collaborative Research Partnership 2018-2019

Member, Conference Committee: Policy, Practice, and Long-Term Outcomes: The Current State and Future Directions of Research for Students with Significant Cognitive Disabilities (American Educational Research Association Conference Program funded conference) 2017

Supervising Teacher: TELL, Curriculum & Teaching, and Early Childhood Special Education graduate programs 2015-2017

Dr. Edwin E. Weeks Elementary School, Syracuse, NY

Member: Community Engagement Team, adult and parent education initiative; Diversity Team; School Leadership Team 2015-2017

Trainer: Restorative Circles Initiative 2015-2017

Mount Morris Central School District, Mount Morris, NY

Core Member: Student Support Services Team (BEST Committee) 2013-2015

Supervising Teacher: Adolescence Education Program at SUNY Geneseo 2013-2014

Service to the Field and Professional Organizations

New York State TESOL (NYS TESOL)

Co-Chair, Special Education Special Interest Group (SIG) 2020-2021
2021-2022

Reviewer, NYS TESOL 52nd Annual Conference Proposal Reviewer, Special Education Strand 2022

Society for Disability Studies Awards Committee

Reviewer, Zola Emerging Scholar Award 2022

American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting

Reviewer: Disability Studies in Education SIG, Division G: Social Context of Education, Division L: Educational Policies and Politics 2019, 2020, 2022

TESOL International Association

Reviewer: TESOL International Association Doctoral Student Forum; TESOL International Convention and Expo: Advocacy, Social Justice, and Community Building Strand 2018, 2020

TESOL Journal

Reviewer 2021-2022

Educational Policy

Reviewer

2021-2022

Multiple Voices: Disability, Race, and Language Intersections in Special Education

Guest Reviewer

2021

Whiteness and Education

Reviewer

2020-2022

International Journal of Inclusive Education

Reviewer

2019-2022

Excelsior: Leadership in Teaching and Learning

Reviewer

2019-2020

Memberships and Affiliations

American Education Research Association

Division G: Social Context of Education

SIG: Disability Studies in Education; Special and
Inclusive Education Research

TESOL International Association

Interest Sections: PreK-12, Refugee Concerns,
Social Responsibility, Teacher Educator

New York State TESOL (NYS TESOL)

SIG: Special Education (Co-Chair); Teacher
Education

Council for Exceptional Children

NY-1029-The Greater Syracuse Chapter