

Intersectionality in the Transition to Postsecondary Education among
Korean-American Students with Autism

By

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Abstract

Students in postsecondary institutions come from diverse communities in terms of social markers, such as race and dis/abilities. Although higher education increases one's chances of social mobility, the opportunities are still limited for students from non-dominant communities. In this regard, this study examines the strategies that families utilize and the challenges they face during this critical period by delineating the postsecondary enrollment process for Korean-American students with autism, a growing but under-examined population. Intersectionality theory provides a framework to elaborate the transition process at the intersection of race and autism because the experiences of these students cannot be described solely by looking at a single social marker. To analyze experiences of the postsecondary transition process, a multiple case study method was used to describe the individually situated cases as well as the common circumstances they faced. Data were obtained from multiple sources: the qualitative data included interviews, document reviews, observations, and policy reviews, and the quantitative data included statistics on college admission and accommodation utilization. The results show that the students' experiences were shaped by the intersection of racism, multilingualism, and ableism, and that the students responded to their intersectional experiences by seeking to change their malleable traits, such as socioeconomic status. While the participants of this study are minorities among minorities, a close examination of their lived experiences has meaningful implications for broader populations of students from diverse backgrounds.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

저희는 애가 자립적으로 생활을 해나갈 수 있길 바라죠. 그러려면 정부에서 보조금을 받지 않고 자기가 할 수 있는 한도내에서는 일을 해갖고 봉급을 받을 수 있었으면 좋겠어요. 또 늘 일상적으로 만날 수 있는 사람들을 접할 수 있는 환경이 주어졌으면 싶어요. 아이가 할 수 있는 부분까지는 최대한 능력을 발휘했으면 하고 바라죠... 미국이라는 사회가 좋은 게 남한테 피해 안주고 자기가 일을 해서 돈을 벌 수 있고 그걸로 생활할 수 있으면 [장애에 대해] 편견을 갖지 않고 보는 게 참 좋은 것 같거든요.

We hope our child will eventually become independent. To be independent, I hope he can work and make money for himself rather than relying on a government subsidy. I also hope that he will work in an environment where he can meet the same people routinely. I hope he can maximize his potential... I think American society is good because people don't seem to have prejudiced views of individuals with disabilities if they do no harm to others and earn a living. (H, Lim. parent interview 2, February 15, 2017)

In the contemporary knowledge economy, more education significantly improves individuals' earning potential, and ability to secure employment (Cheeseman Day & Newburger, 2002; Getzel & Wehman, 2005; Powell & Snellman, 2004). In 2013, 72% of young adults with a bachelor's degree ages 25-34 worked full time and earned \$48,500, while 62% of high school graduates worked full time and earned \$30,000 (Kena et al., 2015). In the same report, the employment rate for young adults with a bachelor's degree was 88.1%, while the rate for high school graduates was 63.7% in 2014. For students with disabilities, employment rates were also higher for the young adults with higher education attainment. Newman, Wagner, Knokey, et al. (2011) reported that 83.2% of postsecondary school graduates with disabilities up to 8 years after high school were employed while 53.9% of high school graduates were employed. Furthermore, education can give more options in career choices as knowledge intensive jobs have increased during the past four decades (Machlup, 1962; Noyelle, 1990; Stanback, 1979).

Postsecondary education can also improve quality of life by helping individuals to make meaningful progress toward life goals. Emmons (1986) found that goal-oriented activities and

progress are critical when people perceive their quality of life to be high. Additionally, postsecondary education creates social opportunities for individual empowerment and improved personal capacity by giving a sense of esteem and belonging, and promoting lifelong social networks (Hart, Grigal, & Weir, 2010; Wehman & Yasuda, 2005). In this regard, postsecondary education can enhance the quality of life by meaningful participation in the society among high school graduates.

Despite the benefits of postsecondary education, youths with autism are among the least likely students to be employed and least likely to go to postsecondary schools among all students with disabilities (Newman et al., 2011b; Shattuck et al., 2012). According to Newman, Wagner, Knokey, et al. (2011), only 63% of youths with autism had ever been employed while 91% of youths with disabilities had ever been employed after leaving high school. In the same report, postsecondary enrollment rate for young adults with disabilities was 60%, but the rate was only 43.9% for those with autism. Shattuck et al. (2012) also found that more than half of high school leavers with autism had no participation in both employment and education for the first two years after school. The results imply that many students with autism left high school without proper preparation for their post-school life (Schall & McDonough, 2010; Wehman, Smith, & Schall, 2009).

Moreover, opportunities are even more limited for students with autism who come from non-dominant communities in the United States. In the general population, with the exception of Asian/Pacific Islander students, racial minority students are less likely to gain postsecondary education than White students (Ross et al., 2012). For students with autism, all racial minority groups, including Asian/Pacific Islanders, are less likely to enter into postsecondary education (Kim, under review). This may indicate that racial minority students with autism may experience

additional challenges to go to postsecondary education. However, studies about racial minority students with autism are scarce, especially during the postsecondary transition process when resource accessibility is critical to prepare students for academic requirements and shifting social responsibilities. Thus, this study focuses on students with autism from non-dominant racial groups in their postsecondary transition process.

Instead of investigating failure, this study aims to illustrate successful stories of racial minority students with autism navigating the postsecondary education enrollment process because their trajectories can provide a glimpse into socially just educational strategies to overcome possible marginalization. I will also investigate local policies and patterns of racial disparities in order to understand how institutional responses to such students can shape their postsecondary transition process, and how students, educators, and parents can strategically react to the policies in order to improve their educational opportunities.

To describe this transition process from high school to postsecondary education, I will perform a multiple case study through the theoretical lens of intersectionality. Intersectionality theory provides conceptual rooms to document the experiences of racial minority students with autism because their experiences can be greater than the sum of being only racial minority students *or* being students with autism. I begin with defining the terms autism and race, as well as other frequently used terms in this study.

Definition of Terms

Autism and Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD)

Autism is a clinically defined disability category (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-5 [DSM-5], American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013). The DSM-5

provides widely accepted standard criteria for mental disorders. DSM-5 defines autism in a category of Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD).

Diagnostic Criteria 299.00 (F84.0). A. Persistent deficits in social communication and social interaction across multiple contexts; B. Restricted, repetitive patterns of behavior, interests, or activities; C. Symptoms must be present in the early developmental period; D. Symptoms cause clinically significant impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of current functioning; E. These disturbances are not better explained by intellectual disability or global developmental delay. (pp. 50-51)

The definition of autism is slightly different in the legal framework in education. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 2004 defined autism as the following:

§ 300.8 (c)(1)(i) Autism means a developmental disability significantly affecting verbal and nonverbal communication and social interaction, generally evident before age three, that adversely affects a child's educational performance. Other characteristics often associated with autism are engagement in repetitive activities and stereotyped movements, resistance to environmental change or changes in daily routines, and unusual responses to sensory experiences. (ii) Autism does not apply if a child's educational performance is adversely affected primarily because the child has an emotional disturbance, as defined in paragraph (c)(4) of this section. (iii) A child who manifests the characteristics of autism after age three could be identified as having autism if the criteria in paragraph (c)(1)(i) of this section are satisfied.

The clinical definition locates 'deficits, impairments, disturbances' in individuals, and the deficit-oriented elements of the definition often lead to low-expectations of people with autism (Breakey, 2006). Although IDEA relies heavily on the clinical definition of autism for special education eligibilities (Travers, Tincani, & Krezmien, 2011), the deficit-oriented terms in IDEA definition were diluted and education-oriented. I primarily use the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) term "autism" to be aligned with educational documents and statistics in this study. Thus, the term "autism" in this study refers to the spectrum of conditions broadly known as Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), but I also used the term ASD if referring to studies wherein the term emphasized the condition as a spectrum disorder. I selectively use the clinical definition of autism to describe both strengths and weaknesses of the individual student because I believe that conditions of autism are not inferior but qualitatively different.

Race and Ethnicity

I use the term “race” to mean a social spectrum rather than biology, but I also accept that the term “race” strongly signifies and symbolizes, for some, human biological variation (Omi & Winant, 1986). The term “race” does not have a clear-cut definition, unlike other social concepts like age and education (Denton & Deane, 2010). The term tends to refer physical differences which are linked to the cultural or geographic origin, but most scholars today consider race to be a socially constructed notion (Anemone, 2015; Denton & Deane, 2010). This understanding of “race” follows those of Anemone (2015), who defined “race” in his writing as “the geographic pattern of variation in some biological traits that distinguish different human populations.”

Often, the term “race” is used together with the term “ethnicity.” Ethnicity identifies a “social group based on perceptions of shared ancestry, cultural traditions, and common history that culturally distinguish that group from other groups” (Peoples & Bailey, 2014, p. 367). In this study, I use the term “ethnicity” to emphasize cultural communities that share a language, place of origin, and a history that departs from their physical attributes. Brubaker (2004) and Cornell and Hartmann (2006) distinguished the terms “race” and “ethnicity” as (as cited in Hill & Solomos, 2010, p. 3):

Although race and ethnicity are terms often used in conjunction, or in parallel, to refer to social groups which differ: in terms of physical attributes accorded social significance in the case of race; or in terms of language, culture, place of origin or common membership of a descent group without distinguishing physical characteristics in the case of ethnicity, there is no equivalent term to racism in relation to ethnicity.

Although race and ethnicity are two distinct terms, the categories of racial/ethnic groups are often used to distinguish groups with different skin color, and it is a powerful concept to divide people in a hierarchical social order (Anthias, 1992; Sowell, 1994). At the same time,

racial categories cannot accurately define all people in the world due to multiracialism (McCall, 2005, p. 1778).

Nevertheless, I used the broadly accepted category of the race because “recognizing that identity politics take place at the site where categories intersect thus seems more fruitful than challenging the possibility of talking about categories at all” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1299). In other words, the racial categories can be arbitrary but not meaningless (Omi & Winant, 1986). Thus, the racial terms in this study are used mainly to diagnosis current inequity in education. To maintain consistency, I used the standards for racial categories developed by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB, 1997) Statistical Policy Directive No. 15, because most educational statistics follow their definitions of a racial category. The following are the minimum racial/ethnic categories for federal reporting (OMB, 1997):

- American Indian or Alaska Native. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America), and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.
- Asian. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.
- Black or African American. A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. Terms such as “Haitian” or “Negro” can be used in addition to “Black or African American.”
- Hispanic or Latino. A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race. The term, “Spanish origin,” can be used in addition to “Hispanic or Latino.”
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.
- White. A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

Interpreting racial statistics can be arbitrary. For example, respondents can select one or more racial designations using the federal categories of race. In that case, researchers often assign multiple race responses to the single racial category for analysis. Denton and Deane (2010) argued that giving analysts to determine group size rather than the respondent is problematic.

Moreover, the racial category reporting systems have changed over time in the United States (Omi, & Winant, 1986). Thus, interpreting the results should take other intersectional circumstances into consideration if it is inevitable to use the categories to examine distributions of power and social structures.

For racial categories, I prefer using terms that reflect geographical orientations and history of the racial group. I prefer “Latino/a” to “Hispanic” because “Hispanic” is inaccurately designated to the history of Spanish colonialization. The term “Latino/a” is still socially constructed, but the term represents the population more accurately as it emerged from grassroots of Latin American National origins (Oboler, 1995). In the same vein, I prefer using the term “African American” and “European American” to “Black” and “White” since the former terms designate their origin. However, I still used the terms “Hispanic”, “Black”, and “White” if the source used the term because I believe that researchers chose the terms based on their ontological perspectives, and the philosophical stands impact their studies, especially the data collection methods, which can be significantly different depending on the definition of terms.

Furthermore, I capitalize “Black” and “White” for compatibility. I capitalize “Black” since “Blacks, like Asians, Latinos, and other minorities, constitute a specific cultural group and, as such, require denotation as a proper noun” (Crenshaw, 1982, p. 1244). Crenshaw (1991) also argued that White “is not a proper noun, since whites do not constitute a specific cultural group” (p. 1244). However, I capitalize “White,” as well, because the racial group “White” is often used to describe a counterpart of minorities in the US. Moreover, American Psychological Association recommends that “racial and ethnic groups are designated by proper nouns and are capitalized” (American Psychological Association, 2010, p. 75).

Culture and Diversity

In this study, I use the term “culture” to indicate more power-laden notion of hierarchical standards in the contemporary school system. The term “culture” generally means “the values, beliefs, behavior, and material objects that together form a people’s way of life” (Macionis, 2007, p. 60). While I accept that cultural groups have unique commonalities, I also agree that those static notion of culture is insufficient to embrace the spatial and temporal fluidity of cultural characteristics (Bal & Trainor, 2015). In educational studies, the term “culture” is still commonly used to document static visualization of marginalized students of color (Artiles, 2015). For example, the studies that I reviewed in the next chapter, the term “culture” is often used with the term “difference” to describe minority groups of students. Especially, race/ethnicity is more often used as a proxy for culture as well as nationality, language, and religion, which are also important parts of the anthropological notion of human culture (Anemone, 2015). However, culture should be defined in the instructional contexts rather than as deterministic conceptualization of identities since the invisible notions of culture permeate current policies and local practices (Bal & Trainor, 2015; Cavendish, Artiles, & Harry, 2015). Thus, along with the broad anthropological definition, I use the term “culture” as “characteristically dynamic, multifaceted, and conflict-laden, resulting in power/privilege differentiations, resistance, and innovations that are locally or heuristically accomplished (Trainor & Bal, 2014, p. 204).”

I also used the term “diversity” to emphasize cultural diversity within a socially bounded group of people. The conceptualization of culture often masks within group diversity (García & Ortiz, 2013). Here, the term “diversity” illustrates the multiple positionalities of individual

students to specify how societal markers of race and autism were constructed during their postsecondary transition process.

Learners and Postsecondary Education

Through this study, I use different versions of terms interchangeably, but each term is selected to signal its different contexts. I used the term “learners” as it covers various learning environments, such as schools, homes, and communities; and “students” to specify the school context; and “children,” “young adult” or “adolescent” to emphasize specific age groups. In the similar vein, the term “postsecondary education” is used to embrace multiple educational settings beyond high schools, such as education in colleges and universities; and “postsecondary institution” to specify the physical learning environment.

In sum, I apply and understand the terms based on the context, and the usage of each term reflects my ontological location which social markers, such as race and disability, are socially constructed notions rather than biological categories.

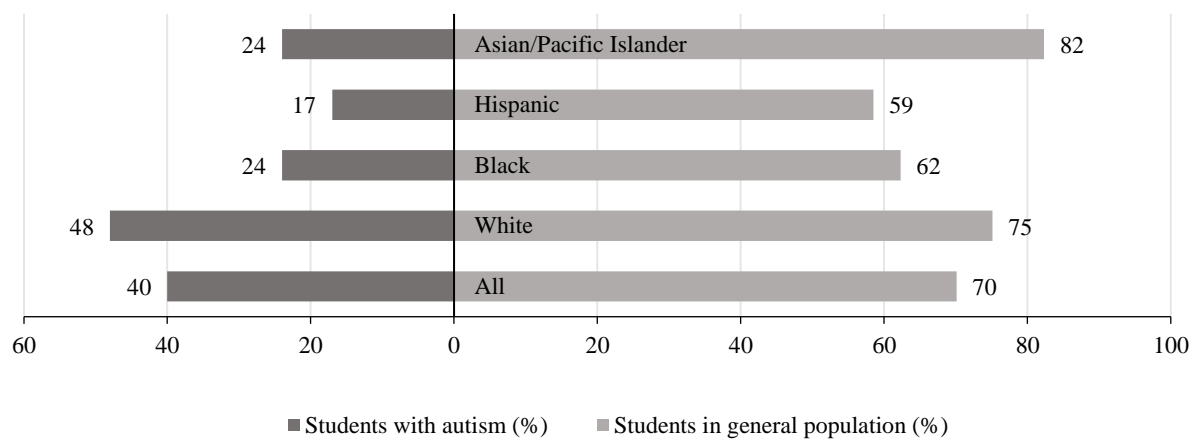
Racial Disparities in Postsecondary Education Enrollment

The population of racial minority students with autism who need to prepare for their lives after high school has increased since the early 2000s. While the population of students in special education decreased from 8.9% to 8.2% of all students between 2003 and 2012, the percentage of the students who received services under the IDEA for autism rose from 0.2% to 0.7% (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs [OSEP], 2014). Furthermore, percentages of the populations under the category of autism aged 6 to 11 and 12 to 17 have been increased by 165% and 285%, respectively (OSEP, 2014). Since the autism diagnosis increase occurred in the early 1990s, now the increasing population requires preparing their lives after high school (VanBergeijk, Klin, & Volkmar, 2008). In other words, the demand for preparing

students with autism for a postschool living is expected to increase in the coming years. Another increasing population in public schools includes students who come from a non-dominant racial community. While the number of White students in public schools is projected to decrease and Black students are projected to fluctuate between Fall 2013 and Fall 2024, Hispanics and Asians/Pacific Islanders are expected to increase (Kena et al., 2015). Based on current demographic changes in the United States, racial minority adolescents with autism will continue increasing in public schools. Hence, the need to prepare the students for lives after high school is growing.

Although the transition to adulthood is demanding for all students, individuals face additional challenges when minority status and autism are involved, especially when it comes to entering into postsecondary institutions. Figure 1.1 shows different patterns of racial disparities in postsecondary education enrollment. While racial minority students, with the exception of Asian/Pacific Islander students, in the general population were less likely to enroll in postsecondary institutions, all racial minority groups of students with autism were less likely to do so. These patterns may show that racial minority students with autism experience additional marginalization in their access to postsecondary education.

Figure 1.1.

Postsecondary Enrollment Rates by Race

Note: The NLTS2 data was collected from young adults with disabilities who had been out of high school up to 8 years. The ELS data was collected from for 2002 high school graduates by 2006.

Source: Kim, H. (under review). Race Differences in Predictors of Postsecondary Education Enrollment among Adolescents with Autism.

I focus on race and autism because racial minority students with autism often experience marginalization due to their race and disability status. In addition, I also consider situational diversity among the racial minority students with autism. For instance, racial minority status is closely related to bilingualism and socioeconomic status. In 2010, 21% of students spoke a language other than English at home: a greater percentage of Hispanic (69%), Asian (64%), and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (37%) students spoke a language other than English at home compared to American Indian/Alaska Native students (16%), White (6%) and Black (6%) children aged 5-17 (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010). Moreover, in 2010, 21% of children under age 18 were living in poverty, and the rate was higher for Black (32%), Hispanic (32%), Alaska Native (25%), children of two or more races (21%), Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (22%), White (13%), and Asian (12%) children (Aud et al., 2010). Experiences of racial minority

students with autism can be widely divergent when it comes to situational complexities, such as educational histories and socioeconomic status.

Korean-American students with autism are under-examined, yet they are a growing minority population in the United States. In 2015, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that there were more than 1.8 million Koreans in the United States; indeed, Koreans are one of the fastest growing subgroups in the United States (Choi & Johnston, 2007; Gibson & Jung, 2006; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Kim et al. (2011) found that the estimated prevalence of autism in the Korean population might be higher than the prevalence in the United States, possibly due to cultural variability. Despite the increasing need, there is still a paucity of studies on this particular population. Because their experiences are unique and complex, I focus on the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism. The guided research questions for this study are as follows:

1. What are the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism in their transition to postsecondary education?
 - a. How are the intersectional experiences historically shaped by people, schools, communities, and policies?
 - b. How do the intersectional experiences shape the learners' transition trajectory?
2. What are the responses to the intersectional experiences?
 - a. How do the students empower themselves during the postsecondary transition process?
 - b. How do people, such as educators, peers, and community members, respond to the intersectional experiences?
 - c. How do the schools/communities respond to the intersectional experiences?

- d. How do the policies respond to intersectional experiences?

Delineating Intersectional Experiences of Korean-American Students with Autism

This study aims to delineate intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism in their postsecondary transition period. Understanding success in postsecondary enrollment can provide an avenue for creating and providing effective practices and policies for educating racial minority students with autism. Thus, I examined experiences of college students about their postsecondary transition and linked their stories to local admissions and disability policies. Intersectionality theory provided a frame to examine the experiences of racial minority students with autism. As Crenshaw (1989) argued, the intersectional experience of those students is greater than the sum of being a racial minority student and being a student with autism. This theoretical frame assisted me in my exploration of these interlocking experiences and of the institutional responses to the students during the goal-oriented process of transition to postsecondary institutions.

A multiple case study method was employed to maximize understanding of the individual student's trajectory to a postsecondary institution. Although the participants had a boundary at the intersection of race/ethnicity/nationality and autism, each student had different situations that made their case unique. A multiple case study was used because of its ability to illustrate the complex nature of similar but different individual postsecondary transition processes within diverse contexts. Thus, each student's transition process to a postsecondary institution was an individual case. The case study method fits the goal of this study as other scholars who focus on intersectionality prefer cases studies due to their ability to frame complex situations (McCall, 2005). By using this method, I aim to describe individual situational complexities, as well as

common experiences of Korean-American students with autism in order to provide readers implications for socially justice practices.

To select participants, purposeful sampling, criterion-based selection, and snowball sampling were used (Bailey, 2008; Emmel, 2013; LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993; Patton, 1990). (Bailey, 2008; Emmel, 2013). A total of three Korean-American students with autism and their families were selected. The number of cases was suitable for a multiple case study (Stake, 2006), and also manageable for a single researcher considering the nature of a dissertation study. Participant criteria were the families of students who: (1) identify as a Korean (American); (2) received services under IDEA in an autism category; and (3) have been accepted to a postsecondary institution. I received seven contacts from potential participants, and five families met the inclusion criteria.

The collected data include interviews, educational documents, campus observations, policies, and statistical reports about the residential areas and schools. The main source of data is interviews of Korean-American students with autism and their families, and reviews of the students' educational documents. The interviews were conducted to understand their academic strategies, effective practices at high school, and support from families and schools. The students' documents were reviewed to explore details about the postsecondary transition process. The documents included the student's Individualized Education Program (IEP) documents, college application packets, and the disability verification documentation from the student's postsecondary institution if the participant has been received any accommodation(s) in college.

Along with the interviews and document reviews, campus observation, policies, and statistical reports provided supplementary information. Campus observation occurs at the campus and residential area to understand physical arrangements and the student's

school/college life. Policies and statistical reports were collected to diagnose local patterns of disparities by race and autism. The data included state level initiatives, admissions/disability policies in postsecondary institutions, as well as federal policies related to the postsecondary transition process. For example, Proposition 209 in California was included because the initiative banned affirmative action in education, contracting, and employment in public institutions based on race/ethnicity, color, national origin, and sex; and impacted admissions policies in local university/colleges as it eliminated racial quotas. College and city-level statistics were obtained through Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IEDS, 2014) and U.S. Census Bureau (2014). The supplementary data assisted uncovering educational support and marginalization in schools and communities during the postsecondary transition process.

In order to analyze data, I used the multi-level model of intersectionality by Núñez (2014). The model provided a frame to embrace situational complexities at three levels: (1) analysis based on social categories, (2) intersectional experiences of multiple identities, and (3) historicity of the experiences in temporal and spatial contexts. The multi-level analysis provided an analytical lens to interpret data. I will use NVivo™ software to analyze data.

To establish trustworthiness, I performed member checking and triangulation (Bryman, 1988; Guba & Lincoln, 1985, 1989; Stake, 1995, 2006). The purpose of the member checking and triangulation was to develop trustworthiness of this study, rather than to argue my interpretation is a sole truth. Because the whole research process reflected my personal philosophical position, I provided reflexivity statements in chapter 3.

Strategies for Successful Transition to Postsecondary Education

I anticipate this study will possibly provide a glimpse into successful experiences of the transition process to postsecondary institutions for racial minority students with autism. The

experiential knowledge will ultimately reveal implications toward social justice practices in high school to prepare their students from the diverse background for postsecondary lives and further create a conceptual room to consider educational policies related to access to postsecondary education.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study is to depict experiences of Korean-American students with autism during their transition process to postsecondary education. The students are members of multiple non-dominant cultural groups based on dis/abilities and race/ethnicity as well as often language or socioeconomic status. Their experiences are often shaped by intersections of those social categories. Thus, I aim to explore the intersectional dimensions of the postsecondary transition experiences.

In this chapter, I began with discussing the theoretical framework that guided my illustration of the multi-layered experiences of such students throughout this study. Furthermore, I reviewed the literature on the transition process to postsecondary education when situated in hierarchically-stratified social locations by race and dis/ability.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality theory was the guiding framework for this study. Experiences of diverse learners with autism cannot be captured wholly by looking at one dimension of identities separately. Investigating the multi-layered experiences can be complex; thus, I borrow intersectionality theory to capture entangled experiences of Korean-American students with autism.

The term intersectionality was first introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to illustrate how the multiple identities of Black women influence systemic injustice and social inequality (Collins, 1990). Crenshaw (1989) argued that “the intersectional experience (of a Black woman) is greater than the sum of racism and sexism,” and the socially constructed categories interacted to further construct social hierarchies (p. 140). Collins (1990) explained that “intersectionality

analysis claim[s] that systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization, which shape Black women's experiences and, in turn, are shaped by Black women (p. 299)."

Intersectionality theory was developed based on institutional perspectives and poststructuralist analyses of the body (Collins & Solomos, 2010). Prior to 1980, scholars in the field of ethnic studies were grounded in institutional analyses from political and social sciences (Collins & Solomos, 2010). The triad of gender, race, and class have been actively debated from the institutional perspectives (Anthias, 2010). In the early 1980s, Foucault's (1980) new theoretical frameworks about the relationships among power, knowledge, and culture combined with the growth of poststructuralist social theoretical frameworks brought a new era of race and ethnic studies. Poststructuralist scholars highlighted discourse representations as central to racial and subordination theoretical debates, such as critical race theory (Collins & Solomos, 2010). Poststructuralists also argued that the bodies do not contain the differences, such as race and gender, but rather the differences are "socially constructed categories inscribed upon the materiality of the body" (Collins & Solomos, 2010, p. 521). Furthermore, Foucault (1980) argued that "Power relations can materially penetrate the body in depth, without depending even on the mediation of the subject's own representations. If power takes hold on the body, this isn't through its having first to be interiorized in people's consciousnesses (p. 186)." These institutional and poststructuralist analyses of the body provided foundations to re-conceptualize race and ethnicity through the lens of intersectionality (Collins & Solomos, 2010, pp. 520-522).

Collins (1990) expanded the applicability of intersectionality theory by renaming "Black feminist thought" to intersectionality theory (Collins, 1990; Mann & Huffman, 2005). Davis (2008) added that, due to the theory's open-endedness, intersectionality provides a theoretical

framework “for understanding and analyzing any social practice, any individual or group experience, any structural arrangement, and any cultural configuration” (p.72). Knowing the structure and operations of the interlocking patterns of marginalization provides a conceptual space for how individual identities are shaped by other categories of difference (Collins, 1990; Davis, 2008; Dill et al., 2009).

According to Davis (2008), “intersectionality refers to the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (p.68).” The theory argues that “it is important to look at the way in which different social divisions inter-relate in terms of the production of social relations and in terms of people’s lives (Anthias, 2010, p. 241).” The different social divisions (Lutz, 2002) can be: sexuality, race or skin color, ethnicity, national belonging, class, culture, religion, able-bodiedness, age, sedentariness, property ownership, geographical location, and status in terms of tradition and development (as cited in Davis, 2008, p. 81). In this study, I focused on race and autism since I asserted that the two categories might be primary, overlapping, mutually inflected sites of marginalization.

Literature Search and Study Selection

I conducted searches in ERIC, Education Research Complete, and PsychInfo. An ancestral search was conducted for the studies selected. Because a preliminary search with the term “Korea(n)” did not yield any studies, I included all racial descriptors in the search term. The following keywords were combined to perform searches (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1.

Key Search Terms

Autism	Race/ethnicity (OR)	Postsecondary Education (OR)
Autism	Minority	Higher Education
ASD	American Indian	College
	Alaska Native	University
	Asian	Youth
	Black	Adolescent
	AND African American	AND
	Hispanic	
	Latino/a	
	Native Hawaiian	
	Pacific Islander	

Studies which met all of the following selection criteria were included in the review: (a) participants/samples must include racial minority students with autism; (b) the study must include the participants or samples aged 14 or older to focus on postsecondary transition period; (c) the article must have been published in a peer-reviewed journal to ensure the quality of the study; (d) the article must have been published in the United States to be consistent with historical contexts; (e) the study must be an empirical research to review real experiences; (f) the study must include educational implications to gather relevant information; and (g) the study must be published after 1990 when the autism category was first introduced in federal special education law.

A total of 21 eligible studies met the criteria (see Table 2.2). All combinations of the terms yielded selected studies except for the combination with the term “Native Hawaiian.” The selected studies ranged from 2004 through 2015. Among the searched studies, I included studies that did not directly discuss the postsecondary transition process. For example, I included a study by Fountain and Bearman (2011) because they discussed policies that might impact adolescents with autism during the transition period. Moreover, I included studies about the disproportionate

representation of racial minority students with autism, such as Sullivan's (2013) study about autism identification disparities among racial groups. I included the disproportionality studies to signify possible disparities that resulted from the unequal distribution of educational resources.

The common reasons for exclusion were among the following: the study did not include high school or college students; the study was not published in the United States; the study used race and autism only to report the participants' demographic information; the study focused on linguistic and cultural validation of diagnostic test translation; or the study exclusively discussed biomedical issues. Many excluded studies emphasized early childhood (i.e. Begeer, Bouk, Boussaid, Terwogt, & Koot, 2009; Blanche, Diaz, Barretto, & Cermak, 2015; Chaidez, Hansen, & Hertz-Picciotto, 2012; Khowaja, Hazzard, & Robins, 2015; Tek & Landa, 2012; Thomas, Ellis, McLaurin, Daniels, & Morrissey, 2007; Yu, 2013). Having participants aged over 14 was relatively rare. Several excluded studies focused on relevant age group and topic, but the studies were not included because those were conducted in Europe (i.e. Barrett et al., 2015; Burke, Koot, & Begeer, 2015; Di Biasi et al., 2015; Gray & Donnelly, 2013; Perepa, 2014).

Literature Review Results

Table 2.2 shows the summaries of included studies, such as authors, years, titles, journal outlets, participants, and implications for this study. The authors, years, journal outlets were reported to discuss trends of this line of studies; and titles, participants, and implications were included since it provided summaries of the study. While few studies discussed this critical period for students with autism from non-dominant racial communities, the publication patterns reflected current understanding of the population during the postsecondary transition period. Time ranges provided glimpses into the link between research and policy; the journal outlets and the implications of each study provided the trends of special education research regarding

diversity among students with autism; and the participants of the studies showed how researchers utilize a methodological approach to address current inequality.

Table 2.2.

Reviewed Studies

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Biggs, E. E., & Carter, E. W.	2015	Quality of life for transition-age youth with autism or intellectual disability	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Parents or other caregivers of young adults with disabilities aged 13 to 21 ($N = 389$, autism $n = 232$).	Students with autism had lower rates than a normative sample of similar-age youth in the domains of physical well-being, psychological well-being, and social support and peers. Minority children were more likely to have higher ratings of physical well-being.
Dyches, T. T., Wilder, L. K., Sudweeks, R. R., Obiakor, F. E., & Algozzine, B.	2004	Multicultural Issues in Autism	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Students aged 6-21 years who received special education services under the label of autism in 1998-1999, and 1999-2000.	Black and Asian/Pacific Islander children were overrepresented, and Native American and Hispanic children were underrepresented compared to White children in the category of autism. Students with autism from non-dominant communities are challenged on communication, social skills, behavioral repertoires, and culture.
Emerson, N. D., Morrell, H. R., & Neece, C.	2015	Predictors of age of diagnosis for children with autism spectrum disorder: The role of a consistent source of medical care, race, and condition severity	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Parents or guardians of children with ages of 0 and 17 from CDC National Survey of Children's Health 2011 ($N = 1624$).	African American children were diagnosed earlier than Caucasians, but the effect was moderated by ASD severity and a consistent source of care (CSC). CSC predicted earlier diagnosis for Caucasian but not for African American. Possible diagnostic delays may be attributable to physician and parent behaviors.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Estrada, L., & Deris, A. R.	2014	A phenomenological examination of the influence of culture on treating and caring for Hispanic children with autism	<i>International Journal of Special Education</i>	Ten parents of children with ASD (two young children, two in elementary, two young adults, and two adults) living in Miami-Dade County.	Most participating Hispanic families expressed confusion about educating their child, and they were frustrated by negative experiences with professionals. Financial burdens and isolation from families in their home country gave additional stress to the participants.
Fountain, C., & Bearman, P.	2011	Risk as social context: Immigration policy and autism in California	<i>Sociological Forum</i>	Children with autism born in California from 1992 to 2000 who received an autism diagnosis by 2006 ($n = 16,681$), and children born from 2001 to 2003 ($n = 4,411$). The birth records were from the California DDS from 1992 to 2006.	Anti-immigrant policy, Proposition 187 in California tends to delay diagnosis of Hispanic children of immigrants. After the ballot initiative was repealed, autism cases were increased among Hispanics in counties where the population was the smallest. The immigration policy impacted on children's health. Treating ethnicity as risk factors without consideration of the social and political contexts can be detrimental.
Liptak, G. S., Benzoni, L. B., Mruzek, D. W., Nolan, K. W., Thingvoll, M. A., Wade, C. M., & Fryer, G. E.	2008	Disparities in Diagnosis and Access to Health Services for Children with Autism: Data from the National Survey of Children's Health	<i>Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics</i>	Households with children ages 4 to 17 years in the National Survey of Children's Health from 2003 to 2004 ($N = 102,353$).	The autism prevalence was lower for Latinos. Children from Black, Latino, or low-income households were less likely to have access to health services.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Mandell, D. S., Morales, K. H., Xie, M., Polsky, D., Stahmer, A., & Marcus, S. C.	2010	County-Level Variation in the Prevalence of Medicaid-Enrolled Children with Autism Spectrum Disorders	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Medicaid-enrolled children aged ≤ 21 in the 2004 Medicaid Analytic eXtract (MAX) database ($N =$ 3,124 counties).	Counties with a higher proportion of white residents had more Medicaid- enrolled ASD prevalence. Minority status may impact on accessing services than income.
Marks, S. U., & Kurth, J.	2013	Examination of Disproportionality of Autism in School-Aged Populations in the United States.	<i>Journal of the International Association of Special Education</i>	Students ages 6 to 21 years from federal special education data ($n = 53,874$ in 1998, n $= 273,975$ in 2008).	Prevalence of autism has increased, and the increasing rate varied by race/ethnicity and geographic regions. Generally, White and Asian/Pacific Islander students were over-represented, and Black, Hispanic, and American Indian/Alaska Native students were underrepresented in the autism category. The amount of increase from 1998 to 2008 varied by race/ethnicity (Hispanic, 741%; American Indian/Alaska Native 604%; Asian/Pacific Islander, 598%, White, 520%, Black, 345%).
Morrier, M. J., & Hess, K. L.	2012	Ethnic differences in autism eligibility in the United States public schools	<i>Journal of Special Education</i>	Children and youth ages 3 to 21 years who were eligible to receive special education services under autism category.	Hispanic students were underrepresented in autism category in almost 95% of states. The rate variations can be influenced by the professionals when they conduct the eligibility evaluation.
Narendorf, S. C., Shattuck, P. T., & Sterzing, P. R.	2011	Mental health service use among adolescents with an autism spectrum disorder	<i>Psychiatric Services</i>	Youths with ASD from NLTS2 data ($n =$ 920).	School-based mental health services were particularly crucial for vulnerable populations. African-American youths were more likely to receive school-based mental health services.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Palmer, R. F., Walker, T., Mandell, D., Bayles, B., & Miller, C. S.	2010	Explaining low rates of autism among Hispanic schoolchildren in Texas	<i>American Journal of Public Health</i>	Students with autism in Texas school districts ($N = 6975$).	Autism rates for Hispanic children were significantly lower in school districts with a predominance of Hispanic children than with a predominance of non-Hispanic White children. Socioeconomic factors failed to explain the lower autism prevalence of Hispanic children in Texas public schools.
Rosenberg, R. E., Mandell, D. S., Farmer, J. E., Law, J. K., Marvin, A. R., & Law, P. A.	2010	Psychotropic medication use among children with autism spectrum disorders enrolled in a National Registry, 2007-2008	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Children with ASD ($n = 5,181$) from IAN.	Rates for any psychotropic medication for White and African American children were similar. Hispanic children with ASD were less likely to use any psychotropic medication than non-Hispanic children.
Sterzing, P. R., Shattuck, P. T., Narendorf, S. C., Wagner, M., & Cooper, B. P.	2012	Bullying involvement and autism spectrum disorders: Prevalence and correlates of bullying involvement among adolescents with an autism spectrum disorder	<i>Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine</i>	Parents of adolescents with an ASD ($n = 920$), principals of the schools they attended ($n = 830$), and staff members most familiar with their school programs ($n = 530$) from NLTS2.	Adolescents with an ASD were more likely to experience victimization than adolescents in general population. The victimization and perpetration rates for adolescents with an ASD were higher than other disability groups: mental retardation, speech/language impairment, and learning deficiency. Hispanic adolescents with an ASD were less likely to experience victimization and victimization/perpetration than non-Hispanic counterparts. African American adolescents with an ASD were less likely to engage in perpetration and victimization/perpetration than White adolescents.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Sullivan, A. L.	2013	School-Based Autism Identification: Prevalence, Racial Disparities, and Systemic Correlates	<i>School Psychology Review</i>	Children ages 6 to 21 from the 2008 IDEA §618 child count data submitted in 2009 and 2008 census estimates of states' school-age population ($N = 65.9$ million).	Compared to White students, Asian/Pacific Islander students were more likely to be identified with autism, and Hispanic and American Indian/Alaskan Native students were less likely to be identified.
Taylor, J. J., & Henninger, N.	2015	Frequency and Correlates of Service Access Among Youth with Autism Transitioning to Adulthood	<i>Journal Of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Families of youth with autism aged 17.2 to 22 ($N = 39$).	Racial/ethnic minority youths with autism were less likely to have unmet service needs than White non-Hispanic youths.
Travers, J. C., Krezmien, M. P., Mulcahy, C., & Tincani, M.	2014	Racial Disparity in Administrative Autism Identification Across the United States During 2000 and 2007	<i>Journal of Special Education</i>	Children ages 6 to 21 from IDEA and NCES data.	Odds ratios for Black students decreased over time. Odds for Hispanic students were consistently lower than White students.
Travers, J. C., Tincani, M., & Krezmien, M. P.	2011	A Multiyear National Profile of Racial Disparity in Autism Identification	<i>Journal of Special Education</i>	IDEA special education eligibility for autism data, 2000-2009; Special education enrollment figures from the NCES.	White students were more likely to be identified with autism during most years. Hispanic and American Indian/Alaskan Native students were underrepresented every year. Initially overrepresented racial groups, such as Asian/Pacific Islander and Black students with autism, were gradually declined.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Tincani, M., Travers, J., & Boutot, A.	2009	Race, Culture, and Autism Spectrum Disorder: Understanding the Role of Diversity in Successful Educational Interventions	<i>Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities</i>	Children ages 6 to 21 from IDEA and NCES data.	Racially diverse students were underrepresented in the autism category. Timely identification of ASD and Strength-based approach should be conducted to embrace unique attributes of individuals with ASD, their family, and cultural and linguistic contexts.
Valicenti-McDermott, M., Lawson, K., Hottinger, K., Seijo, R., Schechtman, M., Shulman, L., & Shinnar, S.	2015	Parental stress in families of children with autism and other developmental disabilities	<i>Journal of Child Neurology</i>	Children with ASD and comparison group of children with other developmental disabilities aged 2 to 18 ($N = 50$ vs. $N = 50$).	Parental stress was higher for the autism group. Latino mothers of children with ASD were less likely to report significant stress than White, African American, and other racial/ethnic groups. US-born mothers reported higher parental stress.
Wei, X. x., Christiano, E., Yu, J., Blackorby, J., Shattuck, P., & Newman, L.	2014	Postsecondary Pathways and Persistence for STEM Versus Non-STEM Majors: Among College Students with an Autism Spectrum Disorder	<i>Journal Of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	Young adults with an ASD and/or their parents in National Longitudinal Transition Study-2 ($N = 920$).	White students were more likely to choose Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics STEM majors.

Author	Year	Title	Journal	Participants/Samples	Implications
Zuckerman, K. E., Lindly, O. J., Sinche, B. K., & Nicolaidis, C.	2015	Parent health beliefs, social determinants of health, and child health services utilization among US school-age children with autism	<i>Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics</i>	Parents of children with special health care needs having ASD ($n = 1420$).	Parents of minority children were more likely to view their child's condition as temporary than parents of White children. Less Black non-Hispanic children used psychotropic medication for ASD than White children. Other than White, Black, and Hispanic race children were less likely to use behavioral therapy. ASD health care disparities present on a national level, but the disparities were did not resulted from different parental beliefs.

Note. ASD = autism spectrum disorder; AD = autistic disorder; CDC = Centers for Disease Control and Prevention; NLTS2 = National Longitudinal Transition Study 2; IAN Internet-based national research database through the Interactive Autism Network; NCES = National Center for Education Statistics; DDS = Department of Developmental Services., STEM = science, technology, engineering and math.

Figure 2.1 shows that topics of the selected studies gradually became broader. Nine studies focused on disproportionality in autism category (Dyches et al., 2004; Emerson, Morrell, & Neece, 2015; Marks & Kurth, 2013; Morrier & Hess, 2012; Palmer, Walker, Mandell, Bayles, & Miller, 2010; Sullivan, 2013; Tincani, Travers, & Boutot, 2009; Travers, Krezmien, Mulcahy, & Tincani, 2014; Travers et al., 2011). Five studies were about services, and these studies focused on disparities in receiving medical services, mental health services, psychotropic medication, school services among racial groups (Emerson et al., 2015; Liptak et al., 2008; Mandell et al., 2010; Narendorf, Shattuck, & Sterzing, 2011; Rosenberg et al., 2010; Taylor & Henninger, 2015). Three studies described socioeconomic circumstances, such as parental experiences with professionals, parental stress, and their perception (Estrada & Deris, 2014; Valicenti-McDermott et al., 2015; Zuckerman et al., 2013). One study indicated that policies gave additional burden for immigrant families to receive autism services in California (Fountain & Bearman, 2011). Two studies focused on school experiences and social expectations, such as bullying involvement, and quality of life among adolescents with autism (Biggs & Carter, 2015; Sterzing, Shattuck, Narendorf, Wagner, & Cooper, 2012). Lastly, one study focused on majoring in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) among college students with autism (Wei et al., 2014).

The studies were published in four discipline areas: special education, medicine, psychology, and sociology (see Table 2.3). As expected, 13 studies were published in special education journals. Among those studies, seven studies were published in *Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders*.

Table 2.3.

Publication Outlets by Subjects

Discipline	Journal	Total
Special Education (13)	<i>Journal of Autism & Developmental Disorders</i>	7
	<i>Journal of Special Education</i>	3
	<i>International Journal of Special Education</i>	1
	<i>Journal of the International Association of Special Education</i>	1
	<i>Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities</i>	1
Medicine (5)	<i>Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics</i>	2
	<i>American Journal of Public Health</i>	1
	<i>Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine</i>	1
	<i>Journal of Child Neurology</i>	1
Psychology (2)	<i>Psychiatric Services</i>	1
	<i>School Psychology Review</i>	1
Sociology (1)	<i>Sociological Forum</i>	1

The selected studies mostly focused on all students with disabilities in public schools by using quantitative methodology. Only five studies specifically focused on adolescents or transition-age youth (Biggs & Carter, 2015; Narendorf et al., 2011; Sterzing et al., 2012; Taylor & Henninger, 2015; Wei et al., 2014). In terms of methodology, the most selected studies were used quantitative methods (20 studies), and only one study employed qualitative phenomenology (Estrada & Deris, 2014).

Literature Review Discussion

Special education's promises to provide equal opportunities to all students regardless of their dis/abilities had been challenged by another equity issue of racial disparities in disability identification and educational outcomes. The selected studies indicated that racial minority students with autism might experience additional challenges during their transition period.

Racial Disparities among Students with Autism

After *Brown v. Board of Education in 1954*, all students were provided the legal right to education regardless of race or ethnicity. Along with the *Brown* decision, the Civil Rights

Movement expended for educating children with disabilities, such as *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (“P.A.R.C”) v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* and *Mills v. Board of Education*, established a precedent for the IDEA principles of Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) and Least Restrictive Environment (LRE) for all children with disabilities (Cavendish et al., 2015; Shealey, Lue, Brooks, & McCray, 2005). The federal special education law, Education for All Handicapped Children Act (renamed IDEA in 1990) had been passed and promised to provide federally protected rights of equal education for students with disabilities.

Paradoxically, special education placement became another source of disadvantage and segregation for those who are from other historically disempowered communities (Artiles, 2003). Scholars argued that the consequence of special education programs after the *Brown* ruling involved the additional segregation of students of color through the special education system. In other words, *Brown* could not fulfill the promise of providing equitable treatment for students with disabilities from non-dominant racial communities, and the special education system inadvertently reinforced another dimension of subordination of racial minorities (Artiles, 2003; Blanchett, Mumford, & Beachum, 2005; Cavendish et al., 2015).

IDEA includes a mixture of 13 disability categories: 4 disability categories that are regarded as high-incidence disabilities by medical model, and nine categories that are regarded as low-incidence disabilities by social system model (Donovan & Cross, 2002; Mercer, 1979). Researchers repeatedly found the overrepresentation of racial and linguistic minority students under the high-incidence disability categories, such as learning disabilities (LD), intellectual disabilities (ID), emotional/behavior disorders (EBD), and Speech/Language Impairment (SLI; Donovan & Cross, 2002; U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs

[OSEP], 2014). For instance, disproportionately more African American students are placed in high-incidence disability categories (Blanchett et al., 2005).

The high-incidence disability categories are often described as judgmental categories because the diagnosis of high-incidence disabilities relies predominantly on professionals' decision (Artiles, Kozleski, Trent, Osher, & Ortiz, 2010). Researchers argue that biased identification procedures may contribute the overrepresentation of racial minority students in the judgmental categories (Artiles, et al., 2010). The biased identification can occur through invalid referral, assessment, and cultural mismatches between teachers and students (Artiles et al., 2010; Donovan & Cross, 2002; Skiba, Poloni-Staudinger, Simmons, Feggins-Azziz, & Choong-Geun, 2005; Wilkinson, Ortiz, Robertson, & Kushner, 2006). The discriminatory practices of referring more minority students in judgmental disability categories show hierarchical power relations in our society. Collins (1990) argued that subjectivity composes the actions of individuals within "a matrix of domination" (p. 274). A matrix of domination means "the overall organization of hierarchical power relations for any society." For example, special education settings have, unfortunately, segregated students from historically marginalized groups (Artiles, 2011). The segregating and practice of dominant power do not require professionals' awareness. As Foucault (1980) argued "if power takes hold on the body, this isn't through its having first to be interiorized in people's consciousnesses. (p. 186)." Thus, the dominance of hierarchical power may explain the phenomenon of overrepresentation in judgmental disability categories.

Racial disparities in the autism identification. As discussed, multicultural scholars in special education have raised concerns about the overrepresentation of racial minorities in judgmental categories. More clinically defined nonjudgmental or low-incidence disability categories like orthopedic impairment, hearing impairment, and autism are less likely presented

in disproportionality studies in special education (Travers et al., 2011). Furthermore, the patterns of disproportionate representation for racially diverse children with autism are different from the patterns in the high-incidence or judgmental categories.

Although autism is often considered as a nonjudgmental disability category, several scholars argue that autism may be a subjective disability category because the eligibility in autism category is based on personal perceptions and impressions of behaviors (Morrier & Hess, 2012; Travers et al., 2011). For example, scholars have raised concerns about the overrepresentation of Asian student in the autism category (Donovan & Cross, 2002; Dyches, Wilder, Sudweeks, Obiakor, & Algozzine, 2004; Kena et al., 2015; Marks & Kurth, 2013). They also argued that underrepresentation of Latino/a and American Indian students can be an alarm because receiving early autism interventions is critical for developing communication, social, and behavioral skills for students with autism (Donovan & Cross, 2002; Travers et al., 2011; Zuckerman et al., 2013).

Unlike the high-incidence disability categories, the findings of disproportionality of autism among racial groups in special education were inconsistent by school years (see Table 2.4). In 2002, Donovan and Cross (2002) reported that the national risk for autism was higher among African American (OR = 1.21) and Asian/Pacific Islander (OR = 1.17) and lower for American Indian/Alaskan Native (OR = 0.58) and Hispanic students (OR = 0.67) when compared with the odds ratio for White. Dyches et al. (2004) also found that more proportions of Black (0.13%) and Asian/Pacific Islander (0.13%) children were on the autism spectrum compared to Caucasian (0.09%), Hispanic (0.06%), and Native American (0.05%). Tincani et al. (2009) found slightly different patterns of disproportionality: the authors found that racially diverse students, such as African American, American Indian/Alaskan Native, and Hispanic

students, are all underrepresented. Travers et al. (2011) also argued that White students were more likely to be diagnosed on the autism spectrum; Hispanic and American Indian students were the least likely to be identified; and Black students were at once overrepresented in the 1998-9 school year, but significantly underrepresented in later years. Morrier and Hess (2012) argued that only Hispanic children and youth were underrepresented in the category of autism during the 2007-8 school year. Marks and Kurth (2013) argued that a greater proportion of White and Asian/Pacific Islander students were generally in autism categories than African American, Hispanic and American Indian/Alaskan Native students from 1998 to 2008. Sullivan (2013) found that Asian/Pacific Islander students were more likely to be identified with autism, and Hispanic and American Indian/Alaskan Native students were less likely to be identified compare to White students. More recently, Kena et al. (2015) reported that the percentage of students in the IDEA autism category was higher among Asian (18 %) student than overall (8 %) in the 2012-3 school year.

Table 2.4.

Disproportionality in IDEA Autism Category by School Year

School Year	Author (Year)	Data/Sample	Over-representation	Under-representation	Fluctuation
1998-9	Donovan and Cross (2002)**	Students in special education	AA, API	AIAN, Hispanic	
1998-9 1999-2000	Dyches et al. (2004)*	Students with autism	API, Black	AIAN (or Native American), Hispanic, Caucasian	
2006-2007	Tincani et al. (2009)*	Students in special education		AA, AIAN, Hispanic	
1998-2006	Travers et al. (2011)*	Students with autism	White	AIAN, Hispanic	Black
2000-2007	Travers et al. (2014)*	Students with autism		Hispanic	Black
2007-8	Morrier and Hess (2012)*	Students with autism		Hispanic	
1998-2008	Marks and Kurth (2013)*	Students with autism	API, White		Black
2012-3	Sullivan (2013)*	Students with autism	API	AIAN, Hispanic, AA	
2012-3	Kena et al. (2015)**	Students in special education	API (or Asian)	AIAN, Hispanic	

Note. *The study is included in the literature review, **The study is not included in the literature review because the study did not meet the search criteria, AA = African American, API = Asian/Pacific Islander, AIAN = American Indian/Alaska Native, NA = Native American.

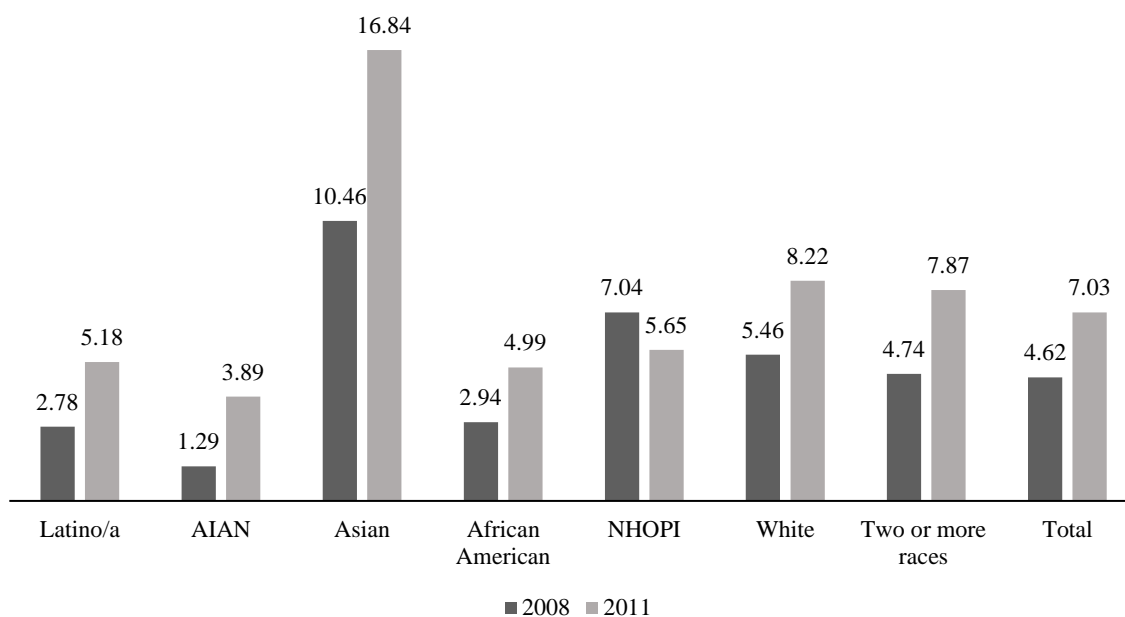
Along with the inconsistency of disproportionality by school years, the racial disparities in autism identification were also inconsistent by geographical locations. Palmer et al. (2010) examined administrative data for Texas school districts. The study showed lower autism prevalence in school districts with a predominance of Hispanic schoolchildren, and socioeconomic factors were not related to the lower prevalence among Hispanic children. Morrier and Hess (2012) investigated special education eligibility data and found that Hispanic children were underrepresented in autism category in 95% of states. The author also argued that professionals might influence disproportionality through eligibility evaluation. According to Marks and Kurth (2013), disproportionality in autism category varied by states: Hispanic students were underrepresented in 22 states in 2004 and 13 states in 2008; Asian/Pacific Islander were overrepresented in 7 states in 2004 and 10 states in 2008; and White students were overrepresented in 13 states in 2004 and 7 states in 2008. As Travers et al. (2014) argued, the autism rates in the selected studies varied greatly by temporal and spatial boundaries.

The different increasing rates of autism placement among racial groups may provide possible explanation to the inconsistent patterns of disproportionality. From 1998 to 2008, the national increase of autism placement was 509%, and it varied by race/ethnicity: Hispanic (741 %), American Indian/Alaska Native (604 %), Asian/Pacific Islander (598%), White (520%), and Black (345%, Marks & Kurth, 2013). Most recent data from Data Accountability Center indicated that the percentage of students in the autism category consistently increased from 2008 to 2011 except for Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) (see Figure 2.2). As shown in Figure 2.2, a higher percentage of Asian students were in autism category; lower percentages of AIAN, African American, Latino/a students were in the category. Moreover, the amount of increase in autism category from 2008 to 2011 varied by race/ethnicity: AIAN

(301%), Latino/a (187%), African American (169%), two or more races (166%), Asian (161%), White (151%), and NHOPI students (80%). In other words, the racial differences in autism increase may explain inconsistent patterns of disproportionality among students with autism.

Figure 2.2.

Percentage of Students in Autism Category by Race/Ethnicity



Note: AIAN = American Indian/Alaska Native, NHOPI = Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Source: U.S Department of Education. For actual data used, go to:

<http://www2.ed.gov/programs/osepidea/618-data/state-level-data-files/index.html#part-b>

Travers et al. (2011) provided two possible explanations for the differences in increasing trends. First, the autism spectrum might have become a substitution for other disability categories, such as intellectual disability (ID) or vice versa. For instance, African-American students were overrepresented in the ID category but underrepresented in the autism category (OSEP, 2014; Travers, 2011). Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2014) reported that White children with autism had lower proportion of intellectual disability than Black children,

and the disproportionate representation among racial groups was primarily driven by a “higher prevalence of ASD without intellectual disability among White children, and higher prevalence of ASD with co-occurring intellectual disability among Black children (p. 9).” This may explain the fluctuation in the representation of African American students in autism category that the group of students was once overrepresented in 2002 (Donovan & Cross, 2002), and recently underrepresented in 2012 (OSEP, 2014). Since academic performance is critical for postsecondary education enrollment, the difference in the comorbid condition of intellectual disability may also explain the racial disparities in educational outcomes.

Secondly, underrepresentation of racial minority groups in the autism category can occur because of “reported latency of autism diagnosis” (Travers et al., 2011). Since autism diagnosis usually occurs in early childhood, if there are the students who do not have access to clinical resources and primarily rely on special education identification, it could delay the autism prevalence report until the children start public education (DSM-5, 2013). Emerson et al. (2015) argued that behaviors of both physicians and parents may affect the delay in autism diagnosis among minority children.

Racial disparities in postsecondary enrollment among students with autism.

The educational outcome is another concern related to educating racial minority students with disabilities. After special education placement, students' academic achievement rates remained low, the dropout rate increased, and postsecondary education enrollment became lower for those with disabilities versus their peers without disabilities (Artiles et al., 2010). While White students with disabilities had better outcomes, minority students were placed in more segregated settings and had limited access to services (Artiles et al., 2010, Fierros & Conroy, 2002).

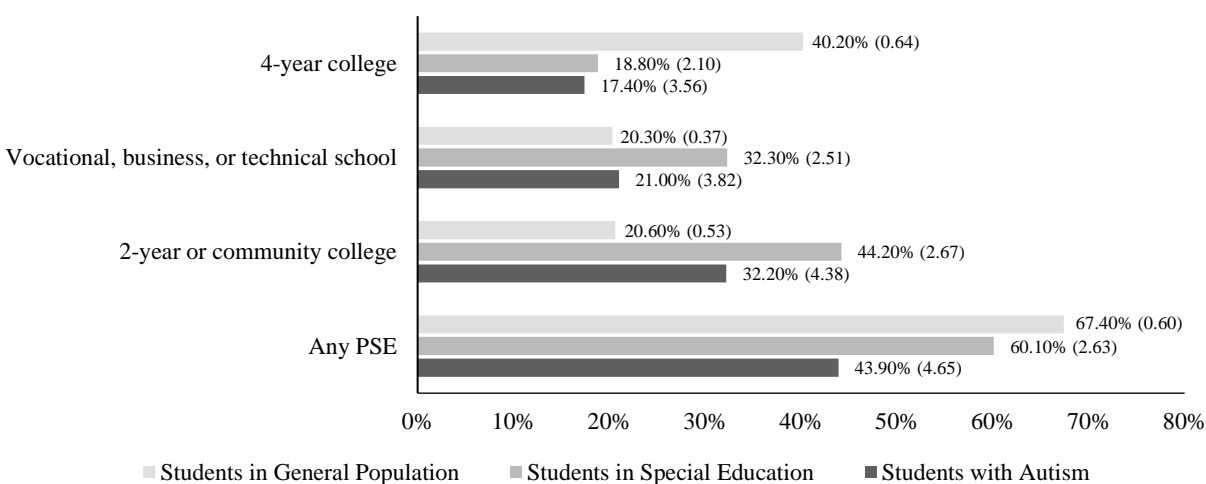
The overrepresentation of students of color in special education was eventually recognized at the federal level after years of unjust practices through IDEA in 2014 (P.L. 105-17, 1997, p. 74). IDEA requires states and local educational agencies to report and address the disproportionate representation of racial minority students in special education placement [20 U.S.C. 1416(a)(3)(C); 34 CFR §§ 300.173 and 300.600(d)(3)]. The legislative efforts such as IDEA, along with The Rehabilitation Act, Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), and Section 504 have made great progress on postsecondary outcomes (National Council on Disability [NCD], 2014). For instance, the enrollment rate of individuals with disabilities in postsecondary education increased from 27.2% in 2003 to 57% in 2009 (NCD, 2014). However, the disproportionate representations of racial minority students in identification and outcomes are still not fully addressed in the field of special education (Artiles, 2011).

As shown in Figure 2.1, The postsecondary education enrollment rate was 67% in the general population in the United States, but the rate was 60% for young adults with a disability within eight years of leaving high school in 2009 (Newman et al., 2011b). Moreover, compared to all students in the general population, only half of students with disabilities went to a 4-year

college (40.2% vs. 18.8%), but twice that percentage of students with disabilities went to 2-year colleges (20.6% vs. 44.2%, Newman et al., 2011b). The enrollment rate became even lower for students with autism. Only 43.9% of students were in any type of postsecondary institutions in the same study; 17.4% for 4-year colleges; 21% for vocational, business or technical schools; and 32.2% for 2-year colleges (Newman et al., 2011b; see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1.

Postsecondary School Enrollment within 8 Years of Leaving High School



Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

Source: National Center for Special Education Research, National Longitudinal Transition Study-2 (NLTS2), Wave 5 parent interview and youth interview/survey, 2009; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 (NLSY97) 2005 youth survey, responses for 21- to 25-yearolds

The patterns of disparities in postsecondary education enrollment are different when autism and race are involved. Among the general population, more Asian/Pacific Islander students enrolled in postsecondary education than other racial groups (Ross et al., 2012). However, for students with autism, all minority groups including Asian/Pacific Islander students were less likely to attend postsecondary education than White students with autism (Kim, under

review, see Table 2.5). Moreover, more White students were likely to choose STEM majors in college (Wei et al., 2014). This may indicate that minority students with autism may face an additional set of challenges when they go to college.

Table 2.5.

Postsecondary Education Enrollment for Students with Autism, by Race/Ethnicity

Variable	Total		White		African-American		Hispanic		Asian/Pacific Islander	
	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE	%	SE
Race/ethnicity	40.02	2.41	48.24	3.24	23.61	3.47*	16.75	6.36*†	24.00	9.42*‡

Note: The percentages may not total 100 percent because of rounding; Percent and standard error are weighted by the cross-wave weights (wt_AnyPy); Descriptive analyses were not conducted for American Indian/Alaska Native and Multi/Other due to small sample sizes; * Statistically significant difference from White students, $p < .01$; † Statistically significant difference from African American students, $p < .01$; ‡ Statistically significant difference from Hispanic students, $p < .01$.

Source: Kim (under review).

Explaining Racial Disparities in Postsecondary Enrollment for Students with Autism

The selected studies provided three possible explanations of racial disparities in postsecondary enrollment. First, disparities in utilization of autism-related services can explain the less positive outcome for minority students than their peers from the dominant racial community. Second, disparities in socio-economic status like household income, school poverty level, and parents' educational attainments can be another explanation. Third, a series of policies like racial quotas in postsecondary institutions, English-only instruction policies, and anti-immigrant policies can affect access to postsecondary education for some racial minority students with autism, and the impact can be responsible for racial disparities in postsecondary enrollment.

Disparities in service utilization. Researchers have consistently reported that medical and educational resources are limited for historically marginalized groups of adolescents with autism (Liptak et al., 2008; Mandell et al., 2010; Narendorf et al., 2011; Rosenberg et al., 2010;

Taylor & Henninger, 2015; Thomas et al., 2007; Zuckerman et al., 2013). Liptak et al. (2008) investigated disparities in access to health services, and reported that Latino and Black children and children from poor families had lower access to healthcare services. Regression analysis by Mandell et al. (2010) showed that minority status impacts greater on accessing services than household income. Rosenberg et al. (2010) found that Hispanic children with ASD were less likely to use any psychotropic medication than non-Hispanic children. Zuckerman et al. (2013) found that only 29% of primary care pediatrician offered Spanish ASD screening for their Latino patients, and most of the pediatrician thought that Latino parents were less likely to know about ASD than White parents. The author argued that access to developmental specialists was the most frequent barrier for the identification of ASD among Latino parents. Due to the limited medical access and resources among historically marginalized populations, school-based services among minority families can be critical. For example, Narendorf et al. (2011) found that African American youths were more likely to receive school-based mental health services than other racial groups. Unfortunately, Taylor and Henninger (2015) interviewed with families of youths with ASD and found that minority youths were less likely to have unmet service needs in their last year of high school. Another study by Thomas et al. (2007) surveyed young children with autism and argued that racial minority students with autism were less likely to utilize the services, such as using a case manager, a psychologist, or a developmental pediatrician, than White students.

Along with access to the services, early diagnosis or accurate identification of students with autism is crucial because later diagnosis or misidentification of an autism label can prevent receiving an appropriate education in time (Travers et al., 2011). To be specific, early interventions for children with autism have been known to have impacts on positive outcomes,

such as intellectual ability, adaptive behavior, and language development (Estes et al., 2015; Koegel, 1995; McEachin et al., 1993; McGovern & Sigman, 2005). Accurate identification and appropriate education services will provide long-term benefits to children, such as developing social, communicative, and behavioral skills, and these skills are pivotal to a successful transition to postsecondary education.

Unfortunately, researchers have consistently found that racial minority children received their autism diagnoses later than White children. Valicenti-McDermott, Hottinger, Seijo, and Shulman (2012) found that Hispanic and African American children were more likely to be diagnosed with an ASD after four years old than Caucasian counterparts. Mandell, Listerud, Levy, and Pinto-Martin (2002) also found that African American children received their first autism diagnosis 1.6 years later than White children among Medicaid-eligible children (African American children at 7.9, White children at 6.3). Another study showed that the diagnostic delays of the urban African American children with ASD were affected by cultural influences, such as the children's higher functional skills that could be resulted from family protective care style, healthcare professionals' diagnostic bias, poor access to health care due to families' distrust of equity in health care, and different symptom interpretations among the families (Burkett, Morris, Manning-Courtney, Anthony, & Shambley-Ebron, 2015). Mandell et al. (2002) also argued that minority students with autism tended to receive services at a later age. The disproportionate representations of certain racial groups in service utilization can further contribute inequity in educational outcomes, such as access to postsecondary education.

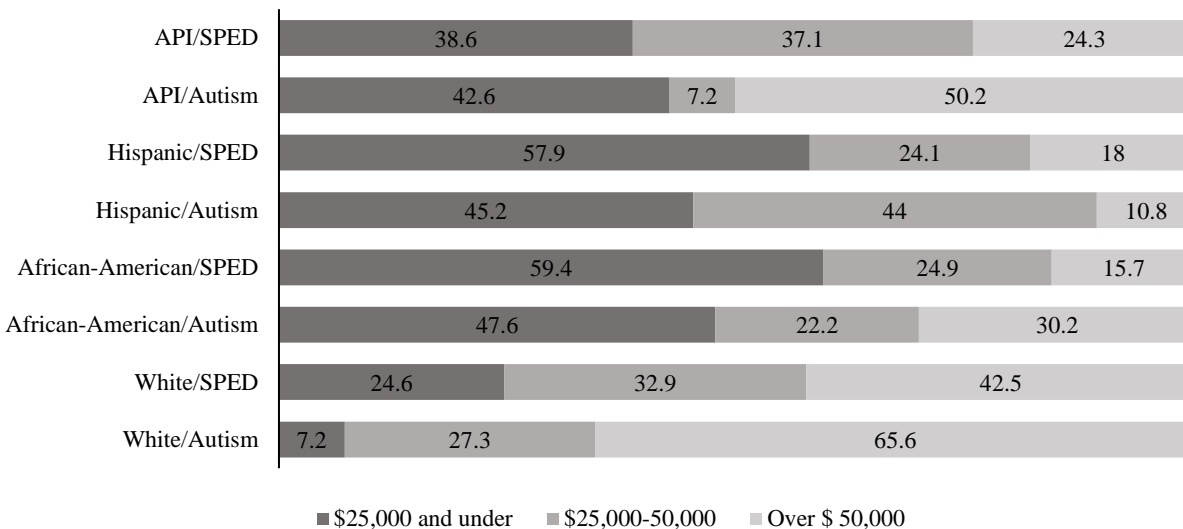
Socioeconomic status of racial minority students with autism in the United States.

Socioeconomic status (SES) continues to shape the educational experiences of students with autism during their transition from high school to postsecondary institutions. Ross et al. (2012)

found that students from high SES households were more likely to enroll in postsecondary institutions immediately.

The patterns of racial disparities in household income is slightly different between students with autism and all students in special education (see, Figure 2.2; Kim, under review). Students with autism are less likely to come from low-income households than students in other special education classifications. As shown in Figure 2.2, a higher percentage of White, Asian, and African American students with autism are in the high-income bracket compared to all students with disabilities in the bracket. White students with autism were less likely to be from low-income households, but almost half of African American, Hispanic, and Asian/Pacific Islander students were in the low-income bracket. Kim (under review) argued that household income is significantly associated with postsecondary education enrollment for students with autism. In other words, unequal distribution of economic capitals among racial groups further impacts disparities in educational outcome for students with autism.

Figure 2.2.

Percentage of Household Income by Disabilities and Race/Ethnicity

Note: API = Asian/Pacific Islander, SPED = students in special education. The percentages may not total 100 percent because of rounding.

Source: For actual data used for students in special education, go to: http://www.nlts2.org/data_tables/tables/1/Np1K15Catfrm.html; for students with autism, Kim, H. (under review).

Along with household income levels, racial disparities of SES were associated with school poverty level. Rumberger and Palardy (2005 search) found that the SES of schools has greater effects on students' academic achievement than does individual students' SES status. Unfortunately, more racial minority students were in high-poverty public elementary and secondary schools in 2010-11 (Ross et al. 2012). For students with autism, autism-related services in schools greatly impact low-income students because receiving services outside of schools is often very expensive. Thomas et al. (2007) argued that access to autism-related services is more difficult for students from low-income families. Considering that racial minority students were more likely to come from low-income families (Kim, under review), more racial minority students may experience difficulties in receiving services due to their SES. Even after

controlling for SES for students with autism, access to services is still limited for racial minorities (Liptak et al., 2008). Narendorf et al. (2011) found that school-based mental health services were particularly crucial for vulnerable populations. Racial minority students with autism from low-income households are in double jeopardy because they simultaneously have difficulty accessing services and they attend high-poverty schools where less qualified services are provided.

Historical debates about socioeconomic status for individuals with autism. The relationship between socioeconomic background and likelihood that a child will receive an autism diagnosis is still a contentious issue seven decades after Kanner's first descriptions. Kanner's (1943) first description of the characteristics of autism included the parents' educational background. Kanner (1943) and Asperger (1991) borrowed the term "autism" after Eugen Bleuler offered the term to describe individuals' social withdrawal in 1910 (Kuhn & Cahn, 2004). Based on Bleuler's conceptualization of autism, Kanner described 11 children who exhibited behavioral similarities. Kanner (1943) observed that "[the children] all come of highly intelligent families" (p. 248). Although researchers dispelled Kanner's assumption later (Fombonne, 2003; Travers et al., 2011), researchers are still studying the link between autism and socioeconomic conditions. For instance, one study shows that a higher autism diagnosis risk is related to higher parents' education attainment (University of California-Davis-Health System., 2010). Croen, Grether, and Selvin (2002) also found similar results: as a mother's education increases, the risk of an autism diagnosis for her child(ren) increases. On the other hand, researchers argue that an association between socioeconomic status and the risk of an autism diagnosis is due to ascertainment bias (Gillberg & Schaumann, 1982; Newschaffer et al., 2007). Ascertainment bias comes from researchers' theoretical assumptions behind the sampling

process, and it attributes to the systematic deviations (National Center for Biotechnology Information [NCBI], 2005). The relationships between autism risk and parents' education attainment are still debatable.

When it comes to postsecondary education, however, the parents' college experiences can greatly impact on their children's postsecondary enrollment (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Roderick, Nagaoka, Coca, & Moeller, 2008). For instance, first-generation students may have difficulty in college admission tests, applying to, and selecting postsecondary schools due to a lack of information and guidance (Ross et al., 2012). First-generation students are students whose parents had no postsecondary education experiences (Billson & Terry, 1982; Nunez and Cuccaro-Alamin, 1998; Pascarella et. al., 2004). Nunez and Cuccaro-Alamin (1998) argued that persistent rate and degree attainment rate of first-generation college students were lower than their peers even after controlling for SES, institution type, and attendance status.

First-generation college students were more common among racial minorities. According to Saenz (2007), the percentages of first-generation college students were lower among White (13.2%) than Native American (16.8%), Asian (19%), African American (22.6%) and Latino (38.2%) students in 2005. Furthermore, the parents' educational attainments differed by race in 2010 (Ross et al., 2010). For the parents' high school completion, 32% of Hispanic parents, 11% of Black, 11% of American Indian, 10% of Asian, 7% of Alaska Native, 5% of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 4% of White children ages 6-18 had not completed high school; for the parents' postsecondary education attainment, 59% of Asian, 44% of White, 20% of Black, 16% of Hispanic, 18% of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 18% of American Indian, and 16% of Alaska Native children's parents had a bachelor's degree or higher (Ross et al., 2012). In other word, more minority students with autism than White students experience college environments

for the first time in their family. Thus, they may have difficulties locating mentors and resources to adjust postsecondary environment. In this regard, racial disparities in parents' educational attainment can be linked to the unequal distributions of educational sources toward the students from non-dominant racial groups, and it further challenges getting access to postsecondary education.

From getting a diagnosis to living independently, students with autism and their families need to navigate possible resources, which are often designed to allocate resources for the standard needs of White and middle-class students. The standardized resources and practices can ignore that different people have different needs, and further frustrate families and service providers in their efforts to address the unique needs of diverse learners with autism from low-income families.

Impacts of policies in postsecondary enrollment. A line of policies can affect access to postsecondary education for many racial minority students with autism.

English only movement and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Speaking a language other than English in the United States can create additional barrier and confusion for educating racial minority students with autism. Researchers have repeatedly found that a bilingual or multilingual environment does not negatively impact students with autism in their communicative development (Bird, Lamond, & Holden, 2012; Hambly & Fombonne, 2012, 2014; Jegatheesan, 2011; Ohashi et al., 2012; Petersen, Marinova-Todd, & Mirenda, 2012; Seung, Siddiqi, & Elder, 2006; Valicenti-McDermott et al., 2013). However, one common misconception is that bilingual instruction can cause additional delays for language minority students with autism (Hambly & Fombonne, 2012). Yu (2013) interviewed bilingual immigrant mothers of children with autism. The author found that all the participants believed that

bilingualism gave additional challenges to learn, and the belief was usually reinforced by professionals. Unfortunately, there are scarce of instructional guides that practitioners and family members can teach bilingualism for their children with autism (Bird et al., 2012; Valicenti-McDermott et al., 2013). Moreover, the families' confusion about educating their children also can be exaggerated by negative experiences with professionals (Estrada & Deris, 2014).

Furthermore, a political movement to make English the official language of the United States (so-called the "English-only movement") added more confusion for practitioners and families (Padilla et al., 1991). In the same vein, English instruction initiatives restricted bilingual education and educational outcomes for students from language minority communities (Pac, 2012). Such educational language legislation included Proposition 227 in California (1998), Proposition 203 in Arizona (2000), and Question 2 (2002) in Massachusetts. Restrictive initiatives of this sort limit linguistic support for English Language Learners (ELL) and eliminate potential opportunities for acquiring diverse cultural and linguistic competencies.

Another education policy, the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (PL 107-110, NCLB), also eliminated already developed foundations of bilingual education (Crawford, 2004). Before NCLB, the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA) of 1994 gave "priority in federal funding to ELL programs whose goals included proficient bilingualism and biliteracy along with academic achievement in English" (Crawford, 2004, pp. 5-6). Unfortunately, NCLB limited the bilingual education infrastructure for language minority students. NCLB is a standard-based education reform with comprehensive standardized testing in reading, mathematics, and science (Peterson & West, 2003). Pressure on schools for increased accountability due to NCLB caused "the curriculum [to become] impoverished primarily in schools that enroll large numbers of poor, minority, disabled, and ELL students: the problem subgroups" (Crawford, 2004, p. 5). Although

NCLB does not require English-only instruction, it dismantled school programs that had encouraged bilingualism. For instance, a two-way bilingual education program at the Highland Elementary School in Maryland was disrupted by a 2 1/2 –hour block of English phonics each day because administrators worried that the bilingual program may negatively impact the results of English-language achievement tests required by the NCLB (Crawford, 2004, p. 6). Moreover, NCLB conflicts with special education’s individualized educational services since NCLB treats all students uniformly regardless of differences (Artiles, 2010).

The educational misconceptions of bilingualism for students with autism and English-only policies work together to additional challenges to language minority students with autism. Families’ language plays an important role in the families’ relationship with their cultural communities since language is “the key to cultural transmission” (Macionis, 2007, p. 66). Also, those structural barriers can impact the transition process to postsecondary institutions for minority students with autism.

Immigration status and racial minority students with autism. The immigration status of students and their parents is another dimension of socioeconomic status that may impact postsecondary education for racial minority students with autism. Because immigrants need time to locate public services and resources, the immigrant status of students and their parents may impact access to postsecondary education. While only 23% of White students are first- and second-generation Americans, about 47% of non-White students are in that category (Staklis & Soldner, 2012).¹ Because almost half of racial minority students have immigration history for

¹ “First generation” and “second generation,” as applied to immigrants, can be ambiguous terms. I follow the definition of the terms used by Pew Research Center (a large social science research center) for “first generation” and “second generation” and the definition offered by Rumbaut and Ima (1988) for “1.5 generation.” According to a report by Pew Research Center (2015), “first generation refers to the foreign born,” which includes “persons born outside of the United States, Puerto Rico or other U.S. territories to parents neither of whom was a U.S. citizen,” and “second generation refers to people born in the U.S. who have at least one immigrant parent.” (p. 3). I use the term 1.5 generation for Junyoung and Sangmin because their experiences cannot be described by either

themselves or their parents, immigration status is one of the critical elements to consider for racial minority students with autism in their educational trajectory.

Especially for students with autism and their families, immigration status can affect paths to receive related medical and educational services through policies like California Proposition 187. According to Lin, Yu, and Harwood (2012), children with ASD and select developmental disabilities from immigrant families are two times more likely to not have a stable source of medical care, and physicians did not spend enough time with the families. Even if the students have sufficient cognitive, social, and communication skills, their legal status can be the greatest hindrance for attending a postsecondary school. Citizenship status and policies greatly impact whether or not racially diverse children with autism receive appropriate supports and access to the postsecondary education because students need lots of information and resources to prepare for their postsecondary life.

Anti-immigrant policies have been passed in several states including California, Illinois, Florida, New York, and Texas, and the effects spilled over into education (Fountain & Bearman, 2011). Recent anti-immigrant policies prohibit children with citizenship whose parents have immigrant status from using public welfare services due to their families' mixed-status (Fix & Zimmermann, 2001). According to Fix and Zimmermann (2001), 9% of families with children in

of the two other terms above. The term 1.5 generation has been initially used in a report called, "The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A comparative study." (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) The authors defined 1.5 generation as "they are neither part of the 'first' generation of their parents, the responsible adults who were formed in the homeland, who made the fateful decision to leave it and to flee as refugees to an uncertain exile in the United States, and who are thus defined by the consequences of that decision and by the need to justify it; nor are these youths part of the 'second' generation of children who are born in the U.S., and for whom the 'homeland' mainly exists as a representation consisting of parental memories and memorabilia, even though their ethnicity may remain well defined." and "they are those young people who were born in their countries of origin but formed in the U.S. (that is, they are completing their education in the U.S. during the key formative periods of adolescence and early adulthood); they were not the main protagonists of the decision to leave and hence are less beholden to their parents' attitudes; and they are in many ways marginal to both the new and old worlds, for while they straddle both worlds they are in some profound sense fully part of neither of them." (p. 22)

the United States (27% in California, 14% in New York) can claim a mixed-status family. A mixed-status family includes “any combination of legal immigrants, undocumented immigrants, and naturalized citizens” (p. 397). Although the citizen children are eligible for public welfare services, the families can be reluctant to use those benefits due to their fear of revealing their illegal status. Fix and Passel (2002) also found that usage of public benefit programs by immigrants declined sharply from 1994 to 1999 due to welfare reforms in immigrant provisions. For instance, Fountain and Bearman (2011) investigated the impact of California Proposition 187 on autism diagnoses by looking at autism case records in California. California Proposition 187 required health providers to report a child’s and their families’ citizenship status to immigration officials. Therefore, fear prevented immigrant families with children from using public services to which their child with ASD was entitled because it may risk their immigration status (Fountain & Bearman, 2011).

Another anti-immigration act, the South Carolina Illegal Immigration Reform Act (SCIIR), was passed in 2008. The SCIIR legislation limits postsecondary education opportunities for undocumented students (Smith, 2014). The law states:

SECTION 59-101-430. (A) An alien unlawfully present in the United States is not eligible to attend a public institution of higher learning in this State, as defined in Section 59-103-5.

(B) An alien unlawfully present in the United States is not eligible on the basis of residence for a public higher education benefit including, but not limited to, scholarships, financial aid, grants, or resident tuition. [SC Code § 59-101-430]

The policies for undocumented students vary by state. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures (2015, February 10), three states (Arizona, Georgia, and Indiana) prohibit in-state tuition for undocumented students, and two states (Alabama and South Carolina) prohibit undocumented students from attending public postsecondary institutions. The legislation in Alabama and South Carolina conflicts with a federal program, however, the

Differed Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in 2012. Although DACA became a new avenue to attain postsecondary education for children with illegal immigrant parents, eligibility is still limited to a small number of students, and the application fee and the process become additional barriers (Smith, 2014).

The anti-immigrant policies greatly impact children from language minority communities along with the English-only movements. Pac (2012) argued that English-instruction initiatives targeted immigrant populations, and mainly Spanish speakers, who are the fastest-growing minority population in the United States today. For language minority students from immigrant families, the chains of immigrant policies and the English-only movement complicate access to autism-related services outside of school and might delay an autism diagnosis. Furthermore, anti-immigrant policies and the English-only movement might hinder sufficient educational support for students with ASD later in school.

Receiving appropriate educational services in a timely fashion is critical for students with autism who need a long-term commitment in preparation for postsecondary education. Thus, educators need to consider that the fluidity of immigration status presents an additional burden for the minority families to search for the right resources and to advocate for their children.

Media reflections. One driving force shaping the aforementioned immigration policies is the media (Otten, 1992). The media often constructs how the public perceive certain groups of people (Hall, 1997). Representations of people with autism are often created by popular media, such as books (e.g., *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Nighttime*), television programs (e.g., *Criminal Minds*, *House*), and movies (e.g., *Rain Man*), and the divergent representations of characteristics of ASD can be harmful (Belcher & Maich, 2014; Draaisma, 2009). Belcher and Maich (2014) reviewed popular media and concluded that television showed people with autism

as “intellectually stimulating geniuses,” movies depicted characters with ASD as “heroes” with odds, novels portrayed ASD authentically, and picture books were written with a clinical perspective (p. 109). Draaisma (2009) argued that:

They [actors, script writers, and directors] all want an absolutely sincere and truthful rendition of autism; what they come up with is an autistic character with freak-like savant skills, unlike anything resembling a normal autistic person. The stereotype of autistic persons being savants is, without doubt, one of the most striking discrepancies between the expert’s view and the general view of autism. (p. 1478)

Such portraits in television and movies may resonate with the Kanner’s (1943) first description of autism that they do not have cognitive difficulties (National Research Council, 2001). However, according to DSM-5, ASDs frequently co-occur with intellectual disability. The CDC (2016) also reported that “31% of children with ASD were in the range of intellectual disability ($IQ \leq 70$), 23% in the borderline range ($IQ = 71-85$), and 46% in the average or above average range of intellectual ability ($IQ > 85$)” (p. 1). Therefore, the representation of individuals with autism in the media often does not reflect reality.

Unlike the visual media reflections, authors of books often portray real-life stories about people with autism (Belcher & Maich, 2014). Among nonfiction books, Grinker (2007) illustrated his personal experiences of having a daughter with autism, who has a mixture of Korean and Caucasian physical attributes. The book described the intersection of culture and autism in the US, South Africa, India, and South Korea. Grinker (2007) shows how media shapes perspectives on autism, and how institutions respond to them. In South Korea, due to a successful film called *Malaton* (Marathon, 2005), the Korean media started to talk about people with ASD. At the end of 2005, Korean universities began training psychologists, psychiatrists, and other clinicians to identify children with ASD; the Korean Ministry of Science and Technology started providing grants for autism research; the Ministry of Education planned to

increase the number of special education classes; the Ministry of Justice started to allow lawsuits about inadequate educational services; the Ministry of Culture and Tourism began airing public service announcements about inclusion; and the Ministry of Defense announced that working as a special education assistant can be an alternative to military service (Grinker, 2007, p. 260). This example shows that the interplay between the media and institutional responses can greatly impact the educational experiences of individuals with autism.

For racial minority students, media representation of those with autism and in a racial minority in the US shape their educational experiences in diverse ways. In order to listen to their experiences, it is necessary to examine how trends in the media and related policies shape the learners' trajectories to postsecondary education.

Postsecondary Transition for Racial Minority Students with Autism

The converging identities shape the experiences of diverse learners with autism, and the individual learners require unique educational supports to be responsive to the intersecting experiences. Interventions based solely on race or autism that do not share the same historical background will be limited. Diverse learners with autism have different sets of strengths and obstacles in their transition to postsecondary education.

Second to receiving an initial autism diagnosis, the postsecondary transition may be the most difficult time for students with autism and their families. Thus, appropriate and early preparations are key for a smooth transition to postsecondary life (Geller & Greenberg, 2010). For the postsecondary transition, IDEA requires that transition planning should begin no later than age 16 (Public Law 108-446, 2004, p. 2709). The transition services are defined as:

SEC 602. (34) TRANSITION SERVICES.-The Term "transition services" means a coordinated set of activities for a child with a disability that;
 (A) is designed to be within a results-oriented process, that is focused on improving the academic and functional achievement of the child with a disability to facilitate the child's

movement from school to post-school activities, including postsecondary education, vocational education, integrated employment (including supported employment), continuing and adult education, adult services, independent living, or community participation;

(B) is based on the individual child's needs, taking into account the child's strengths, preferences, and interests; and

(C) includes instruction, related services, community experiences, the development of employment and other post-school adult living objectives, and when the appropriate acquisition of daily living skills and functional vocational evaluation. (U.S. Department of Education, 2004, p. 2658)

As stated in IDEA, "transition services" in special education refer to a coordinated set of activities specifically related to the transition from high school to a postsecondary environment.

For postsecondary education, students must have social skills as well as the academic foundation to enroll in the postsecondary institutions and to maintain their academic careers. Postsecondary institutions are significantly different from high school. Thus systematic planning and preparation for changes in social and academic expectations are necessary.

Changes in social expectations and rules. For some students with autism, the social changes of postsecondary education can be more difficult than the academic demands (Camarena & Sarigiani, 2009; Chown & Beavan, 2012; Geller & Greenberg, 2010). After leaving high school, students experience significantly different social expectations in terms of "increased independence, self-directed learning, time management, a less structured timetable, new social situations, and a change in location" (Luey, 2014). Due to the changes in social demands after high school, the transition can be a turbulent period for many students (Wehman et al., 2009).

Moreover, students with autism have common challenges that impede full participation in the new postsecondary setting, such as "difficulty with social interaction and relationship development; problems with maintaining conversation in social settings; patterns of thinking that may be perseverative or obsessive; and difficulty interpreting nonverbal cues or others' perspectives" (Geller & Greenberg, 2010, p. 93). With those difficulties, developing

relationships in college can be overwhelming. However, social interaction is a learned strategy for most individuals with autism (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Thus opportunities to develop the necessary skills prior to one's postsecondary education is critical.

Researchers repeatedly found that positive social experiences are associated with academic outcomes and school engagement for students with autism (Lynch, Lerner, & Leventhal, 2013). Knowing the changes in responsibilities and developing social/academic skills is critical to meet the needs in the postsecondary world.

Shifting responsibilities. The transition to a postsecondary institution is challenging for all students, but it is especially so for students with disabilities who have additional challenges to manage sets of new responsibilities. In order to have successful experiences and retention in postsecondary education, appropriate accommodations are necessary for students with disabilities (Mull, Sitlington, & Alper, 2001; Stodden, Whelley, Chang, & Harding, 2001). Unlike K-12 settings under IDEA, students with disabilities in higher education are expected to advocate for themselves to receive such accommodations. Wolanin and Steele (2004) argued that:

Students with disabilities in secondary school IDEA places the burden on the school to find and serve the student through an IEP. In higher education the burden is on the student, not the school, to find the appropriate services and navigate through higher education to a successful outcome (p.27).

Special education's zero-reject philosophy in K-12 does not apply to postsecondary institutions (Wolanin & Steele, 2004), and postsecondary institutions do not have a legal obligation under like those under IDEA to provide a free, appropriate public education (FAPE) to children with disabilities. However, postsecondary institutions are subject to Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 that prohibit discrimination based on disability (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil

Rights [OCR], 2011). Private postsecondary schools do not receive federal funding from Section 504 or Title II, but still, they are subject to Title III or the ADA that prohibits discrimination (OCR, 2011). Table 2.6 shows the major differences:

Table 2.6.

Differences between K-12 and Postsecondary Institutions

	K-12	Postsecondary Institution
Legal Protection	Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (PL 108-446) Section 504, Rehabilitation Act of 1973	Title II of Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (PL 101-336) Section 504, Rehabilitation Act of 1973
Identification & Evaluation	Schools identify students' special needs Schools arrange accommodations Schools provide evaluation at no cost	Students self-identify their disabilities Students are responsible for arranging accommodations Students obtain evaluation usually at their expense
Parent Involvement	Parents can access student record Parents involved in educational plans Parents are able to advocate for students	Parents cannot access student records without students' consent Parents involvement is not accepted Students advocate for themselves
Accommodations	Teachers provide modifications and accommodations Schools may provide substantial modifications of standard curriculum	Students request modifications and accommodations with disability document Colleges are not required to make fundamental alteration of a program

Note: Adopted from U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights [OCR], *Transition of Students With Disabilities to Postsecondary Education: A Guide for High School Educators*, Washington, D.C., 2011.; Wolanin, T. R., & Steele, P. E. (2004). *Higher Education Opportunities for Students with Disabilities: A Primer for Policymakers*: Institute for Higher Education Policy.

Unlike the services under IDEA, the postsecondary institutions are not legally obligated to identify disability status nor to provide accommodations. Thus, high schools students under IDEA should acknowledge that they need to report their disability status if they want to receive academic accommodations in postsecondary schools (Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Preparing

required documentation on time is key to receiving meaningful accommodations. The required documents vary by schools, but it should be “recent or current” documentation that may include: a diagnosis and the credentials of the diagnosing professional, in addition information on how disabilities affect daily life and academic performance (OCR, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Among higher institutions, 53.7% did not offer disability specific evaluations (Stodden et al., 2001). If students qualify, students can get their disability assessment or evaluation at no cost through a Vocational Rehabilitation (VR) office on all campuses. However, often students need to pay for an evaluation that costs from hundreds to thousands of dollars (Wehmeyer, Field, & Thoma, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). This financial burden to students with disabilities who come from low-income families is another obstacle for postsecondary education (Wolanin & Steele, 2004).

In order to ensure a successful transition to postsecondary school, a collaboration of the student, family, transition team, and agencies in postsecondary institutions is essential. To provide sufficient documents to the disability office in postsecondary institutions in time, students and educators in K-12 should routinely update the disability documentation even if the student does not need the new evaluation to get IDEA services (Wehmeyer, Field, & Thoma., 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Moreover, Wehmeyer (2011) suggested that a transition team should work closely with the disability offices in postsecondary institutions, which are one of the most important resource providers for students once they arrive at college. The students and families also need to familiarize themselves with the specific terms and the differences in the legal and practical contexts to advocate for their rights and be aware of their responsibilities in postsecondary schools (Wolanin & Steele, 2004).

Accommodations in postsecondary school. In postsecondary education, accommodations are totally different from the ones in high school in terms of arrangement process and types of accommodations. The process to receive accommodations is complex, and disclosure of disabilities is often stressful and voluntary (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). The complex process and stressful disclosure of disabilities may partially explain why the relatively small number of students disclose their disabilities to the school. According to Newman, Wagner, Knokey, et al. (2011), only 28% of students disclosed a disability to their school, though 70.4% of those self-identified students received accommodations. The utilizations of accommodations also vary by type of school: 76.4% for 2-year or community college; 63.9% for vocational, business or technical school; and 58.2% for 4-year college (Newman et al., 2011b).

Typical accommodations in postsecondary institutions include additional time for tests and assignments, technology usage, tutoring, learning/behavior management support, and modified assignments (Newman et al., 2011b). Kurth & Mellard (2006) found that participants who received accommodations in postsecondary institutions reported that effective accommodations were note takers, extended time on tests, adaptive technology, moving to a different location in the classroom, and public transportation. The types of accommodations are often limited because postsecondary institutions are not legally obligated to lower or waive essential requirements or provide the same services as in K-12 (OCR, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004).

After being eligible to receive accommodations, students should arrange needed accommodations early enough through the disability service office and instructors (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). During the process, students need to disclose disabilities to multiple people, and the disclosure is often emotional and sensitive to the students (Wolanin & Steele, 2004). The

faculty's discretion on whether or not to provide accommodations often creates anxiety for students with autism (Luey, 2014). According to Wolanin and Steele (2004), academic culture and the attitudes of faculties in postsecondary education are major barriers to providing appropriate accommodations. Negative feedback from instructors may give students feelings of vulnerability and further impede students' willingness to ask for proper accommodations (Lynch & Gussel, 1996). Furthermore, students who received services under IDEA are often not sufficiently ready to advocate themselves (Getzel & McManus, 2005; Wagner et al., 2005). Since students must have cultural and social resources to advocate for themselves, such as having information and establishing connections to related people (Trainor, 2008), the postsecondary eligibility process can be extremely difficult for some students with disabilities. In order to avoid those barriers, postsecondary instructors should be more knowledgeable about their students. Moreover, students also need to know the nature of accommodations in postsecondary schools and consider which accommodations and supports they will need in advance of matriculation (Mull et al., 2001).

Social demands in postsecondary institutions and self-determination. College environments are significantly different from high school settings as they are less structured than high school. Thus students in postsecondary institutions need to manage their own time, also they usually have many long-term assignments, which require more extensive planning (Geller & Greenberg, 2010). The differences between schools require students to become a primary agent who needs to self-determine their needs and advocate themselves in ways to which they are unaccustomed since their experience was vastly different in K-12 (Stodden et al., 2001; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Wehmeyer (1992) defined self-determination as "the attitudes and abilities required to act as the primary causal agent in one's life and to make choices regarding

one's actions free from undue external influence or interference" (p. 305). Wehmeyer, Agran, and Hughes (1998) listed the domains of self-determination as: choice-making; decision-making; problem-solving; goal setting and attainment independence; risk-taking and safety skills; self-observation, evaluation, and reinforcement skills; self-instruction; self-advocacy and leadership skills; an internal locus of control; positive attributes of efficacy and outcome expectancy; self-awareness; and self-knowledge (p. 11).

Those skills of self-determination are associated with positive postsecondary experiences (Raskind, Goldberg, Higgins, & Herman, 1999; Wehmeyer, 2011; Wehmeyer & Schalock, 2001). Wehmeyer, Field, and Thoma (2011) reviewed studies about the successful transition to postsecondary education and listed the critical skills of that process, such as "self-awareness, goal-setting, self-advocacy skills, problem-solving, and self-management" (p.182). These skills can be broadly defined as self-determination. Getzel and Thoma (2008; 2005) had previously interviewed 34 college students with disabilities and asked the students to identify critical self-determination skills for their college life. The authors suggested that self-awareness is important as students need to know their strengths, weaknesses, interests, and needs to determine suitable schools, programs, and the necessary supports. Each of the elements of self-determination is a crucial component in a students' postsecondary success: self-advocacy is critical to get necessary supports; problem-solving skills are important as students have to do things by themselves to overcome barriers and to fulfill academic requirements; and self-management skills are required, since college students should schedule classes and organize materials by themselves (Getzel & Thoma, 2008).

While diverse learners do not respond differently to self-determination practices, opportunities to develop the skills in school settings are scarce (OSEP, 2002; Powers et al., 2005;

Stodden et al., 2001; Trainor, 2005; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Trainor (2005) delineated behaviors and perceptions of culturally and linguistically diverse students with learning disabilities during postsecondary transition planning meetings. The author argued that differences in responses to self-determination opportunities among participants were subtle. However, the self-determination education is still limited in both secondary schools and postsecondary institutions (Wolanin & Steele, 2004). In secondary schools, only 61.6% of special education teachers taught self-determination skills often (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, 2002, p.6). Similarly, Powers et al. (2005) studied transition planning practices as reflected in IEPs, and found that self-determination education was referenced in less than 7% of the IEPs. In postsecondary institutions, advocacy assistance was a commonly provided service, but the type and timing of the assistance was problematic (Stodden et al., 2001). Also, offering self-advocacy training was less common than the assistance services offered in the same study. Acquiring self-determination skills takes a long time, and students need to be prepared to advocate for themselves before they enter into postsecondary institutions in order to improve their chance at a successful transition to postsecondary education (Wehmeyer, Field, & Thoma, 2011).

In terms of autism and race, there are disparities in practicing self-determination in Individualized Education Program (IEP) meetings. Wolanin and Steele (2004) suggested that “an appropriate start” can be that students take an active leadership role in their transition plans for preparing their future responsibilities in postsecondary schools (p. 29). Unfortunately, only 12% of students with disabilities in the study took a leadership role in the transition planning meetings (Cameto, Levine, & Wagner, 2004). Furthermore, Kim (under review) found that only 6.8% of students with autism took a leadership role in IEP meetings, a statistical finding which varied by

racial groups: 7.6% for White, 4.4% for African-American, and 11.21% for Hispanic students (reporting standards were not met for the percentage of Asian-American students). Knowing that self-determination increases one's chances of a successful transition to postsecondary environments (Getzel & Thoma, 2006, 2008), providing opportunities to practice those skills in schools, at home, and in communities will further improve meaningful participation in postsecondary school.

Independent living in the postsecondary environment. College or university students are not only required to meet their academic standards but are also expected to live independently. According to DSM -5 (APA, 2013), individuals with autism adhere greatly to routines. Thus the spatial transition from living with family near a high school to living independently in a larger postsecondary institution can be extremely difficult.

Wagner et al. (2003) measured emerging independence skills among young adults with disabilities in the domains in NLTS2, such as managing self-care activities, using functional cognitive skills, being mobile, persisting in completing tasks, self-advocating, participating in transition planning, making progress toward independence-related transition goals, having financial management responsibilities, taking on household responsibilities, earning driving privileges, and having regular paid employment. Compared with all students in special education, students with autism were among the least skilled in the most of the dimensions of the independence skills (see figure 2.3). Specifically, students with autism showed much lower scores than all students in special education especially in the dimensions of self-care skills, functional cognitive skills, independence goals, and having a driver's license (Wagner, 2003).

The lack of independent living skills is interwoven with social difficulties, a combination which greatly impacts the mental health of the students. Van Hees, Moyson, and Roeyers (2015) interviewed college students with autism, and one participant mentioned:

At the start, there are new lessons and new people, and there is also living in student accommodation. That was quite hard for me. You're alone; you have to study and have to cook. I ate spaghetti every day because I did not know what to buy in the store. I felt lonely, I couldn't sleep nor study, and I forgot appointments. In fact, it was actually too much. (Dorothe, aged 20)

Dorothe's difficulties in self-care skills and household responsibilities together with rapid changes in social demands caused mental difficulties. As a result, her lack of self-determination impacted all aspects of her daily life. In Van Hees's (2015) study, college students mentioned that they feel "overwhelmed, isolated, tired, stressed, depressed, and anxious, at the same time experiencing panic attacks and sweating" (p. 1681). Stress and anxiety negatively impact academic and social performance (Gillott & Standen, 2007; Van Hees et al., 2015), and it further marginalizes students who need to experience meaningful participation in a postsecondary environment. Gelbar, Smith, and Reichow (2014) reviewed literatures about the experiences of college students with ASD, and found that students experienced debilitating feeling at the following rates: anxiety (71%), loneliness (53%), depression (47%), isolation/marginalization (24%), and housing and roommate concerns (18%). Similarly, Camarena and Sarigiani (2009) interviewed students with autism and their parents about postsecondary educational aspirations. Their study found that both the students and their parents were concerned greatly about nonacademic issues in postsecondary education, such as campus disability awareness (24%), social skills (14%), housing/roommate concerns (14%), and the attitude/confidence of child

(10%). As social demands are changing dramatically during the transition period, the need to develop independent skills increases for students with autism.

In sum, social expectations and rules in postsecondary institutions are significantly different from K-12 settings, and social skills become critical for every element of postsecondary life. Thus, students need to have ample chances to practice core life skills before their entrance into postsecondary environments (Geller & Greenberg, 2010; Hewitt, 2011). In order to provide proper practices on time, systematic planning prior to postsecondary education is critical for students with autism (Chown & Beavan, 2012).

Academic preparation. Academic preparation is critical for entering postsecondary schools, as well as for meaningful participation in postsecondary institutions. Wolanin and Steele (2004) argued that the current emphasis at the K-12 level on IEP goals for students with autism is not on the academically rigorous general curriculum. Moreover, students with disabilities often experience academic barriers when they prepare for the higher education: adults' residual expectations, insufficient core academic curriculum, and segregated placements are only a few such barriers (Wehman & Yasuda, 2005; Wolanin & Steele, 2004).

While students with autism often demonstrate greater success in their academic grades compared to peers in special education (Newman et al., 2011a), students with autism are less likely to be expected to attend postsecondary schools (52.4% for all students in special education vs. 47.2% for autism category) and complete their degree (84.8% for all vs. 77% for autism) compared to other students in special education (Wagner, Newman, Cameto, Levine, & Marder, 2007). According to Wolanin and Steele (2004), students with autism are subject to 'residual attitudes and practices' and those may explain the lower aspirations toward postsecondary education. During transition planning meetings, only 2.6% of students with autism took a

leadership role compared with 13.6% for other disability categories (Shogren & Plotner, 2012). Such expectation variables are highly correlated with enrolling and completing postsecondary education (Wagner et al., 2007). Thus it is important to maintain high expectations for students with autism and provide opportunities to design their own postsecondary life in transition planning meetings.

Insufficient core academic curriculum is another barrier to access to postsecondary education. While students with autism earned more overall credits than other peers in special education, students with autism earned far more credits from nonacademic/nonvocational courses (Newman et al., 2011a). Receiving enough core academic credits is the most critical qualification for participation in postsecondary education, and students must prepare other requirements prior to applying for postsecondary institutions (Wolanin & Steele, 2004). The requirements usually include standardized college admission exams, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and/or the American College Testing (ACT), and the tests usually require arranging needed accommodations in advance. Since the postsecondary school application process is complicated by such requirements, setting a precise timeline for the academic requirements is critical for college entrance.

Lastly, segregated placements in schools is a significant barrier. One premise of special education is that students should learn in the “least restrictive environment” (LRE). IDEA defines LRE as:

§ 612 (a)(5) Least restrictive environment

(A) In general.--To the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities, are educated with children who are not disabled, and special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the disability of a child is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily. (U.S. Department of Education, 2004, p. 2677)

Since the LRE promise, the placement of students with disabilities in general classes has gradually increased. According to the 36th Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of the IDEA (2014), 95% of students under IDEA ages 6-21 were attending regular schools, and 61% of students spent 80% or more time in general classes in 2012-13. The actual placement experiences for college preparation are also reflected in proportion to academic credits earned in general education settings, and the percentages vary by disability. For students with autism, only 48.5% earned academic credits in general education settings compared to 66.3% of all students under IDEA (Newman et al., 2011a). There are also racial disparities in the academic settings: White students in special education earned 69.6% of their academic credits in general education settings, while 57.2% of African American and 63.6% of Hispanic students earned their credits in the same setting (Newman et al., 2011a). The disparities in both disability and race imply that conjunctural marginalization is at work.

Understanding the unequal academic outcomes across racial groups is important for students, their families, and their transition teams, so that the transition planning should reflect possible academic barriers among racial minority students. By preparing students and their advocacy teams in advance to address the challenges of such academic barriers, the transition experiences can be successful. The following are recommended practices for the successful postsecondary transition to higher education for students with autism.

Educational Strategies for Successful Transition to Higher Education

Advance preparation is critically important for college entrance because of the multiple requirements and deadlines. The transition goals for students with autism who aspire to postsecondary education is often just “going to college” (Geller & Greenberg, 2010). However, postsecondary education is actually another preparation for a better adult life. In this regard, the

transition planning should focus on career goals and life rather than college enrollment, and the planning should start in early adolescence (Geller & Greenberg, 2010). Table 2.7 shows suggested practices to develop communication, socialization, and behavioral skills for a successful transition to postsecondary education.

Table 2.7.

Practical Strategies for Successful Transition to Postsecondary Education

Domain	Strategy
Transition Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Begin transition planning between 10 to 13 years old (Wehman, 2006) • Have specific postsecondary goals as early as possible (Chiang, Cheung, Hickson, Xiang, & Tsai, 2012) • Provide student-centered transition process (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009) • Provide extra support for students from low-income families (Chiang et al., 2012) • Work closely with parents (Chiang et al., 2012; Schall & Wehman, 2009) • Provide ongoing evaluations of student's needs and high school (Szidon, Ruppert, & Smith, 2015) • Update disability documentations routinely (Wehmeyer, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004) • Encourage participating in out-of-school activities (Biggs & Carter, 2015) • Ensure continuity of services in postsecondary environment (Narendorf et al., 2011)
Inter-agency Collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educate families about the roles of adult agencies (Schall & Wehman, 2009) • Provide “seamless transition” experiences by inter-agency collaboration between schools and communities (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009; Schall & Wehman, 2009) • Link courses between high school and local postsecondary institutions to “test out” of course work (Powell, 2002)
Instructional Strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research effective individualized instructions to meet academic requirements in a timely manner (Chiang et al., 2012; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009) • Respect different learning styles of individual students (Powell, 2002) • Provide social communication and functional skills training (Schall & Wehman, 2009)
Educational Setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide instruction in general education classroom (Chiang et al., 2012) • Provide learning opportunities in a variety real life settings in schools and community (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009) • Providing formal agreements about routines in postsecondary settings (Wehman, 2006) • Provide school-based bullying interventions, and increase social integration into peer groups to prevent victimization in general education settings (Sterzing et al., 2012)
Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be aware of spillover effects of health-neutral policy (Fountain & Bearman, 2011) • Provide college outreach and retention programs to parents who did not attend college (Wei et al., 2014)

As shown in Table 2.7, researchers suggested effective strategies for students with autism and students from non-dominant cultural backgrounds in terms of transitioning planning, inter-agency collaboration, instructional strategies, educational setting, and policy.

Transition planning should provide comprehensive foundations to prepare for postsecondary life on time. Transition planning with postsecondary goals should start as early as possible to maximize students' potential (Chiang et al., 2012; Wehman, 2006) and to prevent delay in postsecondary education enrollment. Ross et al. (2012) reported that more students with disabilities than without disabilities delayed postsecondary enrollment a year or more after high school completion (43% vs. 32%, Ross et al. 2012). Having postsecondary goals early would provide foundations to prepare post-school environments. A uniformly designed set of transition services can provide a basic foundation; and the individualized, student-centered transition planning and family involvement will increase opportunities to practice culturally responsive self-determination skills and social skills that are critical for every element of college life (Chiang et al., 2012; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009). Moreover, those strategies are beneficial for students from non-dominant sociocultural communities in terms of knowing the values and preferences of the students in their communities and providing culturally responsive opportunities to practice social skills by linking schools with those communities. Researchers also suggest providing ongoing evaluations and updated assessment and documentation routinely (Szidon et al., 2015; Wehmeyer, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Ongoing evaluations help design flexible curriculum that can appropriately adapt to the unique needs of an individual student (Szidon et al., 2015). Moreover, having updated documents will prevent delays in receiving services because postsecondary institutions require recent or current document for evaluations (Wehmeyer, 2011; Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Such strategies are practical to prepare

the sort of organized and systematic transition plans that are critical for students with autism who aspire to go to college.

Along with the strategies for transition planning, researchers recommend inter-agency collaboration, tailored instruction, meaningful involvement in generation education settings, and equitable policies. Inter-agency collaboration is recommended for a smooth transition to postsecondary school (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009; Powell, 2002). Bringing diverse expertise and resources to the transition process will ultimately improve meaningful participation in postsecondary education for students of color on the ASD. Also, linking courses between schools to test out the new environment will prevent anxiety and stress that can come from sudden changes in social demands (Van Hees et al., 2015). In relationship to instructional strategies, academic skills are critical for postsecondary education enrollment and retention, and providing effective instruction and respecting individual learning styles will improve academic readiness for students with autism (Chiang et al., 2012; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009; Powell, 2002). Experiences in authentic and predictable settings are also helpful for students with autism in their transition to college. Providing real-life experiences outside of school can help develop social and academic skills (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009). Also, general education placement in K-12 will help adjust postsecondary environment as the postsecondary institutions are totally inclusive regardless of disability (Chiang et al., 2012). In this regard, providing clear and visible directions for daily routines is particularly beneficial for students with autism to manage their time in the new environment (Wehman, 2006). Lastly, paying attention to health-neutral and color-neutral policies will ultimately help practitioners and families to advocate their needs after high school (Fountain & Bearman, 2011).

In sum, equipping with the practical strategies will increase opportunities for students with autism from non-dominant communities to have the successful experience of college entry, and provide foundations to navigate their adulthood.

Intersectional Experiences in Transition to Postsecondary Education

In this chapter, I discussed possible subordinations and practices for diverse learners with autism during their transition to postsecondary education by reviewing literature. These students experience the postsecondary transition process through dynamics of social locations of race and autism. The intersections and interplays of race and autism shape the transition process in various ways, especially in relationship to opportunities to practice academic and social skills in schools due to the institutional response to the individual's overlapping and mutually constitutive identities. In the following chapter, I discuss research methods to depict those intersectional experiences of diverse learners with autism during their postsecondary transition process.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

In this study, I chose qualitative multiple case study methodology to produce experiential knowledge about racial minority students with autism during their transition to postsecondary institutions. Many scholars who study intersectionality prefer case studies because a case study design can reveal the complexities of experience embodied in practices and policies. Further, the epistemological orientation of a case study is well matched with human experiences (McCall, 2005; Stake, 1978). According to Stake (1995; 2008), a case is a bounded system in specific spatial and temporal contexts. The case of this study is Korean-American students with autism, and the multiple individual cases included in this study can be defined by each participant's unique intersectional contexts. In other words, the individual experience of postsecondary transition among racial minority students provides a boundary of the whole case, and individual contexts of each student can work as another recognizable bounded system that distinguishes the individual case. In this regard, I used a case study methodology, which is particularly well suited to this study because I seek not only to understand the characteristics of common experiences among racial minority students with autism during their postsecondary process, but also to capture the situational complexities of each case.

The experiences of Korean-American students with autism are uniquely situated within their sociocultural locations. Because a multiple case study focuses on the local operation of the cases, as well as the central organization of the overall case (Stake, 2006), utilizing this method can help answer the following research questions: How are the participants' experiences shaped by their particular and situational contexts? And how do people, schools, communities, and

policies respond to those experiences? In this chapter, I articulate my data collection and analysis methods, which are guided by intersectionality theory and my philosophical position.

Timeline

The duration of this dissertation study is 21 months, which includes six months to design the study (September 2015-February 2016), and 15 months to collect and analyze data (March 2016-May 2017; see figure 3.1). Recruiting participants and data collection occurred after obtaining approval both from the dissertation committee and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) in March 2016. The data include interviews, documents, policies, and statistical reports. I analyzed data and prepared manuscripts immediately when the data was fresh.

Figure 3.1.

Timeline for Data Collection and Data Analysis

Activity	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
Proposal Defense															
Recruitment															
Data Collection															
Interview															
Document															
Observation															
Policy															
Statistics															
Data Analysis															
Oral Defense															
Dissertation Deposit															

Study Sites and Participants

The emphasis of this study is on the situational complexities of the cases, as well as the commonalities between them. The uniqueness of a case can be defined by its cultural and historical contexts. Also, a case is situated in its physical, economic, and political contexts. Thus, I provide the local contexts of each case and participants backgrounds.

Selection of Site

Selecting sites are an essential part of the research method to obtain information about the central research questions (Maxwell, 2004). I conducted this study in California because the racial composition of California makes the state unique as racial minorities in that state represent “a majority-minority” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011, p. 19). For example, California had the largest racial minority population in 2010: about 60% of the population (22.3 million) of California identifies as belonging to one or more racial minorities, and Latino/a is not a minority anymore numerically (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). More recently, 38.6% were Hispanic or Latino; 38.5% were White alone, not Hispanic or Latino; 14.4% were Asian alone; 6.5% were Black or African American alone; 1.7% were American Indian and Alaska Native alone; and 0.5% were Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone in California (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Due to the unique racial distribution in California, California can provide a venue to study whether or not the educational outcomes still show the same patterns of racial disparities.

Participant Selection

To incorporate the intersectional experiences in diverse settings, this study used purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990) or purposeful selection (Light, Singer, & Willett, 1990), criterion-based selection (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993), and snowball sampling (Bailey, 2008; Emmel, 2013). Researchers suggest that purposeful sampling or criterion-based selection can help generalization of typicality, capturing diversity in the participants, theory building, comparing differences (Maxwell, 2004), and maximizing the variation of cases (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 178). I used snowball sampling to identify potential participants (Bailey, 2008; Emmel, 2013), and I used local networks (e.g., a key informant from a Korean parent support group) to distribute recruitment flyers to other eligible families (see Appendix A). The snowball

method provided more opportunities to learn about the whole case while the key informants provided rich descriptions of the educational environment in the local contexts, which was not easily accessible to outsiders.

I invited participants by distributing recruitment flyers to Korean-American communities, parent support groups, local businesses, churches, and autism centers near residential areas with high concentrations of Korean-Americans. Prior to recruitment, permission to use the flyers was obtained from the University of Wisconsin's IRB. Speaking and understanding the Korean language and culture were extremely beneficial in this process because most of the members of this ethnic community use only Korean to share their information and contacts. Moreover, most of the members of these organizations and support groups feel more comfortable speaking in Korean.

The study participants consisted of the families of students who: (1) identify as a Korean (American); (2) received services under IDEA in an autism category; and (3) have been accepted to a postsecondary institution. I was contacted by seven potential participants, but I excluded four families for the following reasons: one child (whose parent had contacted me) did not want to participate; one student did not receive special education services in high school; one student had already graduated from a postsecondary institution; and one had attended high school outside the United States. In early May, Julia Park, the mother of a Korean college student with autism, contacted me after seeing the recruiting flyer in an online community for Korean mothers of children with developmental disabilities. Then, at the end of May, Hyewon Lim, another mother, communicated her intention to participate in this study. The last parent, Tacksu Yun contacted me in June and expressed his intention to participate in August. The last two parents received the flyer from Korean parent support groups.

Five months of recruitment resulted in a total of three participating Korean-American families of a student with autism who had been accepted to college. The number of cases was manageable because of the nature of a dissertation study—one researcher must complete all the steps of data processing, from collection to analysis. Because the case study method requires a holistic comprehension of the cases (Stake, 2006), having a manageable number of participants was critical to examining the complex trajectories from high school to postsecondary education. Additionally, having three cases provided sufficient information to examine the physical, historical, and political contexts of the individuals as well as their educational contexts.

The ages of the selected students ranged from 18 to 20, and all three were male. The students were either 1.5 generation or second generation immigrants, and the parents were all first generation (see Footnote 1). All three students reported that English was the more comfortable language for them, but all three parents preferred speaking in Korean. The students' social and academic skills varied widely, even though all three received services under an autism category at their high school. The socioeconomic status of the families varied as well. Taken as a group, the three individual cases: are relevant to the overall study, provide a diversity of contexts, and provide opportunities to learn about complexity and contexts as suggested by Stake (2006, p. 23). To protect the confidentiality of the participants, all the names (of participants, schools, and doctors) used in the dissertation are pseudonyms. However, I tried to preserve the characteristics of the name related to the participants' choices, such as adopting a husband's last name² or using an English name. I report the participant characteristics at the beginning of chapter 4.

² In Korea, using a husband's last name after marriage is not common.

Data Collection

The collected data include interviews, documents, policies, and statistical reports. While interviews and document reviews provided the salient data for this study, the other data added supplementary knowledge about the fundamental backgrounds for the postsecondary transition process. For the interview, I had two interviews per each student and parent participants. Before the first interview for each participant, I took the time to talk with them, and it allowed me to build rapport with the families. Then, I briefly introduced myself as a mother of a two-year old son, a Korean immigrant, a graduate student, and a researcher. I also described the purpose and procedure of this study and asked the participants to read and sign a consent form (see Appendix B for students, Appendix C for parents). Before participants signed the consent form, I explained the confidentiality processes and possible risks, and verbally emphasized that their participation was entirely voluntary and they could withdraw from the study at any time. I also specified that the interviews would be audio recorded if they agreed. I provided participants with a copy of the consent form for their records. The educational documents that I reviewed were IEP documents, college application packages, and the student's disability verification document in case they receive accommodations at the postsecondary institution. College admission and disability-related policies were usually available online. I also visited admission and disability offices to obtain brochures and information. Population statistics about colleges and residential areas were publicly available.

Data Collection Log

Table 3.1 shows the data collection log. The student interviews started in June 2016, and parent interviews started in September 2016. All the initial interviews were conducted in person, in locations such as the students' homes, coffee shops, and parks. The interviews were conducted

in the participant's preferred language: all student interviews were in English, and all parent interviews were in Korean. During the first interviews, educational documents were collected. Next, I reviewed the documents, analyzed the first interviews, and developed second interview questions tailored to each participant. Two or three in-person observations were conducted to document the students' physical environments.

Table 3.1.

Data Collection Log

Case	Interview				Doc (n)	Obs Site	Policy	Stat
	Type	Date	Place	Lan				
Walter Kim	Student 1	Jun 14, 2016	Onsite	Eng	IEP (5)	Home	245(i)	CA
	Student 2	Feb 26, 2017	Phone	Eng	DX	High	Prop	Univ
	Parent 1	Sep 12, 2016	Onsite	Kor	Gifted	School	209	
	Parent 2	Feb 16, 2017	Phone	Kor		Univ	Univ	
Junyoung Lim	Student 1	Jun 15, 2016	Onsite	Eng	IEP (2)	Home	Prop	CA
	Student 2	Sep 13, 2016	Onsite	Eng	DX	High	209,	Univ
	Parent 1	Sep 13, 2016	Onsite	Kor	ColApp	School	227	
	Parent 2	Feb 15, 2017	Phone	Kor	DisVer	Univ	Univ	
Sangmin Yun	Student 1	Sep 14, 2016	Onsite	Eng	IEP (8)	Home	Prop	CA
	Student 2	Mar 05, 2017	Email	Eng	DX	High	209,	Univ
	Parent 1	Sep 14, 2016	Onsite	Kor	ColApp	School	227	
	Parent 2	Feb 17, 2017	Phone	Kor		Univ	Univ	

Note. Doc (n) = document (number of collected documents), Obs = observation, Stat = admission statistics, Lan = Language, R/S = Recording/Subscribing, Univ = University, DX = diagnosis document, Gifted = Gifted eligibility document, ColApp = College application, DisVer = Disability verification document, Prop = California Proposition, CA = California.

Sensitizing Concept

The lived experiences of participants were documented using a qualitative data collection method. I used the term 'lived experience' to signify that this study aims to capture the reality that pre-reflexively and immediately taken for granted as human beings as they live the world rather than to examine the experience through controlled experiment (Dilthey, Makkreel, & Rodi, 1985; Van Manen, 1997). During the all data collection process, I brought pre-existing categories or "sensitizing concepts" to the sites (Denzin, 1971, see Table 3.2). The sensitizing concepts guided initial data collection when I had not possessed definite ideas about data, and

helped shape and modify my conceptual frameworks (Denzin, 1971; Patton, 2002). Moreover, those sensitizing image of the intersectionality of the future participants assisted initial data analysis.

Table 3.2.

Sensitizing Concepts

Transition program
Academic and occupational courses
Admission policy
Age
Career awareness
College entrance exam
College visiting
Family involvement
General education inclusion
IEP
Interagency collaboration
Local policy
Paid employment/work experience
Postsecondary goals
Self-determination, self-advocacy, self-care
Social skills
Student involvement
Student support
Training
Vocational education
Disability, autism
Accommodation
Assistive technology
Disability policy
Living skills
Stimuli
Transition between classrooms
Race
Immigration
Language
Racial quota

Interviews and Demographic Survey

Two semi-structured interviews were conducted for each participant. In case participants feel more comfortable with written communication to organize their answers, I prepared pens

and papers as well as audio recorders. The first interviews covered three topical areas: educational trajectories in K-12, transition to college, and policies (see Appendix F & G). Student interviews focused on their high school and college experiences, and parent interviews focused on early childhood and K-12 experiences.

Before the interview, I expressed my cultural ignorance and let the participants describe their experiences in their own language. I had some degree of insider understanding about educational experiences in postsecondary institutions as a racial minority student in the United States, but I could not perfectly share the same cultural knowledge and heritage with the participant. This step allowed me to obtain the participants' cultural interpretation of their experience because language worked as a tool for constructing reality (Spradley, 1979, p. 17).

I also asked the participants to fill out a demographic survey (see Appendices D & E). The survey included participants' age, race, home language, immigration history, year of high school completion, a year of postsecondary school enrollment, and their major. The race question was open-ended, and racial category options were provided because I believe that race categories are socially constructed and unstable. Due to the fluidity of race identities, I asked the participants to describe their own race. Allowing respondents to describe their races would prevent arbitrary assignment of multiracial individuals (Denton & Deane, 2010, pp. 83-84). Moreover, self-identification is specifically beneficial to this study due to a chance to learn about how participants construct race. For the same reason, gender question was also open-ended.

For educational trajectories, I briefly asked the students' early childhood and focused on IEP meetings and social/academic life in high school. For the IEP meetings, I mainly asked the students' roles and collaborative efforts among meeting participants to understand how the student's postsecondary goals were supported and prepared. For the transition planning

meetings, more specific questions about the college admission process were asked, such as timelines of preparation, college entrance exams, accommodations in those tests, required coursework for targeted colleges, and college visiting. For course taking patterns, I asked their academic and vocational courses, and inclusion in general education, and how those coursework plans were supported.

For college life and transition, I focused on how the students learned the necessary skills for their transition to postsecondary schools throughout their education and how they set up their postsecondary goals in high school. I used a university/college map to talk about their daily life in college. The physical distances between buildings and classes provided information about how the student managed their time and relationships with other people on campus. Then, I asked questions about their independent living skills and their accommodations in the postsecondary institutions. The skills and the process to receive accommodations require long-term preparation from high school, and the interview questions cover how the students develop the skills and prepare for their postsecondary lives in high school. General questions, such as ‘What do you like the most in your college life?’ and ‘What is the most difficult thing to do?’, also allowed me to have specific examples of lived experiences of the participants. Next, I asked how they set up their goals to come to their university/college.

For admission and disability policies, I asked students’ experiences that might have been impacted by local policies during their college admission process. For example, I asked if they received appropriate accommodations during the college entrance tests. To receive testing accommodations, disability documentation had to be submitted 7 to 8 weeks in advance, and the preparation of such documents was an additional burden. At the national level, changes in the ADA are important for students with disabilities to understand in order to advocate themselves,

especially any changes regarding accommodations, because ADA requires disclosure of their disabilities unlikely with IDEA. Thus, I asked about the disclosure process in postsecondary institutions if the student received disability accommodations. In California, Propositions 209 and 227 might impact the college's racial quota system and bilingual education for the participants, respectively. I asked students about their opinion about the impact of such policies. If the student's language spoken at home is Korean, I asked about the impact of Proposition 227 on their personal educational experiences, students' bilingual education experience in their elementary and secondary schools, and their language other than English requirement for their college entrance. As the student or their parents had immigration history, I asked about the impact of Proposition 187 by asking a broad question like how their immigration history impacted their education experiences. For college level policies, racial quotas, disability policies, and diversity policies, I inquired about the institution's diversity statement, resources, and assistance during the admission process. Lastly, I asked the students about their Advanced Placement (AP) or credits from colleges in advance of their entrance to the postsecondary school in order to examine admission policies related to the resources in their high school. After finishing the initial interview, I expressed my appreciation for sharing their experiences and asked the participants to share their IEP documents, college application package, and disability verification documents.

Before the second interviews, I analyzed the interviews, students' educational documents, policies, and statistical reports, and identified second interview questions (see Appendix H & I). The second interviews covered follow-up questions about previous meetings and reviewed documents. I also brought my interpretation from the previous meeting to confirm the accuracy of my understanding. After the interview, I reminded them about the preservation of their

confidentiality by mentioning that “I de-identified all the personal information from your documents after making a copy.”

Interview setting. I met the families in a variety of settings, such as coffee shops, their homes, and parks. I met participants at their preferred locations. While I initially suggested a private meeting place, some participants preferred to meet at the local coffee shop because of the convenience and concerns about meeting a stranger in an isolated place. Coffee shops provided a public open space, and thus parents were comfortable leaving their children alone with me, but yet offered a sufficient degree of privacy because there were not many people at the shops during the interviews. I visited each shop before the interviews to confirm it was an appropriate place for the interview. Informal conversations occurred in both Korean and English.

Document Review

I reviewed students’ IEP documents, college application packets, and disability verification documents if the student received any accommodation at the postsecondary institutions. Document reviews are involved in almost all case studies because the review provides researchers with supplementary information that cannot be obtained by direct observation or interviews (Stake, 1995). Since the documents were analyzed after the first interviews, those provided additional information to assist my understanding of the transition process. All the documents were copied, de-identified, and stored in a password protected computer.

The IEP documents were necessary documents for understanding the goal-oriented process of postsecondary transition. With the documents, I checked the students’ educational plans, their roles in the meetings, specific services/devices, placement in special/general classroom, ongoing assessment, and interagency collaboration. IEP documents contained

evidence of postsecondary transition practices, as well as documenting the student's individual needs. Thus, these documents showed the educational strategies and quality of educational services for the student participants. To check the student's educational history, I reviewed the following areas from the IEP documents: transition planning timelines, student involvement, IEP team/interagency collaboration, postsecondary goals, family involvement, general education inclusion, work experience, and functional/social/self-determination training (see Appendix J). The review form was developed based on Indicator 13, a transition service related requirement for a state to report the Part B State Performance Plan and their Annual Performance Report. National Secondary Transition Technical Assistance Center (NSTTAC) developed the I-13 checklist which is approved by the Department of Education's Office of Special Education Program. I included the fundamental elements from the checklist and revised it to answer my research questions.

A college application packet usually includes the application, transcripts, personal statement, and college entrance exam results. The timelines of the college entrance exams and course taking patterns were reviewed with the document. Moreover, the admission application often asks students to provide demographic information, such as race/ethnicity. Postsecondary institutions use the information primarily for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, and the admissions office staff should not discriminate against students' race and disability. However, race/ethnicity and disability can be inferred from the packet, such as in the personal statement. Thus, I reviewed whether students' personal identities are recognizable in their college application packet. I linked this document review with interviews, and this review helped me when articulating the second interview questions. The disability verification document revealed the institutional process to receive accommodations at various postsecondary

institutions. Furthermore, the name of disability service offices and related documents showed historical backgrounds and institutional responses toward diversity.

Observation

I observed school buildings, residential area, and meeting rooms where interviews will occur. To be able to understand the experience, description of the site is essential (Stake, 1995). I used open-ended observation forms for campus (see Appendix M). The forms are developed to document the physical environment around the student. There will be at least two observations: general appearance of the campus and surrounding area; and residential area and classrooms. The first observation was typically done by walking and/or driving through the campus and surrounding areas before or after the first interviews. Campus maps provided supplementary information. I also walked through the residential area of the student, campus buildings, and classrooms. For the campus observation, I obtained the classroom information from the first student interview before this observation. For students with autism, colorful wall decorations, clustering desks into groups, transitions between activities, and managing stress in a class can be extremely difficult (Myers, Ladner, & Koger, 2011; Peck & Scarpati, 2009). Environmental adjustment for students with disabilities in postsecondary education often focus on physical accessibilities. Thus challenges from sensory difficulties can be demanding for students with autism to address. However, at the same time, obtaining strategies to manage their college life can be rewarding. Thus, the campus observation was documented from multidimensional perspectives, such as a communicative, social, and emotional adjustment in the postsecondary environment. By understanding how students plan and manage their schedules, I gained a better sense of how they were managing their overall college experience. To fully understand the physical environment, I repeated observations before and after the second interviews. Because

college students need to plan and manage their schedules based on their classes, the distance between buildings provided a glimpse into how they were navigating the support systems and resources available through their interactions with educators and school staffs.

Policy and Statistical Reports

I reviewed policies and patterns of disparities in college admission in order to understand how admission processes are intermingled with policies. National and state-level policies are available online, while institutional level policies can be publically available. National and state-level policies related to racial minority students with autism in their transition to postsecondary institutions are reviewed in the previous and current chapters. However, the background reviews only cover generic policies, such as IDEA, ADA, and Section 504. Each individual student had different situations, and other policies could impact their trajectories to university/college. Thus, the individual policies were collected after the first interview. Policies in postsecondary institutions were obtained via school websites and admissions/disability resource booklets. If the policies are inaccessible, I asked the staff to access to the policies. The admission policy to collect was their nondiscriminatory statement. Along with the admissions office staff interview, the policies provided supplementary data on students' transition preparation process.

Statistical reports provided insight into the educational environment of postsecondary education and residential areas for the participants. College and residential population data were obtained through Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS; 2014). To see the relationship between policies and postsecondary transition, I used their 2014 data.

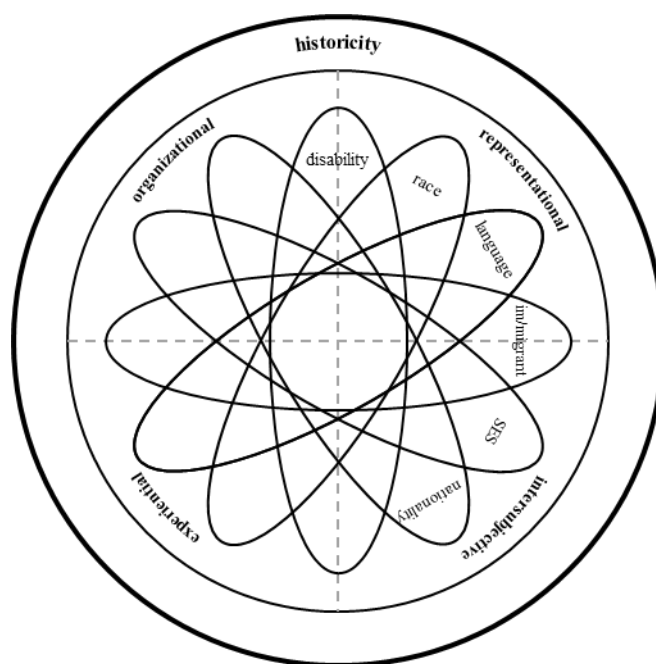
Data Analysis and Interpretation

Due to the complexities of intersectionality, I needed to analyze data at multiple levels. I employed a 'multilevel model of intersectionality' by Núñez (2014) as an analytical lens to

interpret data (see Figure 3.6). Núñez (2014) proposed the model based on Anthias's (2013) multilevel analytic frameworks. The multilevel framework includes analyzing social categories, arenas of investigation, and historicity (Núñez, 2014, p. 87).

Figure 3.2.

Multilevel model of intersectionality



Note: Adopted from Núñez (2014). Employing Multilevel Intersectionality in Educational Research: Latino Identities, Contexts, and College Access. *Educational Researcher*, 43(2), p. 87.

As shown in Figure 3.1, the first level of analysis occurs at social categories, such as race and autism. Individual cases of the postsecondary transition process are situated in its special contexts, such as historical, cultural, physical, socioeconomic, and political contexts. In order to reflect intersectional experiences of racial minority students with autism, I initially coded the social categories or individual identities.

Interpretation of data began by using the sensitizing concepts, such as race, autism, language, immigrant status, and socioeconomic status. Data gains meaning through both direct

interpretation and categorical aggregation (Stake, 1995). Direct interpretation is directly drawing meaning from a single instance, and it helps understanding of the case itself. On the other hand, the aggregation of categorical data means researchers can collect multiple instances and organize the data to have meaning, and it can help the researcher understand other phenomena. The search for patterns means searching for meaning in the case, and the meaningful data will repeatedly appear (Stake, 1995). Then, I progressively focused on the intersectional experiences of students. Anthias (2013) suggested four societal arenas for investigating intersectionality: organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential arenas. The organizational arena focuses on the social positions of individual categories. For example, Proposition 209 impacted racial quotas in the college admission system, and it further constrains college opportunities for racial minority students. The representational arena covers images of social categories, such as the media's reflection of people with autism and racial minority students. The intersubjective arena focuses on intersectionality in social relationships. For example, teachers' low expectations of postsecondary education for racial minority students with autism may come from teachers' perspectives toward students with autism when students' social skill difficulties converge with negative stigma toward minority language (Gayles & Denerville, 2007). Lastly, the experiential arena notes students' experiences resulting from social locations. For instance, racial minority students with autism may learn helplessness during their education, and this will subsequently impact their decision about postsecondary life.

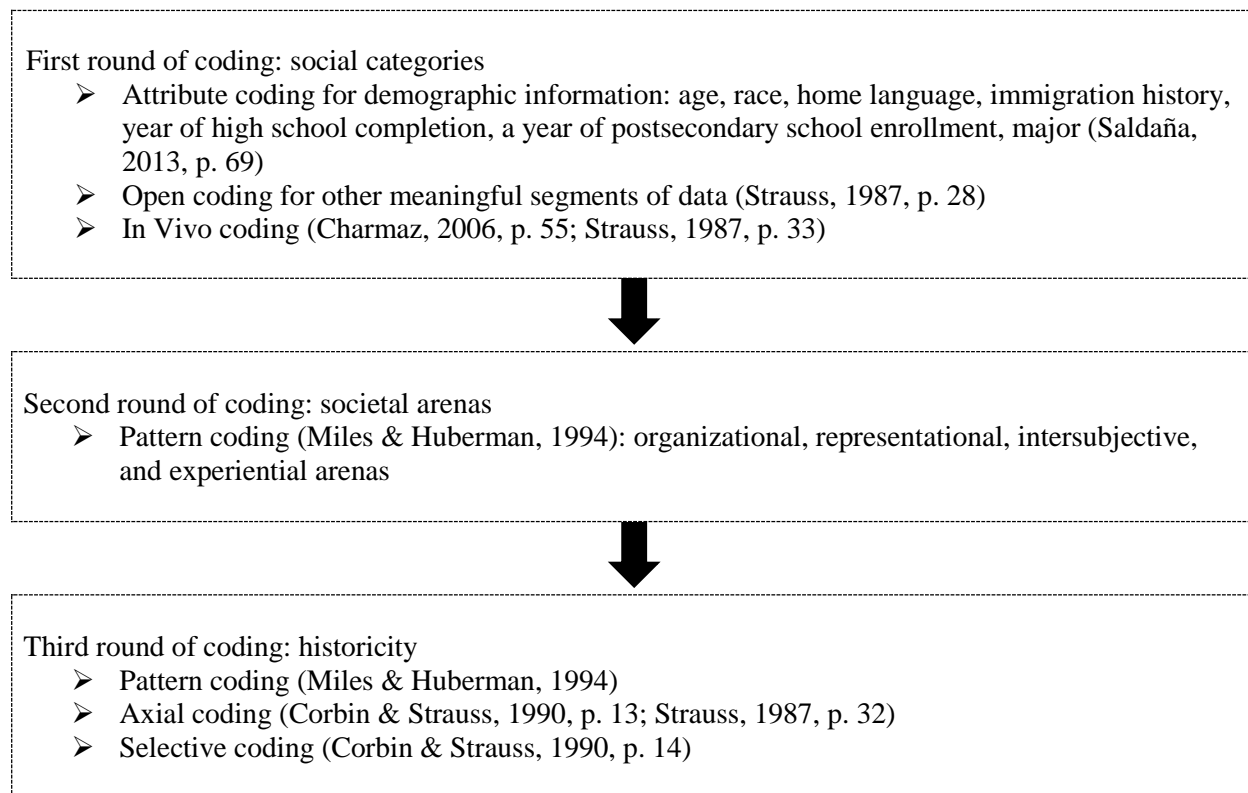
The third level of analysis is historicity in broader temporal and spatial contexts. This analysis includes 'interlocking systems of economic, legal, political, media, and social power and classification that evolve over time in specific places' (Núñez, 2014, p.89). This level of analysis involves looking at the society's and participants' efforts to address challenges from the

interlocking systems. The series of initiatives impact racial minority students in college admission directly and indirectly, such as Proposition 209 in California. The impacts of Proposition 209 in college admission policies relating to race intertwined with college disability policies can create additional challenges to racial minority students. The racial minority students with autism may be able to get admission by converting these challenges into strengths in their college application essay. This multi-level analysis provided analytical tools to interpret data regarding the intersectional experiences of racial minority students with autism. Since each case of the college admission process had unique academic and social trajectories, having this multi-level model helped analyze educational outcomes across the data.

Coding

Coding is an essential activity for qualitative data analysis in which names are assigned to the meaningful segments of data. The coding process generates “bones, ” and the theoretical integration assembles “these bones into a working skeleton” (Charmaz, 2006). Grasping the meaning can be intellectually challenging because meaning is “multi-dimensional” (Van Manen, 1997, p. 78). Thus, several coding techniques were preselected for multi-level analysis of intersectional experiences of racial minority students with autism. Figure 3.2 shows the flows of coding techniques for this study.

Figure 3.3.

Techniques for Multi-Level Coding Process

The preset coding process assisted me as a beginning researcher to manage multi-source data. As shown in Figure 3.2, the process can be sequential but not fixed because of the flexible nature of qualitative data.

In the first round, attribute coding, open coding, and In Vivo coding were mainly used to record experiences related to social categories. Attribute coding is also called descriptive coding as this coding is used to classify basic information, such as research sites, participants' demographic information, and data format (Saldana, 2012). Because the main focus of this study, autism and race, is based on demographic information, attribute coding helped build the foundations of codes for intersectionality. Open coding occurred at the initial stage of data

analysis and involved an unrestricted line by line or word by word coding technique (Strauss, 1987, p. 28). With this coding technique, I could thoroughly investigate meaningful pieces of data related to the postsecondary transition process. In Vivo codes are “derived directly from the language of the substantive field: essentially the terms used by actors in that field themselves” (Strauss, 1987, p. 33). In other words, In Vivo coding enables researchers to preserve participants’ meanings through their own language (Charmaz, 2006). Language enables us to understand “what is experienceable” (Van Manen, 1997, p. xiii). In this regard, In Vivo coding was essential for this study to illustrate experiences vividly as this code can give local meaning to their experiences (Strauss, 1987).

For the second round of coding, I used pattern and theoretical coding techniques to search intersectional experiences in the societal arenas, such as organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential arenas. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the first round of codes summarize data, and ‘meta-codes’ can group the summaries by themes and constructs (p. 69). Thus, this coding method requires prior codes to organize data into meaningful clusters. Moreover, the pattern codes can help manage large amounts of data by having analytic units of patterns, focus on the fieldwork by having thematic patterns, elaborate a cognitive map, and analyze multi-case data by providing themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this study, Anthias’s (2013) four arenas of intersectionality were used as an analytical lens to synthesize data to develop core categories and patterns in order to explain the transition process. I had pre-existing codes of the societal arenas, but the pattern coding helped elaborate the intersectionality model for racial minority students with autism.

In the third coding cycle, axial coding was used because it was helpful to navigate the historicity of the participant’s experience because “the analyzing revolves around the axis of one

category at a time” (p. 32). Axial coding assisted me to convert data to concepts and explore relationships between categories. Furthermore, the selective coding technique was a practical method to focus on the core categories of intersectionality. One thing to note is that this coding process was not strictly sequential. Patterns and themes can arise from the first round of coding, and attribute codes can be also created in later rounds. The processes were designed to allow me to concentrate on the research questions, but the process could be circular as well as linear.

I used NVivo™ 11 software to store, organize, and interpret data efficiently. I uploaded the majority of qualitative data into the program, such as interviews, documents, and field notes. Then, all the audio-recorded data were transcribed into text-based documents. Only selected texts in Korean were translated into English. The software was also useful to draw theoretical diagrams to illustrate the relationship between categories and to link data with the theory.

Trustworthiness

Within limited pages, this manuscript could not contain all the data. Instead, my interpretation was provided for readers. Thus, it is important to have claims that are deliberately trustworthy by having rigorous procedures. In order to assure my interpretation of data is meaningful and faithful, I asked participants to evaluate my interpretation and brought multiple perspectives from other researchers.

The process of gaining assurance is called member checking and triangulation (Bryman, 1988; Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Stake, 1995). Member checks involve bringing data back to the participant so that the participant can judge the accuracy (Creswell, 2006). According to Guba and Lincoln (1985), member checks are “the most crucial technique for establishing credibility” (p. 314). In this study, summaries (chapter 4) were brought to the participant to check the accuracy of my understanding. I shared the summary of their educational trajectories with

participants, and they added/corrected/removed some part of the manuscript. Thus, member checks gave the respondents a chance to correct errors or misunderstandings, and opportunities to provide additional information (Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

For triangulation, Denzin (1989) suggested four types of triangulation: data source triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation. Data source triangulation means if the same patterns emerge from different data sources, then the meaning can be faithful. The data in this study were from multiple sources. Thus the data were triangulated by through juxtaposition against each other. Investigator triangulation means, if other researchers find the same phenomenon, they can provide supplementary interpretation and further improve credibility (Denzin, 1989). Other researchers in this study involved in the data analysis stage, and they brought their own perspectives into this study. This technique is also relevant for the next triangulation method: theoretical triangulation. The method involves other researchers or reviewers who can bring different theoretical perspectives into the interpretation process. Because it is a dissertation study, I also had committee members reviewing the results. Thus their theoretical perspectives further improve the trustworthiness of this study. Lastly, methodological triangulation was used by applying multiple methods, such as interviews, document reviews, observation, and statistical analysis. Since each method has different strength and limitations, multiple methods can support the patterns or meaning of the case (Maxwell, 2004).

The purpose of this triangulation and member checking was to develop a consensus surrounding my interpretation and to establish trustworthiness and credibility, rather than to argue that the interpretation is a sole truth. I borrowed the term trustworthiness or credibility from Denzin and Lincoln (2011) and Guba and Lincoln (1989) to articulate that this study is

designed to make a naturalistic generalization. Researchers provide naturalistic generalizations from vicarious experience (Stake & Trumbull, 1982). In this regard, a story of a person in a certain time or place assists the understanding of experience. Moreover, naturalistic generalization reduces transitional distortions, which can occur in the transition from experiential language to formal language. Thus, the tools to ensure trustworthiness helped gain meaning from lived experience in this study.

Reflexivity

This whole study procedure reflects my preconceptions and social locations. Stake (1995) mentioned that the process of searching for meaning is intuitive and that an interpretation occurs based on existing knowledge. Because the existing knowledge is also reorganized by researchers, acknowledging and disclosing researchers' perspectives and positions are necessary for establishing credibility in qualitative research (Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach, & Richardson, 2005). As my experiences and perceptions shaped the process of forming research questions, reviewing existing studies, designing this study, collecting data, and interpreting gathered data (Van Manen, 1997).

Because I was born and raised in Korea, I shared a cultural and linguistic heritage with the participants. This shared heritage benefitted the study in multiple ways: I could easily build rapport with the participants, the participants could illustrate their experiences accurately in their native language, and I could provide culturally relevant interpretations. The biggest advantage of working with Korean-American participants was the ability to conduct interviews in both Korean and English. I explained my background related to this study below.

Reflexivity Statement

My research questions and perceptions toward students with autism and racial minority students come from my recent experiences after moving to the United States. I had been an elementary school teacher in South Korea and had rarely experienced being a racial minority. After moving to the United States, I started recognizing racial stratification and the intersection of race and autism, specifically among Asian students with autism.

I have experienced higher education systems as an international graduate student in the Midwest. When I met an Asian man with autism who aspired to go to the local college, I could see his challenges were not only from one aspect of his identity, such as being a racial minority or being a student with autism. Although all of his family members had more than a college education, he had to prepare for more than two years after high school to get into a college extension program. When I was interviewing him for my coursework, I was also analyzing NLTS2 data. The national data contains a lot of information, and it provided glimpses into practical strategies to prepare for postsecondary education for students with autism. I could see those strategies were intermingled with his racial and linguistic background in a complex way. Observing this student's intersectional experience affected my axiological questions of how the educational trajectories can differ for minority students with autism, what the relationships are between special education services and educational outcomes, and how the services can be improved to be more culturally responsive.

I have also worked as a Korean language teacher in the Midwest for four years. I have seen that some families have difficulties determining bilingualism for their children with autism, and the local resources about the benefits of bilingual environment for students with autism were limited to the family. Moreover, the pediatricians of the children recommended teaching English

only to avoid additional delays since doctors see bilingualism can be more challenging for students with autism. Although I consider this differently, doctors have more influential power to the families, and so the medical version of reality is given priority. From this experience, I lean toward the ontological assumption in a transformative paradigm that privilege determines what is real (Mertens, 2009, p. 49).

After moving to California, I have seen more diverse racial/ethnic and language minorities in on the local college campus. However, the local patterns of racial disparities after racial minority students lose the numeric meaning of minority in California are similar to the national patterns for college enrollment rates. Hence, I assume that the individual stories behind successful experiences of college enrollment can provide the rich contexts of the situated complexities at the intersection of race and autism.

My entire educational experience also impacts my views toward injustice practices in schools and the outcomes for students. My first impression of an American school was not about teachers or students; it was about the physical environment itself. All the doors were locked, police cars were around the corner, and visitors have to sign a form to get into the building. The high school students have to transit to other classrooms, minute by minute. This reminded me Foucault's argument about school and prison (Foucault, 1977). This led me to revisit Foucault which linked with intersectionality theory and discourse reflection. Another impression toward the school involved their neoliberal education policy that placed poor schools in jeopardy, and the effects of the neoliberal policies are more obvious in educational outcomes for racial minority students.

My identity markers and experiences affected the theory selection for this project that will provide a critical lens to capture the dynamics of marginalization during the postsecondary

transition. In the intersectionality study, researcher's social locations play an integral role as analytic resources (Davis, 2008, p. 72). Núñez's multi-level model of intersectionality analytical lens will reveal my epistemological stands that knowledge is socially and historically situated (Mertens, 2009, p. 49). In this regard, my reflections on previous experiences will provide future readers a lens to understand my axiological, ontological, epistemological and methodological positions.

Other Researchers' Reflexivity Statements

There are other researchers who will analyze the data. Their involvement will be limited due to the degree-directed by this dissertation study, but they will bring diverse perspectives and expertise into the study. Although their focus of the study is diversity and autism, their philosophical views toward racial minority students with autism are shaped in different ways. Particularly, this study will make numbers of racial arguments; having other people who have different experiences and perceptions of racial groups in the United States can provide a conceptual room to discuss racial issues. Moreover, investigator triangulation and theory triangulation can be done by having multiple researchers. The following is one researcher's reflexivity statement among many involved researchers in this study (Diana Baker, Ph.D.; Sunyoung Kim, Ph.D.; Betty Yu, Ph.D.).

Diana Baker. My interest in the intersectional experiences of diverse learners with autism began when I was teaching in a school for students with autism in the Northeastern United States. As a White woman having grown up in a predominantly White upper middle-class suburb, my own schooling offered only limited experiences with students from Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CLD) backgrounds, as well as with students with disabilities.

As I began to work with students with autism many of whom came from CLD families, I began to be interested in thinking about the ways in which culture informs the educational decision-making process for students with disabilities, and with autism in particular. I noticed that, because the educational goals for students with autism often involve explicitly teaching social skills, the question of culture is even more important, perhaps, than in the case of other disabilities. This made me realize, for example, the ways in which my own ideas about what students should be learning and how were inextricably linked to my own cultural values. For example, as an American, I place a high value on independence and autonomy. It became clear to me that this value is not universally held when I learned that an Indian family of a preschool student with autism was not interested in having the child learn to use utensils to feed herself. The family was happy spoon feeding the little girl at least for the time being.

Although I have not had the experience of being in the ethnic/racial minority in the United States, I have lived abroad for several years (in France and Morocco). These experiences gave me an appreciation for the challenges of navigating foreign systems in a language that is not one's own.

Intersectionality as a Core Framework

In this chapter, I discussed the methodological approach to answering my research questions. I admit that the data collection method can violate privacy at any level. Thus I followed all the ethical obligations. Also, it is important to have a plan to resolve anticipated ethical issues (Spradley, 1979). In order to systematically address these issues, the whole data collection process for this dissertation study was guided by advising professors, and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and all the involved institutions' IRB, such as the institutions of collaborating investigators. I used a multiple case

study of the transition to postsecondary education for racial minority students with autism with an intersectionality theoretical framework. The core framework to guide these methodological procedures was a multi-level analysis of intersectionality by Núñez (2014) and Anthias (2013). For data analysis, there were preset codes of intersectionality in terms of social categories, societal arenas, and historicity.

CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDIES: EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

This chapter offers a glimpse into the educational trajectories of the individual students and their families. The families are discussed separately. Because educational trajectories are linear in nature, each student's case is discussed in chronological order (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2009). Because each student's life is complex, this "matter-of-fact portrait" provides a foundation for examining intersectionality across the cases in the next chapter (Van Maanen, 2011; p.7). The data presented in this chapter were drawn primarily from interviews and individualized education program (IEP) documents. Site observations, policy, statistics are provided to illustrate how autism and other identities are intertwined with the educational environment.

Case Summary

Three families of Korean-American students with autism who were accepted to college in California were included in this study. The families have some commonalities, such as placing a high value on education, but are distinct in other ways. Profiles of these families and the postsecondary institutions are presented to enable a holistic understanding of the participants and context.

Family and student characteristics. Table 4.1 provides sociodemographic information about the participants from the demographic survey (see Appendix C): Walter Kim, Junyoung Lim, and Sangmin Yun. All three students are men, and their ages ranged from 18 to 20 at the time of data collection. Walter was staying in a dormitory, Junyoung was commuting from home, and Sangmin was taking a gap year program abroad. All of the participating parents were first-generation immigrants, and students were either 1.5 generation or second generation immigrants (see Footnote 1). Walter, who identified as a Christian, was the only respondent who

reported a religious affiliation. Walter's family members spoke Korean and English at home, while the other two families spoke primarily Korean at home. All of the parents had at least a bachelor's degree or higher. Walter's family classified themselves in the low-income category while two other families classified themselves in the middle-income group.

Table 4.1.

Participants' Sociodemographic Profiles

Student				Parents (Mother/Father)					Household		
Name	A/G	IG	R	Name	ED	OC	IG	R	SIB	HL	SES
Walter Kim*	19/M	2	C	Julia Park*/	BA/	Homemaker/	1/1	N/	1	E/K	Low
				Munho Kim	MA	Driver		N			
Junyoung	20/M	1.5	N	Hyewon Lim*/	BA/	Homemaker/	1/1	N/	0	K	Mid
Lim*				Daeho Lim	BA	Administrator		N			
Sangmin Yun*	18/M	1.5	N	Goun Cho/	BA/	Artist/	1/1	N/	1	K	Mid
				Tacksu Yun*	MA	Office Clerk		N			

Note. Names used here are pseudonyms. A/G = age in 2016/gender (M = male), IG = immigrant generation (1 = first generation, 1.5 = 1.5 generation, 2 = second generation), R = religion (C = Christianity, N=no affiliation reported), ED = education level (BA = bachelor's degree, MA = master's degree), OC = occupation, SIB = sibling, HL = home language (K = Korean, E = English), SES = socioeconomic status (low, middle, high).

* denotes an interviewee

Table 4.2 includes additional information about the students, including data about their diagnoses and educational transitions. Walter reported having Asperger's Syndrome, while the two other students reported having high-functioning autism. The age of autism diagnosis varied. Considering that in the United States in 2002, the median age of first autism diagnosis ranged from 49 to 66 months across states (CDC, 2007), the time of diagnosis was somewhat early for Walter (3), average for Junyoung (5), and quite late for Sangmin, who received his first diagnosis at 9. The difference in timing can be explained by the students' physical locations at the time of diagnosis. Walter and Junyoung were in the United States when they received a diagnosis while Sangmin was living in South Korea. Sangmin was diagnosed by a doctor who had just completed medical school in the United States. In the early 2000s, a diagnosis of autism was rare in South

Korea, especially a diagnosis of high-functioning autism (Kim et al., 2011). All of the participating students have multiple other health concerns, such as attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD). Despite these challenges, each of the three students excelled academically and was admitted to a four-year college. At the time of the interviews, Walter and Junyoung had finished their first year at college, and Sangmin was preparing for his gap-year program³.

Table 4.2.

Students' Diagnosis and Educational Information

Name	Disability			Transition		College	
	DX	SPDX	OP	HG	FC	Type	Major
Walter Kim	3	SLI, ASD, OHI	Eczema, Asthma, Allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD (trichotillomania disappeared), Tic, Depressive disorder	18	18	4 yrs.	Christian Ministries
Junyoung Lim	5	ASD	ADHD, OCD	19	19	4 yrs.	Environmental Science
Sangmin Yun	10	ASD	ADHD, PDA, Anger, Anxiety disorder, High-frequency hearing loss, Strabismus, Moderate vision impairment	18	19 (expected)	6 yrs.	Pharmacy

Note. DX = age at first autism diagnosis, SPDX = special education disability category, OP = other physical or psychological difficulties/problems, HG = age at high school graduation, FC = age at first year of college enrollment, SLI = speech or language impairment, ASD = autism spectrum disorder, OHI = other health impairment, ADHD = attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, OCD = obsessive compulsive disorder, PDA = patent ductus arteriosus.

Characteristics of postsecondary institutions. Table 4.3 includes information about the universities attended by the three research participants. Walter was attending Beacon University, a private Christian university. Junyoung was attending Ivy University, a public institution.

³ Sangmin was taking a one-year gap program between high school and college.

Sangmin had been accepted at and was planning to attend the University of Seacliff, which offers a unique pharmacy program.

Table 4.3.

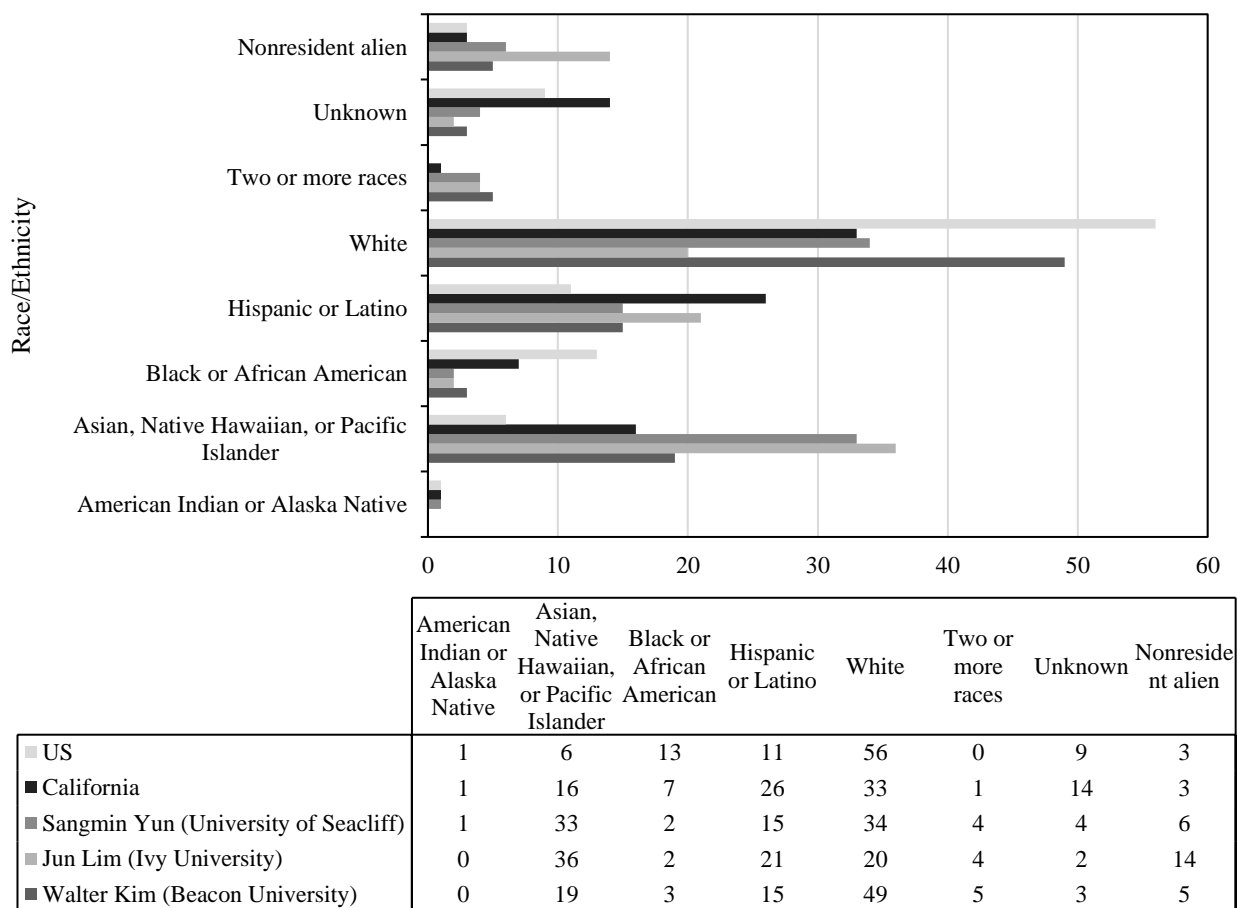
Post-Secondary Institution Characteristics

Case	Walter Kim	Junyoung Lim	Sangmin Yun
Institution Name	Beacon University	Ivy University	University of Seacliff
Control	Private not-for-profit	Public	Private not-for-profit
Level	Four or more years	Four or more years	Four or more years
Category	Degree-granting, primarily baccalaureate or above	Degree-granting, primarily baccalaureate or above	Degree-granting, primarily baccalaureate or above
Carnegie Classification	Doctoral/research universities	Research universities (very high research activity)	Doctoral/research universities
Religious Affiliation	Nondenominational	Not applicable	Not applicable
Calendar System	Four-one-four plan	Quarters	Semesters
Campus Setting	Large suburb	Midsized city	Large city

Source. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS). Institutional characteristics are from Fall 2014.

Regarding the enrollment characteristics of each college, Beacon University has a smaller proportion of Asian students than the other two institutions, but all three have a larger proportion of Asian students than California's average (see Figure 4.1). All three students attended high schools with relatively large Korean-American populations. For Junyoung, the racial composition of Ivy University was one of his reasons for selecting the institution. As shown in Figure 4.1, California has relatively more Asian students in postsecondary institutions than other states; the higher percentage of Asian Americans living in California (relative to other states) explains this difference.

Figure 4.1.

Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity: Fall 2014

Source. IPEDS Enrollment percentage data were from fall 2014.

Walter Kim

Walter is a 19-year-old male college sophomore. He lives with his parents and an older brother. Walter first received an autism diagnosis at the age of three and had received special education services under the autism, speech and language impairment (SLI), and other health impairment (OHI) categories throughout his K-12 education (see Table 4.2). He also has other health concerns including eczema, asthma, allergies, migraines, ADHD, OCD, tics, and depression. Walter was accepted into college immediately after high school graduation at 18. At

the time of the interviews, he was attending Beacon University and majoring in Christian ministry. He was bright and polite when answering the interview questions. He chose to conduct the interviews in English, but I noticed that he spoke both Korean and English with his mother.

Family Background

Walter's father, Munho, is a driver and has a master's degree (see Table 4.1). His mother, Julia, is a homemaker and has a bachelor's degree. His parents are permanent residents, and their children are U.S. citizens. Family members speak both Korean and English, but the parents speak Korean more comfortably, and the children speak English more comfortably than Korean. English and Korean are both spoken at home. Walter and Julia categorized themselves as a low-income family.

Immigration, profession, and insurance. Walter's family first came to the United States so Munho could study for his Ph.D. (in another state). After Munho had finished his doctoral coursework, the family moved to California while he worked on a dissertation for two reasons: Munho was studying mental health among Korean immigrants, and Julia's family resided in California. However, Munho was unable to complete his study and began working the night shift as a driver.

Because Walter's parents had relied on a student visa to stay in the United States, they became undocumented when Munho stopped his Ph.D. program (their children were born in the United States and thus are citizens). In 2001, Section 245(i) allowed Julia and Munho to obtain legal permanent residence with the sponsorship of Julia's father. Section 245(i) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act permits a change from nonimmigrant status to the legal permanent residence if the applicants remain in the United States. The process took ten years, and Walter's parents received a green card (a permanent resident card) in 2011.

Although Munho and Julia did not have a legal document to stay in the United States before 2011, Medi-Cal and the Healthy Family Program covered their medical expenses. Walter did not have a problem receiving either an autism diagnosis or treatment for other health issues, such as eczema and asthma.

Family relationships. Walter has many health problems including eczema, asthma, allergies, insomnia, and a delay in fine motor skills as well as communicative and behavioral issues. When Walter was around two years old, these multiple issues confused the family. This confusion intersected with financial constraints and directly affected relationships between the family.

애가 간식을 주면 떨어뜨려요. 근데 우린 먹을 것도 그것밖에 없는데, 떨어뜨리면 못 먹잖아요. 그럼 또 혼나고... 손에 힘이 약해서 떨어뜨리지만, 애 힘이 또 세요. 뭐 집어던지면 거기에 맞고 내가 멍이 드니까, 도대체 뭐가 뭔지 몰랐었어요.

Walter often dropped his snacks. But we only have those [snacks] to eat; we cannot eat them if he drops it. Then, he was scolded... Things slipped through his fingers since he could not hold them, but at the same time, he was strong. I got a bruise when he threw things; [because of this contradiction] I was totally lost. (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

Walter's parents did not know how to educate him at that time; Julia explained that she “애를 막 혼내고 timeout 시키고 많이 그랬었어요. (scolded Walter and put him on time out; J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016).” Walter's father and older brother were also stressed, and Munho blamed Julia for these issues. Thus, the family relationships got worse. The mother recounted, “우리 애도 힘들고 나도 힘들고 큰애도 힘들고. 내가 맨날 소리지르니까 밖으로 나돌고 큰 애는 집에 안들어와요. (It was hard for Walter, me, and Walter's older brother. Since I yelled at them, the older one didn't come home.; J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)” However, Walter likes his brother and copies everything his older brother does. For

instance, when Walter had to choose a high school to attend, he chose the one that his older brother was attending. Julia explained:

아이가 math, science 를 잘 했었으니까 그거를 우선적으로 하는 magnet school (high school)을 우선적으로 가는 게 어떨까 그랬었는데 아이가 선택한 고등학교는 우리 큰 애가 다니던 학교. 제가 큰애 픽업할 때 계속 우리 둘째를 데리고 다녔었잖아요, 그니까 익숙하잖아요. 그니까 자기도 거기 갈거라고.

Because Walter excelled in math and science, I considered a magnet school, but he chose the one that his older brother was attending. When I pick up his brother, Walter was with us. Thus, the school seems familiar to him. Then, he wanted to go there. (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

Walter considers his brother a good mentor and a friend. He is also grateful to his father for supporting his education although there were several episodes of generational and/or cultural conflicts between Munho and his children. Julia described some of these conflicts:

아빠가 뭐라고 뭐라고 한국식으로 명령을 하면은 우리 애들이 답답해 하다가 울었어요. 울면 또 운다고 막 '년 그걸 우냐, 그걸 갖고' 그랬는데 우리 애들은 그게 상처가 많이 됐었던 것 같아요. 아빠의 그 한국 스타일 behavior 를 이해를 못하는 거예요, 둘다. 그게 아빠의 문제라고. 왜 웃냐고. 나는 슬퍼서 눈물이 나오는데 아빠는 그 때 그걸 웃었어야 되느냐고.

When Munho bosses his children around in the typical Korean style, the children couldn't understand his behavior and cried. Then, Munho blamed them, "Why do you cry because of that?" I think it hurts my children. They don't understand Munho's Korean-style behavior, either of them. They said it's his problem, and ask why he laughs. "Does he have to laugh at me when I am sad and cry?" (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

Fortunately, Walter's relationships, both with his brother and with his parents, improved as Walter grew up. Munho now considers his children his best friends, and Walter mentioned that "My parents were a big part of it [learning social skills]" (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). While Walter's multiple issues impacted relationships between family members, the family members support one another, and both Julia and Munho are dedicated to their children's education.

Residential area and school district. Walter's family lives in City A, a large urban area.⁴

Table 4.4 presents a profile of the population of City A as well as the population of City B, where Walter's university is located. The table also shows comparable demographic information for California and the United States.

Table 4.4.

Population Characteristics

	City A (Residence)	City B (University)	CA	US
Race/Ethnicity				
White	50%	61%	58%	72%
Black or African American	10%	2%	6%	13%
American Indian and Alaska Native	1%	1%	1%	1%
Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander	11%	18%	13%	5%
Two or More Races	5%	4%	5%	3%
Hispanic or Latino/a	49%	40%	38%	16%
White, Non-Hispanic or Latino/a	29%	38%	40%	64%
Foreign-born persons	39%	24%	27%	13%
Language other than English spoken at home*	60%	43%	44%	21%
Percentage with a disability (under age 65)	6%	5%	7%	9%
Education				
High school degree or higher	75%	89%	82%	86%
Bachelor's degree or higher	32%	29%	31%	29%
Owner-occupied housing unit	37%	78%	55%	64%
Income and Poverty				
Median household income**	\$50,000	\$81,000	\$61,489	\$53,482
Persons in poverty	22%	7%	15%	14%

Note. Percent was rounded to zero decimal place (income was rounded to the nearest hundred) to preserve confidentiality. CA = California, * percent of persons age five or older, ** in 2014 dollars

Source. U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *State & County QuickFacts (California)*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html>.

As shown in the table, City A is ethnically diverse, and the proportion of Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islanders is larger than in the United States as a whole but smaller than in the state of California. Also, the percentage of the population that is foreign-born is higher in

⁴ I avoid using specific city names in order to ensure that readers cannot identify the students. Because the targeted population is very small, personal information might be identifiable if the name of the city is known (The minimization of the risk of identifiability is discussed in the consent form). Thus, this study only presents general socioeconomic contexts of the cities and districts in which the participants reside. For contextual information, I also provide descriptions of the site based on observations.

City A than either in City B or California. Similarly, a notably larger percentage of people in City A (relative to City B and California) speak languages other than English at home. For people with disabilities, City A has a smaller percentage than California and the United States. In terms of education, City A has a higher percentage of high school graduates, but a lower percentage of residents with a bachelor's degree than City B, California, and the United States. Lastly, relative to City B, California, and the United States as a whole, City A has smaller percentages of both people who own a house and people living in poverty, as well as a lower median income.

In City A, there is a large Korean community, which reflects its Korean-American immigration history. When I visited City A to interview Walter, the history of immigration in the early 1960's was visible in the names of the streets, parks, buildings, businesses, and schools. There were diverse people on the street, and many people were speaking Korean in coffee shops, grocery stores, and restaurants. Walter's house is located at the center of the Korean community where many businesses are located. I saw some homeless people on the street, and Julia later warned me to be cautious about leaving my belongings in my car. According to the local newspaper, the neighborhood is also home to large Latino/a and other Asian populations. More than half of the district's residents were foreign born. The median household income was lower than both the state and national averages, while education levels were similar to the state/national averages. The percentage of homeowners in this district was far lower than in either California or the United States.

Walter attended K-12 schools in City A, whose school district had a poor reputation for academic services and maintenance. Walter mentioned,

I believe that my school district has a lot of budget cuts. There's always a problem with the dangerous district. I was vulnerable to all these problems of budget crisis, I remember

my senior year, there are so many problems in high school I went to, majority of students smoked weed, it was vast high school, but there's lot of fire alarms because they smoked around trash cans, a lot of bathrooms were closed. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

When I visited the school, there were several police cars nearby, and a policeman was talking to a man on the street. Many people were jaywalking across the large boulevard in front of the school. While the school provided many advanced placement (AP) courses, their graduation rate was lower than the state average. According to the California Department of Education (CDE, 2015), the district's graduation rate in 2015 was 79% (the California average was 82%). More than half of the students were classified as Latino/a while most of the faculty members were White (CDE, 2015).

In comparison, Walter's university was located in a relatively less dense area in City B. City B is also diverse, and has a racial composition similar to the California average. However, relative to City A and California, the city has fewer foreign-born people, and a smaller proportion spoke a language other than English at home. With regard to socioeconomic status, City B has a larger percentage of high school graduates than City A, the state, and the United States as a whole. Seventy-eight percent of the residents in City B owned a house; their median income was much higher than the median in City A, the state, and the United States; and fewer people were in poverty. While the two cities are located close to each other along the West Coast, the district where Walter received his K-12 education in City A has different characteristics than City B.

Bilingualism at home. While Walter's family members speak both Korean and English, Korean was the primary language spoken at home by the parents, and English was the primary language spoken by Walter and his brother. Although the parents did not have firm rules about bilingualism at home, Walter can understand Korean and engage in daily conversation in Korean

because he watched Korean TV shows, listened to Korean pop music, and attended Korean churches for three years.

Education

Table 4.5 presents information about Walter's educational trajectories from birth to K-12.

Table 4.5.

Educational Trajectories for Walter Kim

Year	A (G)	SPED Eligibility (Other Health Concerns)	Intervention and Therapy	College Preparation	School
1996-1997	0	(Eczema, asthma, allergies)			
1997-1998	1	(Eczema, asthma, allergies)			
1998-1999	2	(Eczema, asthma, allergies)			Preschool
1999-2000	3	(Eczema, asthma, allergies)			
2000-2001	4	AUT, SLI (Eczema, asthma, allergies)	SLT (school district), BI consultation, music therapy, after-school program (regional center)		
2001-2002	5	AUT, SLI (Eczema, asthma, allergies)	SLT (school district), BI consultation, music therapy, after-school program (regional center)		
2002-2003	6 (K)	SLI (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines)	SLT		Elementary
2003-2004	7 (1)	SLI (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines)	SLT		
2004-2005	8 (2)	SLI, Highly Gifted (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD)	SLT		
2005-2006	9 (3)	SLI (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD)	SLT		
2006-2007	10 (4)	SPED Eligibility dismissed (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)			
2007-2008	11 (5)	Re-evaluation (June 2008): OHI (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	Counseling		
2008-2009	12 (6)	Re-evaluation (February 2009): AUT/Asperger (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	Counseling, RSP		Middle
2009-2010	13 (7)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	Counseling		
2010-2011	14 (8)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	Counseling		
2011-2012	15 (9)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	-	PSAT	High
2012-2013	16 (10)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	-	AP Biology PSAT	
2013-2014	17 (11)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	-	AP World History SAT	
2014-2015	18 (12)	AUT (Eczema, asthma, allergies, Migraines, ADHD, OCD)	-	AP English SAT	
				AP Calculus (dropped) FAFSA application	

Note. A (G) = age (grade), SPED = special education, AUT = autism, SLI = speech and language impairment, SLT = speech and language therapy, BI = behavior intervention, OHI = other health impairment, ADHD = attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, RSP = resource specialist program, FAFSA = free application for federal student aid.

Early childhood: Symptom recognition, diagnosis, and special education. Julia first noticed communication difficulties, sensory issues, excessive tantrums, and repeated and aggressive behaviors when Walter was two years old. Since his development was quite different from that of his older brother, Julia and Munho became concerned about Walter. Julia recounted,

두살때, 아무리 가르쳐도 말을 따라하지 않았어요. 쟁얼대고, 뭔가 원하면 하루에도 수십번씩. 아이가 쟁얼대는 걸 듣기 싫어서 쟁얼거리기 전에 미리 다 갖다줬어요. 근데 말은 못했어요. 그래서 이상하다 생각하고 있었죠... 자기 장난감을 똑바로 정리해놨는데, 옆에서 치고 가면 폭발해서 울고, 다 집어 던지고, 장난감 lineup 하고, 이름을 불러도 쳐다보지도 않고, 자기가 앉았던 자리에, 자기가 화장실 갔다오면 자기자리에 앉아야돼... 큰애를 학교에 데려다 줄 때도 다른 길로 조금만 가면 애가 막 울었어요... 왜 그런지 몰랐어요, 그 땐.

When Walter was two, he didn't speak no matter how I tried to get him to. He whimpered when he wanted something, dozens of times a day. Thus, I gave everything to him before he asked. But he couldn't speak. So I thought it was strange... If someone touched his toys after he had organized them, he exploded, cried, and threw the toys. He lined up his toys, didn't respond his name; he had to sit in the same place when he returned from the bathroom. When I gave a ride to his older brother, he cried if I went a different way... I didn't know why, at that time. (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

Julia asked another Korean mother who she had met at her first son's school. Because of Walter's communication difficulties, the school had provided hearing and speech tests. But Julia did not understand special education terminology, even in Korean. Thus, it took a long time for her to request an initial assessment. She described the process:

처음이라서 용어의 정확한 설명과 이해를 하는데 몇년 걸렸어요. 무슨 뜻인지는지레 짐작 하겠는데, 정확한 뜻을, 한국말로도 잘 이해가 안가서 너무 답답했어요.

At first, it took years to understand the terms. I could guess the meaning, but not exactly; it was so hard since I couldn't understand them even in Korean. (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

While Walter was a preschool student, an initial assessment was conducted to determine the need for special education services. According to the initial assessment report, "Walter's behavior is

estimated to fall within the mild to moderate range for autism (W. Kim, preschool assessment report, September 15, 2000).” Based on the IEP, Walter was eligible to receive special education services for autism and SLI. Right after the assessment, Walter began receiving speech and language therapy (SLT) through a school district; he also received music therapy and behavior intervention consultation and attended an after-school program at a local university through a regional center.

K-12. As shown in Table 4.5, Walter received special education services for autism, SLI, and ADHD, the latter under the code for OHI. During his elementary school years, gaining access to the right services for him was the foremost issue. In middle school, Walter suffered from severe depression and bullying. Just before he entered high school, he began to build friendships. He became a Christian while attending the Christian Club at his high school. His educational history impacted his decision to major in Christian Ministry.

Elementary school: Special education eligibility. Initially, Walter’s special education eligibility included autism and SLI. His eligibility for autism services was ruled out when he was six years old because the school concluded that autism did not impact his academic performance. The family agreed with the school’s decision because the family relied exclusively on the educators’ opinions and did not know how to advocate their child.

His entire IEP was later dismissed because Walter was excelling academically. When he was in second grade, he was classified as a highly gifted student (although he was still in English as a second language [ESL] classes; W. Kim, Gifted Eligibility Document, March 16, 2005). At the same time, school staff recommended that he take ADHD medications, such as Adderall (the family met psychiatrists and received medications through the Regional Center). When Walter

was in fourth grade, his special education service was terminated because he was no longer in ESL classes and was performing well academically. His IEP states,

Walter has materially [sic] behaviorally this year. Possibly due to his medication. He's demonstrated a huge difference in behavior in the classroom and in the speech room as well. It is the IEP team's consensus that Walter no longer qualifies for special education services. The IEP is officially closed. (W. Kim, IEP, November 13, 2006)

The school recommended changing the service from special education to Section 504 because they believed his behavioral problems could be addressed with ADHD medication. Julia mentioned that the family agreed with the school's decision because they did not understand the importance of his IEP for his education. The family was told that his IEP was only for SLT, and he would no longer need the IEP when he graduated from ESL classes. Julia remembered thinking, "everything's gonna be fine (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)."

During fifth grade, however, Walter had issues such as pulling out all of his eyebrows. A psychiatrist from a Korean community center told Julia that ADHD medications and depression might be the cause. At that time, Walter was taking multiple medications, including Adderall for ADHD, Fluoxetine for depression and anxiety, hydroxyzine for eczema and allergies, Dematop cream for eczema, Singulair tablets for asthma, and Imitrex nasal spray for migraines. Walter had a hard time taking the additional medications for ADHD because he could not swallow the pill. Thus, he stopped taking the medication after one year. Instead, Walter promised to receive counseling (he had started receiving the service from his 4th grade).

Unfortunately, Walter's behavioral issues continued. Because of these issues, Julia requested an IEP meeting for reevaluation. While seeking help to advocate for her son's needs, Julia was told about a surgeon and mother of children with autism who might be able to help. At first, Julia was reluctant to contact her because she was White. Just two days before the IEP meeting, Julia finally contacted the doctor, who attended Walter's IEP reevaluation. The doctor

pointed out the school's IEP violations and suggested filing a lawsuit, but Julia did not want to fight the school district. After informal disputes and a reevaluation, Walter's IEP team concluded that Walter was qualified to receive services under the OHI category. Julia perceived that the presence of the doctor and her advice were keys to successfully advocating for Walter.

According to Walter's new IEP, "Per rating scales, reviews of records, observations, and interviews with his teachers, and clinical diagnosis of ADHD, Walter qualifies as a child with OHI eligibility (W. Kim, IEP, June 11, 2008)."

Middle school: Autism eligibility and isolation. During Walter's first year in middle school, Julia requested another reevaluation with assistance from the doctor. According to the IEP reevaluation document, "The IEP team agreed that autism/Asperger Syndrome is the most appropriate eligibility to describe Walter at this time. Therefore, the IEP team agreed to change eligibility from OHI to autism as the primary eligibility (W. Kim, IEP, February 10, 2009)." The reevaluation enabled Walter to receive resource specialist program (RSP) teacher support to address attention deficits. In addition, Julia mentioned that the IEP was important for Walter to go to college because without it he would probably have been suspended or received detention for his behavioral problems, which would have lowered his chances of being accepted to college (parent interview 1, September 12, 2016).

Walter was bullied all throughout his K-12 years, but especially during middle school. Julia was able to protect him during elementary school by volunteering, but during middle school, he asked his mother to not to come to school. His peers verbally abused him, for example, saying "You have a big head," and sometimes his peers hit him (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016). As a result, Walter suffered from severe depression during sixth and seventh grade.

During this time Walter was very stressed. He focused on academic achievement, developing music skills, and improving his Korean; he also became addicted to online pornography. Walter studied five hours a day after school; Julia remembered him continuing to study even after vomiting due to his migraines (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016). Julia stated that Walter might have thought that his friends would stop teasing him if he had perfect scores and straight A's, and thus his isolation motivated him to study (parent interview 1, September 12, 2016).

Music was another way for Walter to cope during his middle school years. Walter began playing Korean drums when was in elementary school and played American drums in middle school. Playing music helped him overcome depression. He was a member of the percussion section in his middle school band, which helped him to continue to attend the school. He also played the piano and listened to music.

During middle school, Walter's Korean proficiency improved because he spent a lot of time with his family, for example, playing board games and watching Korean TV shows. Walter began watching Korean soap operas and entertainment shows. Julia translated Korean into English when he watched Korean TV shows, which helped him to speak and understand Korean. Walter also watched a lot of online pornography during this period. He explained:

There's a lot of like online pornography sites, so I was involved in that a lot before I became a believer. I had a very negative approach to life; I didn't have any hope. My parents, although they sometimes caught me, they don't know the full history of it... I remember doing it (watching online pornography) fourth grade, fifth grade, sixth grade, my brother said, "Hey this is wrong," but I didn't know why and no one tells me... I found neglected from a lot of things; I feel like because of that because there's no one to depend on, I found something (online pornography) that really attracted my attention... I think the main part was I didn't have many friends; I felt very lonely at least until high school. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

While the isolation Walter experienced in middle school was not a pleasant experience, it did have some positive impacts on his academic and social development. In eighth grade, Walter began to establish some friendships. Julia mentioned that the counseling services the family obtained through the local Korean community center were the most effective service and helped Walter to start making friends (the family also received family therapy and parenting classes from the community center).

High school: Religion and preparation for college. Walter first attended an IEP meeting when he was 7th grade; the meeting's goal was to select a high school. According to his IEPs, he was initially interested in sports, fitness, and music, and excelled in math and science. Thus, Walter was asked to choose among several specialized programs, including science, social studies, second language, and medical programs, for his high school. However, Walter chose the school his older brother attended because the school was familiar to him.

During high school, Walter and his family expected him to attend college, but his college preparation and transition plans were rarely discussed in his IEP meetings even though he excelled in every subject. He assumed that this failure to discuss college might have been due to the low expectations placed on students with IEPs. He speculated:

(Scholastic aptitude test [SAT] preparation) Not in IEP, they may presuppose that I will get [an] entry level job; I think they have low expectations, and I didn't know what was going on because they were more involved in life skills, there were different levels of disabilities within IEP programs, and they address[ed] it to majority and so I wasn't part of the majority because the majority was, they weren't taking any honor's class or AP class, few did. Because the teachers and (college) counselor address[ed] to me, not my IEP. I didn't really connect to my IEP thing. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

IEP meetings were not a place where Walter discussed his postsecondary plans, and he did not like to participate in the meetings because he did not want his peers to ask why he went to the meetings. He disliked attending counseling sessions at school for the same reason. Rather than

using IEP meetings to plan, Walter conducted a major part of his college preparation (during high school) via college counselors and a private SAT preparation program. The college counselor helped Walter apply for federal scholarship programs such as a free application for federal student aid (FAFSA), and the private SAT program helped him prepare for the exam.

Walter attended the same SAT prep classes his older brother had taken. However, the program was not effective for Walter. He recalled that in “12th grade, I went to SAT prep institute and it was not helpful. I remember I cried because [it was] so intense. I believe the course is only gear[ed] toward a specific audience, their method only works for specific people, hardcore, but it helps, though (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” He could not endure the program and dropped out.

As mentioned earlier, Walter had an excellent academic record until 12th grade. Some of the useful accommodations he received in high school were late passes, extensions for assignments, and extra time on tests. However, in his 12th grade, he received F’s. He blamed his poor grades on “senioritis,” saying, “I just wanted to pass the class... Although I knew that these courses would help me to cover some general education (GE) requirements, I was involved in my high school church (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” Julia believed other factors were responsible for the F’s. Specifically, she thought Walter spent too much time serving at the Korean church.

한인교회 전도사님이 개를 너무 많이 시키는 거예요. 공부해야 되는데. 그러니까 일주일에 교회를 한 4 번 가는 거예요. 그러면 숙제할 시간이 없잖아요... Wednesday에 Bible class, 우리 애가 드럼을 해달래요. 그리고 Sunday 에도 해달래요. 그러면 연습을 해야 되거든요. 우리 애는 음악을 좋아하니까, 한 거예요.

A preacher at the Korean church asked him to do too many things when he should have been studying. He went to the church four times a week; then he didn’t have time to complete his assignment. Bible class on Wednesday, and playing drums, and Sunday as well. Then, he also had to practice. My child loved music, so he did. (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016)

When Walter was still in 12th grade, he met a preacher from an American church through his high school Christian Club and began to attend the American church. The preacher, who had a brother with autism and thus understood Walter, became a career mentor. Walter discussed his concerns with the preacher and studied at the church to improve his grades.

When referencing his college application essays, Walter noted, “I described all the struggles I went through, mainly disabilities and struggles that I overcame... I take the mentality that I'm very real and honest; I make myself vulnerable (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” He asked college students he knew, including fellow church members, to revise his essays. His pastors and teachers from high school wrote recommendation letters for him.

Walter eventually chose to attend a Christian university. He said, “[at the] last minute, after choosing Beacon University I just got accepted to another program in one of the top university [sic], but I am not into...school for the value of the school, how high their ranks; mainly I look for my faith (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” His decision was somewhat surprising because he had only been interested in Christianity since ninth grade.

I remember in Korean school I was in the first grade, kindergarten; there were a 4th grade and 5th grade in the same Korean school grade; these people verbally abused me, sometimes hit me. I remember one day [someone said], “Hey you stupid cry baby, dirty skin,” because eczema has dry skin, and I remember I cry [sic] in the class, and the teacher was there; then the more I cry, the more they continue to abuse me verbally... The reason why I mention about the Korean school is because in 9th grade, the second semester, he was a senior and he was one of the boys in Korean school, and he was a Christian club leader, and so he invited me the Christian club and asked me “Hey, you want to be a leader?” I only visited, I remember my friend [the] senior who invited me and insulted me, he mentioned about the past, how he bullied [me], and he asked for forgiveness. That's the main reason for Christianity too because it's crazy how even though he bullied me there's genuine care and love he shows toward me. He's like, “I'm sorry,” that's why I started like looking back from now; that's why the Christian is all about being able to forgive, it doesn't matter where it was from. He was the main reason I was influenced to think about Christianity and Christian universities... That's where I started my journey and becoming a Christian. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Walter participated in a college visiting program at his current university. He mentioned that “at the end of the day, I realized the love and caring and generosity they have I didn't feel, or I didn't get from even from my family. It clicked—I want this love, I want this hope (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” His family members were not happy with his choice major in Christian ministry because none of the other family members were Christian. He recounted, “The fact that I was gonna major in Christian ministries and announced that on senior or scholarship night, everyone became quiet (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” However, the family respected and supported his decision.

College. Walter had completed his first year at college when I first interviewed him. Because the university is about two hours from his home by public transportation, he decided to live in a dormitory. Although the transition to college was a huge change, his college life was fruitful—he had developed new relationships and expanded experiential knowledge through a variety of activities.

Beacon University. Beacon University is located in City B, a large suburban city (see Table 4.4). The city appears peaceful and well off. About 78% of the residents owned a house, and the median income was high at \$81,000—much higher than the median income in City A (\$50,000). Beacon University is a private four-year nondenominational Christian university that is classified as a doctoral and research university (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System [IPEDS], 2014).

Self-advocacy. As expected, the aspect of college that differed the most from the K-12 setting is that Walter had to advocate for himself. He explained, “I have to be my own advocate. I realize that the big difference [from K-12] is that teachers won't remind me of or let me know

about accommodation (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” In order to receive accommodation, he went to the university’s disability service center, participated in an interview, and provided the required documents. Walter stated that receiving accommodations “depends on how I advocate [for] myself, so I have to communicate with them and let them know ahead of time, that’s [the] whole main thing (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” The accommodations available to him are extending due dates for assignments and projects, having extra time for tests, and taking tests in the disability office (a quiet place).

In one instance, when Walter experienced a migraine in college, he had to advocate for himself. Although he had suffered from migraines since the age of six, he had not been required to deal with the consequences of migraines during K-12 due to his IEP. He described what happened when he had a migraine during college finals:

For me, it's both (classic and hemiplegic migraines). Medications didn't work. There [sic] are more like lessening the pain, but the pain was still like very hurt. I have like paralysis on my limbs for like a few hours, and then there's [an] aura, first, blur[red] vision, then paralysis, that's the hemiplegic. I got it like once a month to a week... And then, during college, suddenly because I ate a lot of candy, there's like finals. So, I got a migraine, one migraine off of that. I remember. But it wasn't that severe. It was just a headache, and then I felt nauseous, but it wasn't that bad 'cause I hold it back... [It lasted] for a whole day, and it disappeared the next day. But I missed my classes that day... I emailed them [his professors], and they understood it. Professors over there are really kind. They already know that I have an IEP. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Walter’s biggest struggle with the accommodations was his worry that he might be abusing the services to compensate for his procrastination. During K-12, he did not need to become involved in arranging accommodations, but at college, he has to actively seek these services. Because of the differences in accommodation arrangements between high school and college, Walter had to think a lot before requesting an accommodation. He used phrases like “not appropriate” or “not good” to describe his utilization of accommodations. Walter said,

I didn't use most of them (accommodations). I used the extension on a test sometimes... This past semester was at the last minute, during the last couple of weeks, I requested the late forms, which are definitely *not appropriate*, but my IEP counselor said that this is usually the period when people with an IEP use them, during this time period. The first semester in college year [sic], I didn't use any accommodations because I was more focused on my studies in order to be involved in other things, but this past semester I wanna find out what I want to do throughout my college year. My mentality was "Oh I have four years of college, this is my only opportunity to get involved in these things," especially like in Christian universities. Christianity with the culture and this is a unique opportunity... Once the second semester, when I requested that, I mean a late pass for my assignment, *not good*, but yes... There's also something I struggle with is, when am I using this accommodation to make it easier on myself or [do] I really need these accommodations? (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Disability disclosure, accommodations, and social skills. In order to receive accommodations, Walter had to disclose his disability at the disability center. While this type of disclosure is voluntary, it has the clear benefit of receiving accommodations to improve his learning process. Disclosing disability to peers is also voluntary, but does not have any direct benefits and can be emotionally stressful. However, Walter considered this an opportunity; he mentioned, "I do try to make every opportunity to be a voice (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)." In a class called "Public Communication," he had to choose a topic for a speech, and he intentionally chose autism. His attitude toward disability disclosure in college was closely related to his identity formation; he said, "I always have to think about when is a good opportunity for me to talk about disability, is it right or wrong (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)."

Major/minor and future plans. Psychology and Christianity were two major career options Walter was considering. While Walter was majoring in Christian ministries, he planned to pursue a minor in psychology, which offers different approaches to treating people than Christianity. He explained, "Psychology says you share all those things, and we should try to make you feel good about yourself, but Christianity, for me and for all believers, is that, hey

we're broken people, we have [made] mistakes (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).”

One person who influenced his choice of both a major and a minor was the preacher he had met at the Christian club in high school. The preacher had a full-time job as a psychologist and served as a preacher on the weekends. Julia welcomed the idea of Walter minoring in psychology because she believed that being a pastor would not necessarily allow Walter to financially support himself in the future.

Walter’s interests in Christianity and psychology are also related to his experiences of being addicted to online pornography. He described the connection as follows:

The only way that I was able to recover from this (online pornography) is... the fact that I was in a safe and confidential community where they embrace vulnerability and brokenness struggles, and I was able to address them openly to not only to my close people [friends] but also people in the community. Because this community is being open, I [was] actually saying like, “Hey I was addicted to online pornography” to people... I go through that is hope, and there's grace in there. They don't see me I'm wrong, that has a lot to do with my faith, so I didn't receive any psychological counseling; it has all to do with [the] spiritual scholarship community... Problems can be resolved and address them publicly... communities like church, youth group, college, friends... Because I receive encouragement, faith and love, care, grace, old things [are] now gone; my past becomes past, not present, I'm able to be a new person... So the community is really important and in order to recover from this for me, is to be open about it. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Walter was open about his struggles and wanted to take action beyond recovering from addiction.

For instance, he became involved in an advocacy group for victims and survivors of sexual violence. He explained, “I'm passion[ate] about them in different ways because I was involved in the bad history of not being a victim or not being a survival [sic], but just being a part of the demand... I'm very passionate about anti-trafficking, like human-trafficking, being an advocate for, specifically being against sex-trafficking (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” As he became more aware of this issue, these activities impacted his journey toward a future career. He said:

I believe that in order for people who were struggling for this (sexual violence) there needs to be in a safe community... It has a lot to do with counseling and psychology. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Walter also wondered whether his addiction was related to his disabilities:

One thing, I'm not sure whether ADHD, Asperger Syndrome, and autism play a crucial role in online pornography. The reason why I've done those things (online pornography) because there's no one for me, meeting the needs of a person with autism, it's rare for parents to be successful meeting needs of a child with a disability and for them to have mutual trust and commitment and to talk about these things.

(W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Although his experiences of the addiction were rather negative, he was able to transform his struggles into something positive. During the interview, he expressed enthusiasm about using his experiential knowledge to help others. While his individual transition plan (ITP) does not address his postsecondary transition plans in detail, his interests as written in the document reflect his passions and some potential careers: "Walter's responses indicate he likes to help others and wants to make a positive impact on society and the world (W. Kim, IEP, February 8, 2013)."

Courses and activities. Walter took 16 credits during the first semester of college and 15 credits during the second semester. He selected courses based on the requirements for freshmen majoring in Christian ministry. He managed his schedule with a planner and a cell phone calendar. Table 4.6 lists his academic courses and activities.

Table 4.6.

Courses and Activities

	Courses	Activities
Fall 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies in Critical Thinking & Writing I (3 units) • Intro to Psychology (3 units) • Biblical Interpretation and Spiritual Formation (3 units) • Foundation of Ministry (3 units) • Intro to Public Communication (3 units) • First-Year Seminar Christian Ministry (1 unit) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worship team drummer • Studying • Scholarship program • Dancing/lip-syncing team • Advocacy group for students with disabilities • Spiritual development team • Advocacy group for victims and survivors of sexual violence
Spring 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundation of Christian Thought (3 units) • Studies in Critical Thinking & Writing II (3 units) • New Testament History & Literature (3 units) • Leadership Development (3 units) • The Nature of Math (3 units) 	

Writing and public speaking was particularly difficult for Walter. During his first semester, he took a course called Studies in Critical Thinking and Writing. He had to spend a lot of time selecting topics before he began writing, and thus the course was difficult for him. During the second semester, he found the subsequent writing course so demanding that he was satisfied that he had even passed the course. However, he was concerned that he had overused the school-wide disability policies by using the late pass for the course. Walter reported being “the most nervous” about his Intro to Public Communication course and finding it “the most challenging” because he had to complete four speeches (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). As mentioned earlier, he chose autism as a topic for his first speech because he considered this an opportunity to be a voice. Walter’s favorite class was Leadership Development because the course emphasized not only “this individual itself, but it’s more about having a whole team (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).”

Walter was also involved in multiple activities (especially during his second semester). These activities were essential parts of his social life at college. Walter commented, “I also like to hang out with people. There's a lot of texting, calling. Most of the times, through my friend who was involved in the club. I made a lot of new friends; I got involved clubs (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).” While friendships remained challenging, he was enjoying meeting new friends and building relationships with diverse people. During his second semester, he had adopted a strategy to explore the opportunities at his college through activities: “I plan to narrow my commitment now; I participated [in] as many activities as I can so I can get rid of activities, just to focus on the activities I [am] passion[ate] about, I naturally love to do (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016).”

He also served as a worship team drummer and had a paid internship job during the summer. The internship involved working at an African-American church in his neighborhood, and thus he was able to obtain cross-cultural experiences within a religious group.

Living independently on campus. Walter lived in a dormitory with one roommate. The dormitory was on campus, so he was able to walk to his classes. His parents gave him rides when necessary, and his mother was helping him practice driving during the summer. Walter did not prepare his own meals because he used the meal plan on campus. He also occasionally bought water, and his friend drove him to the store to do this.

His scholarships and a loan (\$4,000 per year) covered Walter’s expenses, including living in the residence hall, tuition, and meals. The majority of the funding came from three sources: a federal program called FAFSA that he had applied for in a high school with assistance from a college counselor and two scholarships from his university. His family also supported him

financially. His father, Munho, gave Walter a co-signed credit card with the goal of training him to manage his own finances.

Throughout his first year of college, Walter was able to use appropriate social skills to navigate his future options as well as complete his coursework. Although he still has difficulties, including migraines and managing friendships, he will be able to handle these situations with support from his family, friends, and mentors.

Junyoung Lim

Junyoung Lim is a 20-year-old young man with autism who is currently enrolled at Ivy University. Junyoung lives with his parents in a mid-size city in California. The family lives in a well-off neighborhood with a high-quality school district. Junyoung first received an autism diagnosis at the age of five while living in the United States. After his diagnosis, Junyoung and his mother returned to South Korea and lived there for five years. When he was ten years old, they moved back to the United States, and he began to receive special education services under the autism category; these services continued throughout the rest of his K-12 education. Junyoung also has other health concerns including ADHD, and OCD. Junyoung was accepted into college immediately after graduation at age 19. At the time of the interview, he was majoring in environmental science at one of the top-ranked universities in California. Junyoung was polite and careful as he answered my interview questions and reviewed pertinent materials such as a college application package. While he chose to conduct the interviews in English, in most other conversations he spoke Korean. His Korean and English conversational skills appeared to be typical with one caveat—he speaks both languages with limited intonation.

Family Background

Junyoung's father, Daeho, is an administrator and has a bachelor's degree. His mother, Hyewon is a homemaker and has a bachelor's degree. Both of his parents and Junyoung are permanent residents. The family primarily uses Korean at home: his parents speak Korean more comfortably than English, but Junyoung speaks English more comfortably. Junyoung's family reported that they did not have any religious affiliation. Hyewon once took Junyoung to the Korean church program, but Junyoung felt that religious programs were "not a moment of relaxation for me, and also I have trouble making friends (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016)." Moreover, the family did not need to rely on support from a Korean church because Junyoung's parents had enough resources and networks to educate Junyoung.

Immigration. Junyoung's family came to the United States when he was three years old due to his father's job. When Junyoung was five, he received an autism diagnosis. Junyoung's doctor recommended that the family speak in only one language at home to reduce confusion, so Junyoung and his mother returned to Korea so that Junyoung could speak only Korean. When Junyoung was in third grade (in Korea), Daeho had a stroke. Junyoung and his mother decided to move back to the United States to help his father and to obtain a better education for Junyoung. The family has always had health insurance and has the required legal documents to stay in the United States. When the family chose the place to live in the United States, racial composition in the community mattered.

그런 것도 고려했겠죠... 동양사람들 특히 한국사람들이 많은 곳에서 사람들하고 교류가 많지 않은 것과는 아예 없는곳에서 교류가 없는 것과는 얘기가 다르니까요. 심적으로는 훨씬 편하죠.

I think he also considered that [the racial composition of the city]... Having not much social interaction in a community that has many Asians, especially Koreans, is totally different from having no interaction in a community that has no Asians or Korean—much more comfortable. (H. Lim, parent interview 2, February 15, 2017)

Family lives and relationships. Hyewon reported that she and Daeho had dedicated almost all their time to Junyoung's education, and hardly had any free time. To support Junyoung's education, Daeho has to work long hours, and Hyewon spends most of her time educating Junyoung while Junyoung focused exclusively on his studies. Hyewon mentioned that both she and Daeho were quite tired. Both parents have physical and/or emotional health problems. Daeho had experienced a stroke, while Hyewon had back pain and suffered from depression. Hyewon described the relationships between family members as “괜찮다 (okay; H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016).”

Residential area and school district. Junyoung's family lives in City C, a well-off planned city in California, and Junyoung also attends college in the city. Table 4.7 presents the population characteristics of City C. The table also includes comparable demographic information for California and the United States.

Table 4.7.

Population Characteristics of the Residential and Educational Areas

	City C	CA	US
Race/Ethnicity			
White	51%	58%	72%
Black or African American	2%	6%	13%
American Indian and Alaska Native	-	1%	1%
Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander	39%	13%	5%
Two or More Races	6%	5%	3%
Hispanic or Latino/a	9%	38%	16%
White, Non-Hispanic or Latino/a	45%	40%	64%
Foreign-born persons	39%	27%	13%
Language other than English spoken at home*	48%	44%	21%
With a disability, under age 65 years	3%	7%	9%
Education			
High school degree or higher	96%	82%	86%
Bachelor's degree or higher	66%	31%	29%
Owner-occupied housing unit	48%	55%	64%
Income and Poverty			
Median household income**	\$92,278	\$61,489	\$53,482
Persons living in poverty	12%	15%	14%

Note. Percentages were rounded to zero decimal places (income was rounded to the nearest hundred) to preserve confidentiality. CA = California.

* percent of persons age 5 or older.

** in 2014 dollars.

Source. U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *State & County QuickFacts (California)*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html>.

Table 4.7 shows that Asians make up a notably large percentage of City C's population. The city's Asian population has been growing since the late 1970's and is now 39% of the overall population. The percentage of the population that was foreign-born was higher than the national average, and almost half of the people in the city speak a language other than English at home. Compare to the United States as a whole; City C has a smaller percentage of people with disabilities. In terms of education and socioeconomic status, the people in the City C had higher education levels and higher incomes than the United States population.

Junyoung was admitted to multiple top universities; when he was deciding which to attend the family considered both how far each college was from their home and the racial

composition of each campus. Hyewon explained, “늘 아시안 애들 많은 곳에서 지내다가, 대학가서 아시안 애들이 소수밖에 없었다면 말걸기도 힘들고 그랬을텐데, 아시안 학생들이 많아서 애가 편하게 느끼면서 다니는 것 같아요. [If he goes to a college where there are only a few Asian students, it may be difficult for him to even talk to them since he was surrounded by many Asian students throughout his education. So I think he feels comfortable attending his college. Hyewon, Parent Initial Interview]” Junyoung reflected this sentiment, saying: “I feel comfortable when there’s [sic] Asians around (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016).”

Bilingualism at home. The family speaks only Korean at home because a monolingual approach was recommended when Junyoung first received an autism diagnosis and because his parents are more comfortable speaking Korean. When I visited their home, Junyoung spoke Korean fluently with his mother and me, although he mentioned that “I’ve forgotten Korean over time (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).”

Education

Table 4.8 presents Junyoung Lim’s educational trajectory.

Table 4.8.

Educational Trajectory of Junyoung Lim

Year	A (G)	SPED Eligibility (Other Health Concerns)	Intervention and Therapy	College Preparation	School (Nation)
1995-1996	0				(KR)
1996-1997	1				(CA)
1997-1998	2				(CA)
1998-1999	3				(US)
1999-2000	4				(US)
2000-2001	5 (KR)	AUT			(US) Pre K
2001-2002	6 (K, 1 KR)				(KR) K
2002-2003	7 (1 KR)				Elementary (KR)
2003-2004	8 (1, 2 KR)				
2004-2005	9 (2, 3 KR)				
2005-2006	10 (3 KR, 3 US)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		ESL (US)
2006-2007	11 (4)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		
2007-2008	12 (5)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		Elementary (US)
2008-2009	13 (6)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		
2009-2010	14 (7)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		Middle (US)
2010-2011	15 (8)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		
2011-2012	16 (9)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT		
2012-2013	17 (10)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT	PSAT	
2013-2014	18 (11)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT	PSAT, SAT	High (US)
2014-2015	19 (12)	AUT (ADHD, OCD)	SLT	AP Physics AP EnvSci AP ComSci	

Note. A (G) = age (grade), SPED = special education, AUT = autism, CA = Canada, KR = Korea, SLT = speech and language therapy, EnvSci = environmental science, ComSci = computer science.

Early childhood: Diagnosis and the dispersal of the family. Junyoung was born in Korea, and his birth was normal. He was good-tempered and rarely cried. Hyewon recalled that he was a cute baby although he had some communicative and social delays:

지금보면 그게 ADHD 그런 면이 있어서 그랬던것 같은데, 야단을 맞거나 그래도 조금 있으면 와서 안기곤해서 애가 성격이 너무 좋다고 생각을 했었어요... 좀 활동적인 면이 어렸을 때는 있었고, 그렇다고 장난감을 던진다던가 거칠고 그런 건 없었으니까, 그냥 애가 귀여운 편이었죠. 대화가 안되고 눈맞춤이 안되고 그래서 그렇지, 그냥 애가 울음이 터져도 길게 울지 않고... 성격적으로는 괜찮은 것 같았어요. 단지, 상호작용안되고, 항상 일자로 장난감 늘어놓고, 자동차 장난감 뒷바퀴 돌리고 있고 그런 증세들이 있었죠.

I can see now that it was because of his ADHD, but at that time, I thought that he was a good boy since he hugged me even though after a while he was scolded... He was active, but he wasn't violent, like throwing toys, he was cute. Although he couldn't talk and didn't make eye contact, he didn't cry much... I thought he had a good personality. Just some symptoms like no interaction, lining up his toys, and playing with car toy wheels. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

The family moved to Canada for Daeho's job and then in 1999 when Junyoung was three years old, they moved to the United States. Hyewon said that at that time Junyoung spoke only a few words (in any language) including *엄마* [mom] and *아빠* [dad]. However, his parents were not overly concerned about Junyoung's delays because they were busy with the transition and because Hyewon herself had started talking at a late age.

애가 말이 늦나 그것을 걱정하고 있다가, 나중에는 남편이 해외파견 근무를 하게 되어서 여기저기 옮겨다니느라고 애한테는 많이 신경 못 썼죠. 남편은 남편대로 바쁘고, 저도 애 하나 보면서 어떻게 해야될지 모르고, 주변에 사람은 없고 그래서 애하고 둘이만 주로 있는 시간이 많았는데, 애 말이 느리다 걱정은 했지만, 저도 어렸을 때 말이 좀 느렸대요. 그래서 나 닮아서 그런가 하고 있었죠.

We worried about his language delays, but we couldn't pay much attention to it because we had to move when Daeho was sent abroad for his work. My husband was busy, and I didn't know how to deal with the little one and didn't know anyone (in a foreign country). So Junyoung and I usually stayed home alone. We were concerned about his delays, but I was told that I talked late. Thus, I thought that he might resemble me. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

One year later, when they were living in the United States, Junyoung began attending preschool, and his teacher recommended that he should receive an evaluation because he did not interact with other children. The initial assessment qualified him to receive special education services under the autism category because of “significant receptive and expressive language delays and pervasive developmental delays (J. Lim, initial assessment, February 2000; IEP assessment report, January 8, 2015).” As a result, Junyoung received services in a special class at the local public preschool for about a month.

After the educational assessment, the family met with two psychologists and Junyoung received an autism diagnosis from both. Junyoung was five at the time. The psychologists recommended that Junyoung receive an IEP as well as behavioral/occupational/speech therapies.

When Hyewon and Daeho met a famous children’s psychologist, Dr. Robert, to receive a diagnosis, the doctor recommended a monolingual approach. Because Junyoung was having difficulty in his special education program due to his language delay, the family decided to follow the doctor’s recommendation. Because Hyewon did not speak English comfortably, she and Junyoung returned to Korea while Daeho stayed on in the United States. Hyewon explained:

의사가 “고기능 자폐다. 애가 나아지긴 하겠지만, 한 가지 언어만 하기도 힘들다. 그러니까 영어나 한국어 둘 중에 하나를 애한테 꾸준히 해주는 게 좋겠다”라고 말을 해서 제가 한국에 들어갔어요. ... 제가 영어는 힘들고, 친척들은 한국에 다 계시고 미국엔 아무도 없었거든요... 준영이가 영어도 잘 알아듣는 거 같지도 않은 상태에서, 이 교육을 계속 시키면은 애가 나아질거라는 생각이 안 들고, 애를 한 가지 언어로 말문을 일단 띄워야 겠다라는 생각이 들어서요. 그리고 애아빠는 회사갔다가 늦게 들어오고 그러니까 딱 저하고 둘밖에 없는데, 그렇다고 딸 아이들을 같이 붙여놔줘도 애들하고는 대화도 안되고 놀이도 안되고... 그래서 애아빠만 남고 저하고 애는 한국으로 들어갔죠.

The doctor said that he has high-functioning autism. The doctor mentioned that he would be able to improve his language skills, however speaking only one language would be challenging enough for him. The doctor recommended that it would be better for him to be consistently exposed to only one language, so I went back to Korea... I couldn’t speak English well. All of my relatives were in Korea but no one lived in the United States... I

couldn't expect that Junyoung would get better if he didn't even understand English, so we thought it would be better for Junyoung to start speaking in only one language. Moreover, Daeho worked late, so there are only two of us at home. Playdates didn't work either because Junyoung couldn't communicate or play with them [other children], so Junyoung and I went back to Korea, and Daeho stayed here by himself. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

In Korea, Junyoung first attended an inclusion program at a local preschool where there were one or two children with disabilities in a classroom. After that, his parents hired an individual aid to assist Junyoung in the local preschool for two years. Next, Junyoung attended an elementary school; he began this program one year later than most children. Even after enrolling at the elementary school, Junyoung continued to attend the preschool's after-school inclusion program. The inclusion program helped Junyoung develop basic social and academic skills. Moreover, being close to relatives was helpful for Junyoung's development. Hyewon said that Junyoung developed a lot in Korea because he was surrounded by many people, including relatives, who adored him.

K-12. Junyoung returned to the United States when he was in third grade; he received special education services throughout the rest of his K-12 education. During elementary school, Junyoung enjoyed attending ESL classes as well as regular school. In middle school, he was bullied, but academically he was a successful straight-A student. Due to his achievement and the value his parents placed on education, they expected him to attend college. His parents, teachers, and IEP team members were supportive of him preparing for college.

Elementary school: Family reunion and ESL. Although the teachers in his preschool had predicted that Junyoung's social and communicative development would be limited, Junyoung's development exceeded their expectations.

유치원에서 그런 특수교육 쪽으로 잘 아시는 분들이, “애가 학교가서 그냥 수업시간에 앉아 있을 때 앉아 있고 줄서서 이동할 때 같이 이동만 하면, 고맙게 생각하고 다녀야 된다” 그러셨어요. 묻는 말에 예, 아니오하는 대답이 학교가기 몇

개월 전이 되어서야 가능했어요... 그러다가 학교가서도 선생님이 신경 많이 써주시니까 애들도 많이 도와주더라구요, 일반학교를 보냈는데...선생님 저도 회장하고 싶어요 하면서 회장선거 나갔는데 애들이 뽑아줘서 회장도 했어요.

Teachers in his kindergarten said, “You should appreciate if Junyoung can just sit on the chair in the classroom and stand in line with his peers.” Junyoung wasn’t able to say “yes” and “no” until just a few months before he went to elementary school. His elementary school teacher paid careful attention to him; then his classmates also helped him a lot, in a regular school... He was even elected as class president because he volunteered. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

The elementary school was a regular school, and the students and teachers took good care of Junyoung even though he was not formally receiving special education services. At that time in Korea, both receiving an autism diagnosis and receiving special education services for high-functioning autism were quite uncommon in a regular school (Kim et al., 2011). Because Junyoung had already received an official diagnosis in the United States, his family was able to navigate autism-related services in Korea, but official special education was not available for Junyoung at that time in Korea.

Three months into Junyoung’s third-grade year, his father, Daeho, had a stroke while living alone in the United States. Therefore, Junyoung and Hyewon returned to the United States to take care of Daeho. Fortunately, Daeho recovered soon after the family was reunited. In addition, the family had sufficient socioeconomic capital to obtain the best education for Junyoung. The family had good insurance and was able to buy a house in a nice residential area with a high-quality school district. Further, the family did not have any problems with immigration documentation.

Before Daeho’s stroke, the family had already been considering moving Junyoung and Hyewon back to the United States. They were planning to move after spending one more year in Korea to help Junyoung develop sufficient social skills in his native tongue. Hyewon recounted:

저희는미국에서 계속 살아야 되겠다고 생각하고 있었어요. 애를 위해서. 한국은 워낙에 장애인에 대한 사회적인 편견이 심한 거 같고, 애 데리고 다니기도 좀 그렇거든요. 그리고 애가 영어를 아주 못하는 것도 아니고 영어에 대해서 거부감 있는 것도 아니니까, 그냥 이쪽(미국)으로 와서 지내면 도움도 많이 받을 수 있고, 이런 사회적인 구조가 잘 되어 있으니까 미국에서 사는 게 낫겠다 싶었죠. (한국에서는) 애들이 4 학년 이후부터는더 거칠어지니까,그 전까지만 (한국에) 있으면서 준영이의 사회성을 좀 발달시켜서 오려고 했었죠.... 근데 일년이상을 더 앞당겨서 갑자기 오게 된거죠.

We decided to live here in the United States because of Junyoung. Disabilities carry a significant social stigma in Korea, so it was hard to go out with my son. Moreover, Junyoung could speak English and was not resistant to speaking in English. He can also receive more support here [the United States] because the United States has a well-established social infrastructure [to help with autism]... When children enter fourth grade, they become more violent, so I had planned to come here just before that period so we could further develop Junyoung's social skills in Korea... but we had to come here suddenly more than a year earlier than we planned. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Because the family was preparing to immigrate, Daeho had already done some research and found a good place to educate Junyoung in California. Daeho had looked for a safe place with good public high schools; he ultimately settled on City C (where the family now lives and Junyoung attends college).

In preparation for their planned immigration, Junyoung's parents sent him to learn English through an after-school program in Korea. Fortunately, Junyoung also enjoyed learning English and attending ESL classes in the United States. Hyewon recalled:

한국에서 영어공부를 좀 하고 왔었는데, 여기와서 바로 테스트를 받았죠. 그런데 테스트에서 묻는 말에 대답을 “I don't know”만 계속 했나봐요. 그래서 일반 학급들(regular classes)과 같이 ESL 두 반(1,2,3 학년이 한 반이고 4,5,6 학년이 한 반)이 있는그런 학교의 ESL 반을 가게 된거예요. 가니까 4,5,6 학년 반이 많이 찼었던 것 같아요. 3 학년을 얼마나 다니다 왔냐고 물어보길래, 3 달 다니다 왔다고 했더니, 3 학년을 다시 다니라고 해서 1,2,3 학년 반에 들어갔어요, 그러니까 애는 신났죠. 다른 애들이 준영이보고 영어잘한다 그러고. 반 애들이 다같이 영어를 못하는 수준이어서, 한국말하고는 달리 편했나봐요. 덕분에 ESL 다닐때부터 계속 미국생활을 좋아하면서 학교를 다녔어요.

He had learned English in Korea; then he took an [English] test right after he came here.

When he took the English test, he only answered: “I don’t know.” Thus, he had to go to another school, where they had regular classes as well as ESL classes—the school had groups of first-, second-, and third-grade students on the one hand, and fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade students on the other. When they asked how long he had attended third grade in Korea, I said he had only attended three months, so he was placed in a third grade class and the lower ESL group for first, second, and third grade. Thus, Junyoung was excited. His peers praised his English. Because none of the children in his class were good at English, he may have felt more comfortable [speaking English] than speaking Korean. Because of that, he likes living here and attending the school. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Junyoung described his ESL experience in positive terms: “At [the] ESL classes [in the United States], they really taught the basic English, started from the alphabet, A-Z, which I already knew, so learning English was really easy. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)”

Junyoung also stated that English-only instruction helped him learn English.

Actually, in [a] funny incidence, most of my classmates were Korean and contrary to my teacher's expectation that they were communicating in Korean rather than English so much that the teacher said no speaking Korean and only English from now on. If it was both taught in Korean and English, I understood Korean better than English at that time, but it would be prevented [sic] me from learning English quickly in a short amount of time, and also learning English was not that difficult. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Even after Junyoung was transferred to a regular class after the first year at the ESL class, he did not experience much stress with regard to learning English. He explained, “I found that it was not so difficult and also interesting in other subjects, such as math, science, and social studies that were taught in one class. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)”

At first, Junyoung’s parents did not mention his autism and ADHD diagnoses because they wanted to know how others perceived him. Later, the school requested to meet with his parents to discuss his behavioral issues, social difficulties, and impulsivity in the classroom. Hyewon and Daeho then admitted that he needed support. After Daeho had provided the autism diagnosis documentation, the school began the reevaluation process. The IEP team reported that

Junyoung's academic skills were average to superior, his cognitive abilities were low average to average according to intelligence and cognitive tests (the Universal Test of Nonverbal Intelligence Test, WJ-III Cognitive Test), mathematics was an area of strength for him (J. Lim, IEP Assessment, January 8, 2015), and his social and emotional ratings showed significant characteristics of autism and ADHD.

Advocating for Junyoung's needs was challenging for his parents because they had assumed that sufficient support would be provided automatically. The IEP provided for group SLT for 30 minutes per week, but his parents requested that Junyoung have individual SLT. Hyewon explained that she did not know that parents had to advocate for their children's educational needs:

처음에 학교측과 얘기할 때, “준영이가 한국에서 온지 얼마 안됐기 때문에 영어가 조금 더 익숙해지지 않으면, 가뜩이나 사회성도 없어서 힘든데 언어까지 제약이 되어 애가 너무 적응이 힘들다. 그래서 *speech therapy* 를 더 해줘야 된다”는 것을, 변호사까지 써서라도 좀 학교에 강력하게 밀어붙였어야 했는데, 그걸 못하고 정하고 나니까 그 이후로는 학교측하고 사이 좋게 그 정도 수준으로 도움받다가, 조금씩 나아지면서 더 줄어들었죠.

We should have pushed the school for more SLT even if we had to hire a lawyer because it was more difficult for Junyoung to adjust because his communicative skills were limited and he already had social difficulties. But we couldn't push the school, so we just followed them. The services were being reduced as Junyoung became better. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Thus, his parents hired a private English tutor. Junyoung worked hard and was successful in learning English. When he was fourth grade, his English proficiency status was changed to Fluent English Proficient based on tests such as the Standardized Testing and Reporting (STAR) test and the California English Language Development Test, and became an Early Advanced Level in his fifth grade (J. Lim, IEP, February 2008; IEP assessment report, January 8, 2015).

Both the United States education system and the advocacy strategies used by parents in the United States were quite different those the family had experienced in Korea. In Korea, Junyoung had not received special education services because the family could not find eligible special education services for high-functioning autism in a regular school at that time. Although Junyoung attended an inclusion preschool program before elementary school, the program was privately operated. Hyewon had to meet teachers personally to inform them of Junyoung's needs, and fortunately, his teachers were nice and helped Junyoung as much as they could. Hyewon did not need to request any additional services in Korea because there were no qualified special education services available for Junyoung, and if there had been any services, teachers would have been the primary advocates for Junyoung's education.

Junyoung's parents place a high value on education. Daeho worked long hours to financially support Junyoung's education; Hyewon taught Junyoung subjects such as mathematics, social studies, and science before he learned them in school. She recounted her reasons for preparing Junyoung in this way:

Mainstream 가서는 애가 어떻게 적응할까 걱정스러워서, 미리 교과서들을 사다놓고 가기 전에 공부도 좀 시키고 했어요. 용어를 좀 알아야 되니까, 그 때 딱 한 번만 social study 와 science 를 제가 같이 읽으면서 한국말로 번역해 주었어요. 그 때만 그랬고, 그 다음부터는 애가 잘 하니까 혼자서 공부했구요. 하지만 수학은 제가 계속 봐줬어요.

I was concerned when he had to go to a mainstream classroom, so I bought textbooks to teach him in advance. Just once at that time. I read the textbooks with him and translated them into Korean for social studies and science. Junyoung excelled in those subjects and then did the work by himself. But I continued to teach him mathematics. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Overall, Junyoung enjoyed attending the regular elementary school. He also enjoyed playing the violin in an orchestra. However, Junyoung also mentioned that "I had trouble making friends, unfortunately (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)."

Middle school: Teasing and academic achievement. Social life was more challenging for Junyoung in middle school than in elementary school. Junyoung remembered that “(social life) was actually worse in middle school because some people would tease me... Whenever I tried to correct them, they continued to tease me, so I needed support from my teachers... I ate lunch alone (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016).”

Junyoung struggles to understand subtle social cues and to find common interests with peers, and he is also a perfectionist and anxious (J. Lim, IEP, January 8, 2015). The fact that he did not have any friends worried Hyewon. Hyewon thought that Junyoung needed to develop more emotional/psychological skills to understand other people’s feelings. Nevertheless, he was accepted by his peers in middle school and his teachers supported him, so he enjoyed school.

Hyewon summarized Junyoung’s middle school experience as follows:

중학교때는 애들이 좀 짓궂으니까 티징이 좀 있어서 그러긴 했어도, 애가 학교에서 케어해주는 분한테 가서 놀림당했다고 말하면, 선생님이 신경 써주셔서 잘 지내고... 학교측에 speech therapy 좀 더 해주면 안되냐 조금 더했으면 좋겠다 그랬더니, speech 선생님이 아닌 다른 선생님이 nice 하게, 자기가 영어숙제를 하는 것을 도와주는 시간을 더 늘려 주시겠다고 그러더라구요.

In middle school, kids became naughty, so there was some teasing, but he told his teachers, and then the teachers took care of him, so he was doing well... I asked the school to provide more SLT, and another teacher willingly said she would do that; she was nice. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Junyoung was a very successful straight-A student in middle school. He even received the president’s award. Reading and writing were difficult, but he was able to prepare for these classes by previewing the material before school started with the support of tutors and his parents.

High school: Future goals and preparation for college. When I visited Junyoung’s high school, the nicely designed school buildings were located in a peaceful residential area.

According to the CDE (2015), the school’s graduation rate in 2015 was 97% (California average:

82%). More than half of the students were classified as Asian while most of the faculty members were White (CDE, 2015).

Junyoung's high school IEP documents were very thorough, and multiple agencies were involved in the meetings. The triennial IEP document from his last year of high school includes his assessment results, including academic performance, hearing/vision test results, communication development test results (e.g., Comprehensive Assessment of Spoken Language, Social Language Development Test Standard Score Percentile), and social/emotional/behavioral test results that were evaluated by him, his mother, and teachers (e.g., BASC-2, ASRS, GARS-2). The IEP also included written reports from teachers about his performance, comprehensive resource booklets, and a formal assessment for autism criteria, which was useful when the family later requested accommodations in college.

Junyoung's parents attended every IEP meeting and expressed no complaints about their son's IEP services. In high school, Junyoung also attended the IEP meetings but did not actively participate in the discussions. He simply took his seat and answered the questions. Hyewon explained,

매번 IEP 미팅에 갔을 때, 저희도 물어보고 싶은 거 물어보고, 학교측으로부터 조언도 듣고, 매번 2분 정도 교과목 선생님들도 나와서 얘기해주시고, 애 목표설정할 때도 같이 얘기하고, 그래서 크게 학교측에 불만이 있다던가 그런 건 없어요... 그 전까지, 중학교까지는 좀 우리가 너무 학교측하고 사이 좋게 지내지만 말고, 무리해서라도 요구를 해서 service 를 더 받았으면 좋았을 텐데 하는 생각은 하죠.

We attended every meeting and had enough chances to ask questions. Teachers also gave advice and discussed his goals, so we don't have any complaints against the school. I just regret that I didn't request more appropriate services before he went to high school rather than just trying to maintain good relationships with the school. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

The only therapy Junyoung received through the school was SLT. The social language was a weakness for Junyoung, and the school wanted to address his needs. Unfortunately, Hyewon and Junyoung did not find the services very helpful.

The problem was that I could not speak very much as I wanted to and also because the others were even worse than me. And also because of that, I have a problem making friends even after SLT. Because in a group you learn how to make conversations with each other that was really not that helpful because of the fact that there were some people who really had trouble speaking; some who really was impatient like wrestlers that just attracted much intention from my teacher; and also I could not say very much as I wanted to... it was frustrating. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Hyewon also remembered that Junyoung had participated in SLT through middle school, but in high school, he often missed the therapy because he had to take classes. (Junyoung also received private SLT therapy, which was helpful at college; for example, he learned how to introduce himself. However, he did not have enough time to continue the therapy.) Hyewon did not ask him to attend the therapy sessions because she knew he would rather take classes than receive more therapy. She also acknowledged that when he attended SLT, he fell behind in his class work:

고등학교가니까 수업시간 중에 애를 불러내서 서비스를 해주다보면, 수업을 좀 따라가기 힘들고, 그런 문제가 생겨서 서비스를 굳이 이것저것 많이 해달라고 하기도 뭐하고.

When Junyoung was in high school, he had to be pulled out [of class] for the therapies, and then he couldn't catch up with his class, so we didn't ask for more services. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

In high school, Junyoung was eligible to receive academic accommodations such as a check for understanding, having instructions/directions repeated/rephrased, presenting one task at a time, the use of an assignment notebook or planner, access to a computer on campus, extended time for in-class assignments/tests, and a copy of class notes. Having extra time to finish tasks was the accommodation that Junyoung reported being most helpful as he prepared for college.

Having extra time to finish tasks was useful because I have trouble writing fast and too much perfectionism due to my disabilities. If I did not get that accommodation, I would not have received great scores that would have enabled me to go to college. Since there were almost no extracurricular activities, the only thing that I had to be good at was academic scores. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Despite this statement, Junyoung did participate in a few extracurricular activities. He was in the orchestra, even though he had difficulties with left-hand and right-hand coordination and sight reading. Along with the feeling of accomplishment, participating in the orchestra also provided additional benefits to Junyoung. Junyoung remembered, “so today looking back; I realize that playing in an orchestra with other members was the one that I was relieving stress (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016).” He also enjoyed watching others playing chess even though he did not actively participate in games.

I have to go to nurse's office and get medicine because of my ADHD and then going out to get my lunch box and coming back upstairs. There would be no space left because everyone will be already playing. Since I like watching others playing, I was only sat down watched while eating then just not an active part of the club. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Because Junyoung was heavily focused on completing his assignments, he did not have enough time to do volunteer work. However, he served as a technology staff member at the high school and an assistant at the local library. He enjoyed both activities, although he did them to fulfill a requirement for his college applications.

Junyoung's ITP documents include comprehensive descriptions of his postsecondary goals for education, employment, and independent living. The family expected Junyoung to attend college so he could have better job options rather than getting a job right after high school graduation because Junyoung excelled in his academic performance. Junyoung completed 270 credits in high school and had an overall grade point average (GPA) of 3.96 (J. Lim, IEP,

January 8, 2015). He earned A's in most classes except literature. His parents also considered his other capabilities when they thought about his postsecondary options. Hyewon commented,

중학교 때도 그랬고, 계속 성적은 괜찮은 상태를 유지해서, 저희가 “준영이는 대학에 보낼거다” 그랬더니, 학교측에서도 당연히 그렇게 알고 그런 쪽으로 신경을 써주셨구요... 애가 체력이 좋거나 손재주가 좋은 것이 아니라서, 애 자신도 공부해서 직업을 가져야겠다는 생각을 하고 있고요.

Since his GPA from middle school was great, we wanted him to go to college; the school respected and supported our aspirations... If Junyoung was physically strong or had good fine motor skills, it might be easier for us to think about a career [that doesn't require a college education], but that isn't the case. So, he plans to get a job by studying. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Junyoung's teachers agreed with and supported the family's postsecondary goals. For example, his teachers arranged for him to take AP and honors classes to prepare for his postsecondary education. However, the family did not rely heavily on the school's assistance when it came to college admission because they already had enough information both from their networks and their personal experiences with postsecondary education, and they were able to afford private college counseling services. Hyewon described their approach as follows:

(requirements for college admission) 그런 것을 제가 전혀 몰랐으면 학교측에 물어보고 했을텐데 그냥 제가 주변에서 엄마들 얘기도 듣고... (AP 과목도) 애한테 맞는 것은 제가 알 수 있으니 애하고 같이 의논해서 결정했구요... SAT 이런 거는 사설학원에서 설명회를 해요. 그러면 그런 곳을 애아빠하고 같이가서 들은거죠. 그래서 제가 계획을 세워서 했거든요.

If I didn't know about it (the requirements for college admission), I might ask the school. But I had that information from other mothers... I also knew what subjects were right for Junyoung, so I talked to Junyoung about taking those AP courses... For the SAT, private schools held briefing sessions. So, Daeho and I went to those and developed a plan. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

The family had clear plans for Junyoung's postsecondary education. He was initially interested in history and science. However, his parents thought it might be difficult for him to find a job with a degree in history. Thus, the family decided that Junyoung would take AP courses in

science, including computer science and environmental science. The AP environmental science class was Junyoung's favorite course.

The family used a private college counseling center to help Junyoung prepare his college applications, and Junyoung reported that the service was really helpful. The counselor helped him decide which colleges to apply to and determine topics to write about in his application essays. He wrote about his disabilities in his essays. Hyewon and Junyoung believed that mentioning his disabilities helped him gain admission to a certain school. For instance, two top universities sent him a secondary questionnaire, but each had a different purpose. One school asked how they could support Junyoung in his plans to attend college, and another school asked Junyoung to provide additional reasons they should select him. Thus, Junyoung had to write another essay to get an admission from the latter college, Ivy University.

During his K-12 education, Junyoung received sufficient support from his parents, teachers, and other adults. In addition, Junyoung was diligent about completing all the requirements for attending college.

College. When I first met Junyoung for the interview, he had finished his first year at college. He lived in a dormitory for the first year. However, his family had decided that he would commute from home the following year. He received accommodations for his courses, but the accommodations were not applied in some courses. As a result, he had to drop two courses in his third quarter and make up these courses during the summer session. Although coursework was demanding, he patiently accomplished his tasks, and his parents supported him in achieving his academic goals.

Ivy University. Ivy University is located in City C, the same city where Junyoung's family lives. The university is a public four-year research university (see Table 4.3). The

percentage of Asian students on campus was similar to the percentage of Asians living in City C, but the student body had smaller percentages of White and Hispanic students than the city. The university did not have a racial quota system for historically underrepresented students.

Junyoung believed that a racial quota system could be detrimental to certain racial groups, such as Asian students. Junyoung explained, “Although I think the racial quota system would have benefitted in minorities, it would have been really disadvantageous to Asians such as me. (J.

Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016).” Hyewon expressed a similar belief:

인종 쿼터제가 있으면 아시안 애들한테 불리해요. 소수인종들한테 도움이 되는 건 좋은데, 다수인종 중에서 백인들은 제외가 되고 아시안만 제한을 받더라고요, 아시안 애들이 공부를 열심히 하고 다들 대학을 가려고 하니까. 그래서 아시안 끼리만 경쟁을 해요... 만약에 Ivy University 에 인종쿼터까지 있었으면 준영이 대학가는 데 더 힘들지 않았을까요? 아시안이 차고 넘치는데 거기다가 굳이 disability 있는 애까지 받을 필요가 있었을까 싶어서.

Racial quota systems can be disadvantageous to Asian students. The idea of giving benefits to certain minorities is good, but actually the system only restricts Asians, and Whites are the exception because many Asians want to go to college. Thus, the competition occurs among Asians... If Ivy University had a racial quota, it could be more difficult for Junyoung to gain admission. There might be a lot of qualified Asian candidates, so why would the college want to accept a child who has disabilities? (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Family support. While Junyoung was living in the dormitory, his family continued to support his academic schedules and campus life. He came home on weekends, and his parents drove him home and back to campus. When Junyoung moved back home after a year in the dormitory, his parents drove him to and from college each day. His mother also helped him study, doing everything from scheduling his coursework to completing his assignments.

Major and future plans. Junyoung is currently majoring in environmental science. His parents encouraged him to choose this major after considering Junyoung’s interests and career prospects. The family developed his career plan based on information that they obtained from

their own experiences, books, and a private college counselor. In college, Junyoung was planning for his future career while he was taking classes.

The major, colleges, those decisions actually have to be done from my parents, not really by me because I am really not a person who chooses since it really takes a long time choosing. I actually like history. But then my parents told me that it's hard to get a job after studying history in college. Since I had keen interests in science, I decided to focus on science while taking high school. I took science courses and computer science. I just decided that environmental science was one I liked out of sciences, so that's why I chose it as major... I am still planning what to do after college, although my parents insist me that I should work in a government policy or public servant... I'm really thinking about working in a government after college, but I'm still deciding about what careers to take although I'm thinking about it. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Concentration on academic courses and social life. In the first four quarters of college, Junyoung took 13, 16, 8, and 8 units, respectively. He selected courses based on the requirements for his major. Thus, his first-year courses were mostly GE courses. His academic advisor helped with scheduling. He also has an academic education plan, which is required by the DOR. Table 4.9 lists the academic courses Junyoung completed during his first year.

Table 4.9.

Courses completed by Junyoung Lim

	Course	Total
Fall	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic Writing (5 units) • Chemistry I (4 units) • Intro to Earth System Science (4 units) 	13 units
Winter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Writing (4 units) • Basic Statistics (4 units) • Chemistry II (4 units) • Global Economy (4 units) 	16 units
Spring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chemistry III (4 units) • Intro to Sociology (4 units) 	8 units
Summer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reading (4 units) • Chemistry Lab I (2 units) • Chemistry Lab II (2 units) 	8 units

His favorite classes were earth system science and sociology because they aligned with his academic interests. Chemistry and writing were challenging for him. Chemistry was difficult because of the labs. Chemistry labs were typically two units. Thus, Junyoung assumed that he would be able to manage the lab as well as his other courses. However, he was unable to complete the lab work within the given time. Junyoung explained, “Chemistry was jeopardizing my ability to do well in other courses, like in spring quarter, I dropped out the class (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).”

Further, the academic quarter system was challenging for Junyoung to manage. Junyoung compared the quarter schedule to his high school courses: “If it took a year to finish to read one book (in high school), then in college obviously it would take ten weeks to finish one book (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).” During breaks between quarters, he usually studied to

prepare for his upcoming courses, but the winter break was too short for him to prepare for the next quarter.

During the summer session, he retook the courses he had dropped earlier (chemistry labs and reading) because they were required for his major. For the chemistry lab, he had to solve problems before the pre-lab, and it took more than two hours, even with a tutor's help. He also had to submit calculations at the post-lab, which occurred every day. The reading class required a rhetorical analysis essay, and Junyoung commented that "rhetorical practices projects were really difficult because I was not so good at making decisions quickly and how/what to write... I really struggled to turn them in on time and feel that no great at all (sic, J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)."

Junyoung was so focused on academic coursework that he did not have time for other campus activities, such as volunteering and work study. He complained that he did not have any free time: "I felt that that was not like a great [sic] at all since I felt I had to do two classes every day every week (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)." Even on the weekends, he was busy doing homework and studying. I interviewed him during his break, and he said, "I'm not resting a lot because of the fact that I have to prepare for the upcoming quarter because otherwise, I won't be able to keep up the pace (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)." A strong sense of responsibility is one of Junyoung's strengths, and that quality makes it possible for him to have excellent academic records.

Disability disclosure and accommodations. Junyoung currently received extended time accommodations, such as twice as much time on tests. In order to arrange this accommodation, Junyoung had to disclose his disabilities at the disability office. When he attended summer orientation before the first semester, he went to the disability office to arrange accommodations.

He had to have a doctor fill out a mental health evaluation form. He also submitted IEP assessment documents and comments on accommodations from his high school teachers and counselor. After submitting these documents, he was contacted by a case counselor to arrange accommodations.

He received twice the regular time for tests, sending faculty members notification letters about disabilities, testing at a separate place (the disability office building), converting text to audio books, and the ability to record lectures. He reported that “all of them (the accommodations) were effective, but the extension time would be considered the most important because [without it] I wouldn't have been able to finish the test on time (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).” One problem was that he had to take exams at the disability office building in order to receive the extension time, but he could not complete certain exams, such as experiments, in the disability office. He explained,

For General Chemistry labs, the final exam consists of two experiments which unfortunately cannot be conducted at the disability office and the final and computational calculations. So I have to meet my disability office counselor about how to get twice accommodation on the final exams in General Chemistry Labs, and it was decided that I will get the twice amount of time on the computational part at the disability office building where the accommodation applies, but that the two experiments I only have to conduct with the same amount time no extra time as everyone else. However, since my hand motions were very slow and it was time-consuming, I only about to finish less than one and a half experiment without even finishing the second experiment (frustrated) but the computational study I got to finish it within twice amount of time, but I'm pretty sure that grade will not be that good on the practical even with my help with tutor unlike the experiments which included both 3 in-lab and post-labs. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Recording lectures helped Junyoung when he missed something in class. However, he did not find audio-recorded books very efficient: “Even though I like it, sometimes there are some words that go off and sometimes there's not enough time. For example, since the course paced fast and I have to read aloud which is done at home (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).”

Junyoung also disclosed his difficulties to his professors through the faculty accommodation letters, which is one of the accommodations he received through the disability office. However, his disabilities were not disclosed to his peers.

I don't feel any need to disclose my disabilities to any of the peers because all I feel is that the peers will discriminate me because of the fact that disabilities. However, I do feel those needs to disclose disabilities to my professors so that my professors are aware that I have disabilities and make accommodations to help me do while in class... I'm pretty satisfied from my professors because of the fact that my professors were open toward me and supported me to pass the course even with my disabilities. I know that for students it's different because of the fact that they would have to be open minded. (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Beyond academic life: Independence and relationships with others. When Junyoung lived in the dormitory, he walked from his dorm to the classrooms, which took about 20 minutes. He usually walked to his classes because the shuttle took too long. On weekends, his parents picked him up on Fridays and drove him back to campus on Sundays. He did not have to prepare meals because the dormitory had a meal plan. For Junyoung, the most difficult part of living alone was waking up in the morning. He said, “for 8 am classes, particularly difficult to wake up... Even though I use an alarm, it's hard to wake up (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).”

After one year of living the dorm, the family decided Junyoung should commute from home. With respect to driving, Junyoung mentioned that “I have it [his driver’s license] already, but I haven't been able to drive because I was so focused on academic coursework (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016).” During the summer session, his parents drive him to and from the university.

Regarding college expenses, his parents were able to pay for registration and housing fees. He also received financial support from the DOR, his university, and the Autism Society. He also had a federal loan. Some of this funding had restrictions, such as keeping full-time

student status and GPA requirements. Thus, Junyoung tried to stay enrolled as a full-time student, which required him to take more than 12 units per quarter and earn a GPA higher than 2.0. When he dropped two courses in the spring semester, he became a part-time student. Since it was a first time, the regulation was waived and he was able to receive funding from DOR. However, the funds did not cover the courses that he retook during the summer.

Junyoung's relationships with professors were "excellent because they were considerably polite to my emails in a kind and consider the matter after few days (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016)." However, he had a hard time making friends. Junyoung said, "I still have problems making relationships with them. No friend. I want friends; not sure for a girlfriend (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016)." Hyewon explained that "저와 남편이 준영이에게 여자친구는 있었으면 좋겠다는 얘기는 했어요. 여자애들이 더 친절하니까요. 근데 준영이가 말은 걸고는 싫어하고, 또 직접 가서 introduce 많이 하고 그러긴해도, 같이 대화를 이어가고 친구가 되기는 어렵더라고요. (Hyewon and Daeho talked that it would be good if Junyoung would have a female friend. Girls are generally kinder [than boys]. However, Junyoung wants to talk to girls and he introduces himself a lot, but it's hard [for him] to have relationships with them.; H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)."

Hyewon hoped that ultimately Junyoung would have a job that allows him to support himself and enjoy his life. However, the family did not want Junyoung to have a child. Hyewon noted,

애가 스스로 챙겨 먹고, 빨래나 청소는 할 줄 알거고... 직장만 있어서 스스로 생활비만 벌 수 있다면 되죠. 나중에 외로우면 일단은 취미생활이라던가 교회라던가 사람들하고 어울릴 수 있는 그런 활동을 조금 하고. 여차하면 애완건이라던가... (가정은) 전혀. 요즘에는 애하나 낳아서 키우기가 많이 힘들거든요. 그것을 부모가 서포트를 못해줄 상황이면, 애도 힘들고 부모도 힘들고 그러기때문에 저는 준영이가 결혼을 굳이 해야되나. 굳이 꼭 하겠다 그러면 어쩔 수

없겠지만, 결혼을 혹시 하더라도 애는 안 낳았으면 한다고 준영이하고 얘기도 했거든요. 그랬더니 자기도 뭐 굳이.

Junyoung can feed himself; he can do laundry and cleaning... If he can get a job and make a living, it will be okay... If he feels lonely, he can have some hobby or go to church or meet people or have a pet... (Interviewer: do you want him to have his own family) Not at all. These days, having a child is really demanding. If parents cannot support their children, it will be hard for both the children and the parents, so I don't think he has to get married. If he really wants to [get married], then I hope he won't have a child. I talked about this with Junyoung. He agreed that he doesn't want a child. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

While supporting Junyoung was exhausting for his parents, Hyewon said she enjoyed witnessing his development. The family hopes that Junyoung will eventually become independent.

Junyoung has many strengths. Hyewon mentioned that he “does what he has to do (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016).” Hyewon also said that Junyoung is law abiding and respects others. Thus, his parents expected that if he could learn how to be considerate of others' feelings, he could eventually function as an independent adult and member of society—that is his family's hope.

Sangmin Yun

Sangmin Yun is an 18-year-old male student who lives with his parents and younger sister in a large city. His family moved from South Korea to the United States when Sangmin was ten years old to obtain better educational opportunities for him. After they arrived in California, Sangmin first received an autism diagnosis at age ten and received special education services beginning in fourth grade. He was admitted to multiple top college pharmacy programs. At the time of the first interview, he was preparing for a gap year program; at the time of the second interview, he returned from the program. When I met him for an interview, he was bright and reviewed the interview materials carefully. He chose to conduct the interview in English, but we

also spoke informally in Korean. Initially, I had difficulty understanding his pronunciation, but his conversation skills in both languages were typical.

Family Background

Sangmin's father, Tacksu, works as an office clerk and has a master's degree. His mother, Goun, is an artist and has a bachelor's degree. The family members are all permanent residents. The primary language spoken at home is Korean. Sangmin's family does not have a religious affiliation although they have tried to be involved in the ethnic community through Korean churches. Sangmin and Tacksu categorized their household as a middle-income family.

Immigration. Sangmin first received an autism diagnosis when he was ten and still living in Korea. The family navigated educational resources for Sangmin. However, diagnoses of high-functioning autism and related services were rare in early 2000's in Korea (Kim et al., 2011). The parents learned of the special education system in the United States from Tacksu's networks and visited California to explore options for Sangmin. After returning to Korea, the family decided to move to California, and their immigration proceeded promptly. Tacksu believed that immigrating for their son's education had been the right choice (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016). However, he found living in a foreign country very challenging.

Family lives and relationships. From the time Sangmin was born, his parents did not have any free time for themselves, which affected their spousal relationship. Tacksu explained,

아이가 6개월 반에 태어날 때도 뼈밖에 없는 2.5 kg의 상태로 친척들이 보러 왔다가 차마 말을 못 떼는 정도의 상태였기 때문에 그냥 아이만을 쳐다보고 부부끼리도 서로를 쳐다볼 시간이 없을 정도로 일단 당장 발등에 불이 떨어져있기 때문에 주말이고 뭐고 남들이 흔히 하는 주말에 친구들을 만나거나 일 끝나고 뭘하거나 거의 없었습니다... 그래서 힘들다보니까 사실은 싸운 일도 많고. 이게 시간이 지나거나 어떤 계기로 인해서 해소될 일이 아니라는 것 때문에 사실은 두 사람다 상처가 꽤 크겠죠.

When my child was 6½ months old and weighed only 2.5 kg [5.5 pounds, he was premature and had health problems from birth], his relatives couldn't say anything when they visited us to see him. So we didn't have any time because we need to take care of Sangmin immediately. Even on weekends, we didn't meet friends or do anything else... So we had a lot of fights. It hurts us because we know it won't be forgotten. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

The family remained somewhat isolated after immigrating because they did not have any relatives or friends in the United States. They tried attending Korean churches because Korean churches in the United States typically provide social opportunities. The family went to these churches for Sangmin, but they decided not to continue attending:

저희는 (한국)교회를 또 여러군데 시도를 해봤지만 역시나 조금 거꾸로 교회 커뮤니티가 절실한 분들이 많이 있어서 그런지 그냥 어떻게 보면 안좋은 모습들을 더 많이 보게 되고 참여를 안하게 됐어요. 사실 지금은 안 좋은게 꼭 참고 갔으면 상민이가 그나마 교회커뮤니티에서 친구를 좀 어떻게 매 학년이 지나면서 학교가 바뀌면서 없어지는 친구가 아니고 그냥 오래 만날 친구가 있을 수도 있었을 텐데 그게 제일 아쉽고.

We had tried several (Korean) churches, but we saw many problems in these churches, maybe because there are so many people who really need those communities. Now, I regret it because if I had hung in there, Sangmin might have been able to have lifelong friends, unlike school friends. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Residential area and school district. The family lives in City A, a large urban area (the same city where Walter lives). Table 4.10 presents the demographic characteristics of City A as well as City E where Sangmin's university is located. The table also shows comparable statistics for California and the United States.

Table 4.10.

Population Characteristics of the Residential and Educational Areas

	City A (Residence)	City E (University)	CA	US
Race/Ethnicity				
White	50%	37%	58%	72%
Black or African American	10%	12%	6%	13%
American Indian and Alaska Native	1%	1%	1%	1%
Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander	11%	22%	13%	5%
Two or More Races	5%	7%	5%	3%
Hispanic or Latino/a	49%	40%	38%	16%
White, Non-Hispanic or Latino/a	29%	23%	40%	64%
Foreign-born persons	39%	26%	27%	13%
Language other than English spoken at home*	60%	46%	44%	21%
With a disability, under age 65 years	6%	9%	7%	9%
Education				
High school degree or higher	75%	75%	82%	86%
Bachelor's degree or higher	32%	17%	31%	29%
Owner-occupied housing unit	37%	49%	55%	64%
Income and poverty				
Median household income**	\$50,000	\$45,000	\$61,489	\$53,482
Persons in poverty	22%	25%	15%	14%

Note. Percentages were rounded to zero decimal places (income was rounded to the nearest hundred) to preserve confidentiality. CA = California.

* percent of persons age 5 and older.

** in 2014 dollars.

Source. U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). *State & County QuickFacts (California)*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html>.

City A, which has a large Korean-American population, was described above in the discussion of Walter's case. City E is a large city but has a smaller population than City A. Relative to City A, City E has a larger percentage of Asian residents, but a smaller percentage of Korean immigrants. The percentage of foreign-born persons in City E was smaller than in City A and similar to the California average. In City E, a smaller percentage of the population speaks languages other than English at home than in City A. City E has a smaller proportion of people with a bachelor's degree than City A, the median household income was lower in City E than in City A, and a larger percentage of people were in poverty in City E. However, a larger percentage of people owned their house in City E than in City A.

Although Walter and Sangmin live in the same city, they lived in different neighborhoods and attended different school districts. Tacksu said that their school district is considered the best one in City A. More than half of the students are classified as Latino/a, about 20% are African-American, and about 20% are Asian students, while the majority of the faculty members are White (CDE, 2015). However, when I drove through the neighborhood to visit the school, it seemed that the majority of the residents were White. The graduation rate in 2015 was 82%, which was the same as California's average. The neighborhood still preserves its immigration history from the 1950s in signs, restaurants, and grocery stores.

Education

Table 4.11 presents the educational trajectory of Sangmin Yun.

Table 4.11.

Educational Trajectory of Sangmin Yun

Year	A (G)	SPED Eligibility (Other Health Concerns)	Intervention and Therapy	College Preparation	School (Nation)
1997-1998	0	(PDA, retinopathy of prematurity, strabismus, intestinal obstruction)			(KR)
1998-1999	1	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight)			(KR)
1999-2000	2	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, seizure)			(KR)
2000-2001	3	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, seizure)			(KR)
2001-2002	4 (K KR)	(DX: arousal disorder, hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, seizure)			Kindergarten (KR)
2002-2003	5 (K KR)	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)			
2003-2004	6 (K KR)	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)			
2004-2005	7 (K, 1 KR)	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)			Elementary (KR)
2005-2006	8 (1, 2 KR)	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)			
2006-2007	9 (2, 3 KR)	(hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)			
2007-2008	10 (3 KR, 4 US)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD) (Arrived in the United States)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support		Elementary (US)
2008-2009	11 (5)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support		
2009-2010	12 (6)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support		Middle (US)
2010-2011	13 (7)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support		
2011-2012	14 (8)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, anger)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support, Audiology		
2012-2013	15 (9)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, anger)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support, Audiology		High (US)
2013-2014	16 (10)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, anger)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support, Audiology		
2014-2015	17 (11)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, anger)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Behavioral Support, Audiology	PSAT	
2015-2016	18 (12)	AUT (hearing difficulty, limited eyesight, ADHD, anger)	SLT, OT, counseling, RSP, AA, Adaptive PE, Audiology	SAT, AP EnvSci, AP Calculus	

Note. A (G) = age (grade), SPED = special education, PDA = patent ductus arteriosus, DX = diagnosis, KR = Korea, AUT = autism, SLT = speech and language therapy, OT = occupational therapy, RSP = resource specialist program, AA = adult assistance, EnvSci = environmental science.

Early childhood: Health problems and developmental delays. Sangmin was born prematurely when Goun was seven months pregnant; he weighed 1.08 kilograms (less than 2.5 pounds) and stayed in a neonatal intensive care unit (NICU) in Korea for 6.5 months. He underwent operations for patent ductus arteriosus and scoliosis. Doctors and nurses mentioned that Sangmin might later experience negative effects from these major operations. When he was born, his heart had stopped three times. By the time he turned five, he had had five seizures.

Sangmin received physical therapy beginning soon after his discharge from the NICU and received occupational and speech therapy from age four. By age five, his doctors suspected he had developmental delays, but at that time in Korea autism was not a common diagnosis for someone with Sangmin's level of symptoms (Kim et al., 2011). Sangmin received an official diagnosis of arousal disorders at age five in Korea. His parents were hopeful that his difficulties would eventually lessen. At the age of seven, his teachers suspected that his difficulties might be more than just developmental delays because of his poor eye contact and lack of social skills.

K-12. Sangmin attended kindergarten in a special education class for three years. He was in special education classes in a mainstream school. When he was ten, the family moved to California and Sangmin began receiving special education services under the autism category. Sangmin's other difficulties also intersected with and impacted his academic performance. Tacksu noted, “일단 눈이 안경을 껴어도 눈이 0.67 밖에 안보이고, 귀도 high-frequency range 가 잘 안들려요, 2000hz 이상. 그니까 음질이 굉장히 안 좋게 들리겠죠. 애는 듣는 대로 말하는데 그래서 발음도 그래서 더 안좋고 머슬도 안좋아서 혀가 잘 안 움직이는 것도 있고 (His corrected eyesight is just 0.67⁵, and he barely hear sounds in the high-frequency

⁵ Koreans usually discuss eyesight with reference to 1.0 sight, thus 0.67 sight means 20/30 sight in the United States (0.67 \cong 20/30).

range, more than 2000hz, so the quality of his hearing is poor. Because his speech reflects what he can hear, his pronunciation is not good. And his muscle strength is not good so he cannot move his tongue freely ;T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016).” Sangmin’s difficulties include autism, ADHD, anger problems, high-frequency hearing loss, limited eyesight, and tongue muscle weakness (S. Yun, IEPs, multiyear). Moreover, he had to spend time learning English in addition to taking his other academic courses. Despite these challenges, Sangmin had strong academic records and was accepted at several top pharmacy programs.

Elementary school: Immigration and special education. According to Tacksu, Sangmin attended elementary school in regular classes for three years in Korea because there were no special education programs available. Tacksu reported that special education was not provided for Sangmin’s level of needs. However, Sangmin received private physical and speech/language therapies after school.

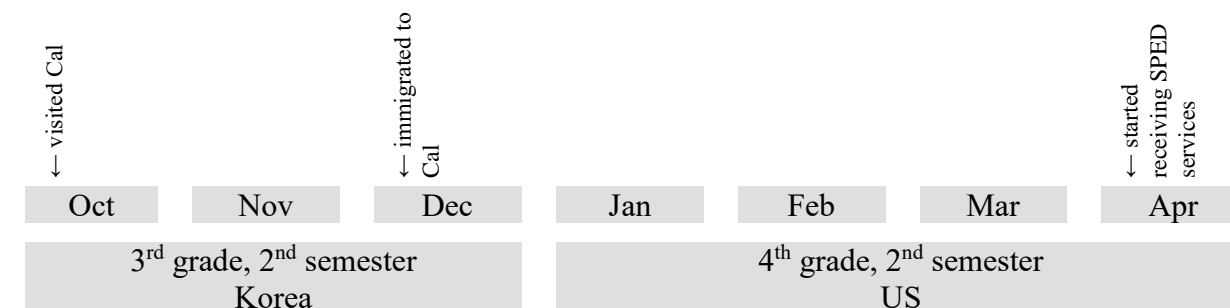
His parents and teachers doubted the diagnosis of arousal disorders or developmental disabilities when Sangmin was bullied at school. Thus, his parents went to another psychologist from Seoul National University Hospital, who mentioned that Sangmin’s difficulties could be classified as a typical high-functioning autism in the United States. According to Tacksu, Asperger’s or high-functioning autism were not a common diagnosis at that time in Korea. Sangmin’s parents were frustrated because they had hoped that his delays would be curable.

After his parents had realized that Sangmin’s difficulties would last his entire life, they searched for alternative schools. They learned that schools in North America provide special education support for children with high-functioning autism. Tacksu was able to contact one family of a child with autism in California, and Sangmin and his family visited California in October 2007 to ensure that Sangmin would be able to receive better education services. The

family met with a Korean-speaking coordinator in a regional center, the nonprofit private corporation that provided services for individuals with developmental disabilities and their families. They then applied for Sangmin to receive services and visited the local elementary school. After the family had confirmed that Sangmin would be eligible to receive appropriate services, they decided to immigrate to the United States on their return flight to Korea. Because the exclusive purpose of immigration was to improve Sangmin's education, the family prepared to move as soon as possible. The fastest way for the family to move to the United States was for a family member to attend graduate school. Thus, Tacksu applied for a master of business administration (MBA) program, and the family moved to California as soon as he received an acceptance letter. The preparation took two months. Tacksu said that there were no better education options for Sangmin in Korea. The move occurred in December 2007 when Sangmin was in third grade.

At the time of the move, Sangmin had completed third grade in Korea, but he entered in a second semester of fourth grade in the United States because academic years in the two countries start at different times of the year (Korean schools start in spring). Because they moved in December, Sangmin missed almost the entire first semester of fourth grade (see Figure 4.2). With help from the family of a child with autism in California, the special education assessment process began immediately. Sangmin was able to receive all special education services beginning in April 2008, four months after his arrival in the United States.

Figure 4.1.

Sangmin's Transfer Timeline (October 2007 – April 2008)

Note. Cal = California, SPED = special education.

Sangmin was initially assigned to a dual language program (Korean and English) for three semesters. There are Korean dual language programs in several areas of California with large Korean populations. Tacksu mentioned that the program had been tremendously helpful for Sangmin:

상민이가 왔을 때 1년 반은 이중언어반에 있었기 때문에 선생님도 한국어를 쓰실 줄 아시는 분이고 아이들도 어느정도 한국말을 할 수 있는 애였고 그것 때문에 상민이가 그나마 적응할 수 있는 시간이 있었죠. 영어를 배우는 시간이 있었죠. 처음부터 영어를 했으면은 아예 아무것도 못했죠... 만약에 이중언어반이 없거나 한인 커뮤니티가 없는 지역에 저희가 갔으면 첫째로 어떻게 시작할 수 있었을까요, 왜냐면 와이프나 저도 대학교 이후에는 단 한마디도 영어를 쓰는 직업에 있지않았었고, 한인커뮤니티가 있었기 때문에 어떻게든 되겠지 하는 마음으로 그냥 두 달만에 짐을 싸가지고 오게 됐고, 이중언어반이 있었기 때문에 상민이도 그 학교를 집어넣는데 아무 고민이 없었죠. 유일하게 그 학교만 있었으니까.

When Sangmin first arrived here, he was in the dual language program for one and a half years. The teacher could speak Korean, and his classmates could also speak Korean, so Sangmin had some time to adjust to learning English. If he had been in an English-only class, he could not have done anything... If we had gone to a place without a dual language program or a Korean community, how could Sangmin have ever started anything? My wife and I had not spoken any English since college, but the presence of a Korean community enabled us to move here only two months after we decided to immigrate, without hesitation. Because there was a dual language program, we weren't reluctant to send him to the school. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

According to Tacksu, the family chose to live in this specific location for his son's education. The school district was known to be the best within the Korean community. Sangmin did not speak English well when they first came to the United States. To learn English, he attended the dual language school, had a private tutor, and studied a lot. Although Sangmin was in a dual language program and received many special education services including SLT, learning English was still difficult and stressful for him. While he was eligible for many special education services, those services were not fully provided in his native tongue. His parents thought that receiving therapies in Koreans would help Sangmin develop his communicative and social skills.

However, due to the financial crisis of 2007-2008, school services were decreasing in the district. Tacksu reported that the school atmosphere changed suddenly one year after the family first came to the United States in 2009. Thus, the family had to learn how to advocate for Sangmin's needs. Fortunately, the family was able to obtain information about the special education process and their rights from the regional center. The center has a Korean service coordinator who provided Korean version of special education information booklets. Through the regional center, Sangmin's parents learned that they could request a Korean translator and a lawyer for their son's IEP meetings. However, the parents did not know that they had to know about legitimate services before they could request certain services. They thought that if they started talking about Sangmin's needs, his teachers would suggest the best possible options, and the parents would be a secondary supporter when it came to the school services. Tacksu described their experience:

좀 이상해요, 아주. 안 알려줍니다. 미리. 몰랐죠. 나중에 시간이 지나면서 그냥 말기고 있으면 안되겠구나 그런걸 알게되서 더 알아보게 됐고 그랬죠... 저는 계속 애가 포텐셜이 있는데, 할 수 있는데 해줘야 되지 않냐는 식으로. 애가 할 수 있는데 너네가 서비스 제공을 안하면 법 위반이다. 심하면 그렇게까지 얘기를 해서 화나면 수하겠다 까지 해가면서 싸워서 받았죠. 그냥 주지 않습니다, 절대로. IEP 가면.

미국에서 이런 서비스들이 제가 먼저 얘기를 안 하면 그냥 알아서 주는 경우는 최소한만 줘요.

It's very strange; the teachers didn't inform us [of the appropriate services] in advance, I didn't know that. Later, I realized that I shouldn't just rely on the school, so I searched again [for appropriate services]... Sangmin could receive certain services because I said that I could sue you [the school] for not providing services that can maximize Sangmin's potential. They don't just provide services [without a parent asking]—never. In IEP meetings in the United States, I have to initiate the process to receive some kinds of services. Otherwise, only minimal services will be provided. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Tacksu and Goun requested a Korean translator for IEP meetings until Sangmin graduated from high school because they wanted to make sure that they understood everything. During the second annual IEP meeting, they brought a lawyer to help them request an individual adult assistant for Sangmin. Tacksu thought that having a lawyer at the meeting was very helpful because receiving the service could be difficult if the school staffs argued that Sangmin did not need it. According to Tacksu, “예산줄어서 서비스 줄이고 있는 상황에 한 사람을 fully 애가 하루종일 데리고 있어야 되는 서비스를 요구를 하게되니까 그래서 그냥 아예 미리 변호사를 구해서 갔습니다 (I had to request the individual aid service for full days when school services were decreasing due to budget cuts, so I hired a lawyer in advance; T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016).” With the lawyer's help, Sangmin was able to receive this service until he graduated from high school. His parents believed that the services he received were very beneficial with regard to helping Sangmin learn and protecting him from bullying.

Middle school: Physical difficulties, academic success, and bullying. Sangmin excelled academically during middle school even though he only attended the U.S. elementary school for one and a half years. He received all A's and earned a GPA of 3.88/4.00. Although Sangmin had multiple difficulties, including anger problems, he was persistent in completing his responsibilities. Tacksu recounted,

(due to his anger problem) 책을 찢어버리면 찢어버리고 마는 게 아니라 다시 그 부분을 찾아서 메이컵을 하려고 하는 성질이 있어요. 화가 풀리고 나면. 숙제하던 거를 찢어버리면, 그리고 포기하는 게 아니라 밤늦게 까지 다시해요.

When he tore a book, he didn't just leave it. After he released his anger, if he tore his homework, he didn't just give up, but he redid it even if he didn't finish until late at night. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Sangmin began to have anger problems at the end of his middle school years due to academic stress and bullying. He recalled, "English grammar was very confusing and difficult, and stressful. I had anger problem because of them (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016)." He also described being bullied: "I was brutally cyberbullied. At this time, I actually considered taking my own life (S. Yun, college essay, November 25, 2015)."

High school: Miscommunication with IEP teams and low-expectations. In the first IEP meeting at Sangmin's high school, his parent requested that he have five years to complete high school instead of four due to his anger problem, which had become severe toward the end of middle school. Because Sangmin had skipped one semester when he first came to the United States, Tacksu thought it would be better for Sangmin to take an extra year to complete his high school requirements. According to his IEP, "parent states that he spoke with the Special Ed. Coordinator and that she has assured him that Sangmin will be able to complete high school in 5 years instead of 4. Father wants Sangmin to do this in order to minimize the student's stress level in high school (S. Yun, IEP, February 13, 2012)."

However, there was a miscommunication between the family and the IEP team when Sangmin was a junior. The family thought that Sangmin would be able to attend high school one more year regardless of where he stood with regard to graduation qualifications, but the school's intention was to give Sangmin five years to complete the requirements only if he was unable to do it in four years. When Sangmin became a junior, his IEP team mentioned that he had to

graduate in one year because he had completed all the qualifications. The family was shocked to realize that they would have to complete all the college preparations in his senior year. The family requested a reconsideration of his graduation timing, but the IEP team was not able to permit the request.

Another option for Sangmin was to stay at home after graduation to prepare for college. However, that option did not work for the family because Sangmin would need to stay home alone during that year because he did not have any friends and his parents had to work. Thus, Sangmin had to work a lot on college preparations during his last year at high school. He said that the most challenging time in high school was “twelfth grade, first semester. AP environmental science. The teacher gave a lot of works. However I had to prepare SAT, personal essays, a lot of AP classes, it was hectic. Too much work for me (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016).”

Tacksu mentioned that postsecondary options were discussed when Sangmin was 14 years old and a sophomore in high school. His parents assumed that Sangmin would attend college, and the family did not consider employment right after high school because Sangmin was performing well academically. Tacksu said that initially he had not expected Sangmin to attend college, but he changed his mind as Sangmin began to outperform his expectations. Thus, the family thought that earning a bachelor’s degree in a challenging program might offer Sangmin better career options. On the other hand, the IEP staff did not expect Sangmin to go anywhere other than a community college even though Sangmin earned all A’s from 8th to 11th grades. Tacksu described the situation:

학교 스텝들은 특히 IEP 쪽 스텝들은 그냥 이정도 장애가 있는 아이가 community college 만 가도 대단한건데 아이부모가 욕심을 부린다는 식의 생각을 갖고 있어요. 저도 아이가 어렸을 때부터 계속 developmental delay, 미국에 올 때는 애가 대학교 간다는 생각은 전혀 안했어요. 근데 1년 2년 지나보니까 힘들것같았는데 해내고

또 해내고 애가 그렇게 여태까지 왔어요. 그래서 저는 애가 할 수 있는 한은 당연히 challenge 한 코스를 가야 여태까지도 해 냈는데, 여기서 장애를 갖고 있으면서 community college 정도 나오면 그냥 졸업장 땀나보다 생각을 하지, 애가 어느정도의 능력을 주변에 인정을 못 받죠.

The school staff thought we (Sangmin's parents) were too greedy because it would be incredible if a child with such extensive disabilities could even go to a community college. I also hadn't thought about college when we first came to the United States due to his developmental delays. However, he accomplished a lot of things as time went on, so now I would like to send him to a challenging program. If he has disabilities and goes to a community college, people may think that he just gets a diploma and do not believe that he has some degree of capabilities. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Sangmin first wanted to major in fine arts, particularly painting and drawing. However, his parents were concerned that he might not be able to support himself and his family after graduating from a fine arts program. Sangmin said he agreed with his parents' opinion that he should draw as a hobby because abilities and interests could be different. He applied for biology and pharmacy programs because his parents believed that having a professional license would be beneficial because it would help Sangmin avoid daily competition. Tacksu explained their philosophy:

일반 웬만한 어떤 분야를 가든간에 everyday competition 이런 거를 가지고 경쟁을 해야되는 데서는 상민이가 상대적으로 할 수 있어도 뒤쳐질 수 밖에 없습니다... 그러다보면 상민이가 자신감마저 상실되고. 그래서 professional license 가 딸 수 있는데를 가야 애가 license 가 있으면 그것만으로 애의 실력이 당연히 인정이 되있는 거고 그런 걸 베이스로 일할 수 있는데. 그 다음에 사회성을 가지고 주변사람과 토론을 거치고 하지 않는 직업. 고민고민을 하다가 그나마 약사가 제일 낫더라구요.

Sangmin will be left behind if he goes into a field where everyday competition is required. He will lose his confidence. Thus, [we prefer] a field in which he can get a professional license; we thought about a possible occupation that would acknowledge his capacity based on his license, and wouldn't require much discussion or social skills. After consideration, a pharmacist seems to be the best option for him. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Individual Education Program (IEP) documents contained his ITP from seventh grade when Sangmin was 13 years old; however, Sangmin’s goal in the ITP does not match his actual goal of being a pharmacist. According to his ITP, “Sangmin indicated that he would like to do animation, calligraphy art, and/or computer design including video game design (S. Yun, IEP, May 15, 2014; March 12, 2015; March 29, 2016).” The goal remains the same in the documents for his last three years in high school, even after he had been accepted into pharmacy programs. Sangmin and Tacksu mentioned that he did not have a chance to talk about his postsecondary plan with his special education teacher or during the IEP meetings. Further, the family did not expect the IEP team to help Sangmin with college preparations. Tacksu explained,

사실 상민이는 IEP 에서 앞으로 어떻게 하겠다는 얘기를 할 기회는 없었던 것 같아요. IEP 에서는 언제 졸업하고 이런거에 대해서 졸업할 수 있는 학점을 채워야되니까 그 정도에만 신경을 썼지. 상민이가 기본적으로 학교 수업하는데 다른데 빠져나와서 있는 걸 되게 싫어했고, 그러면 수업 못들은 걸로 makeup 을 해야하고 하니까. 그리고 또 IEP 는 보통 짧게 안 끝나고 보통 2,3 시간 끌고 그렇게 되거든요. 왜냐하면 상민이가 좀 경계선상에 있기 때문에 선생님들도 통역도 있고 하다보니까 아무래도 다른 일반사람들보단 많이 걸리겠죠? 미국사람들끼리 하는 것보다는... 그래서 IEP 가서 그런 얘기를 할 기회는 사실 없었어요. 그니까 어떻게 보면 IEP 는 학교다니는데 저기고 대학교 관련된거는 저희가 따로 했던 것 같아요.

Actually, Sangmin did not have a chance to talk about his postsecondary life in the IEP meeting. IEP only covered his graduation requirements. Moreover, Sangmin didn’t like to be pulled out to attend the meeting because he had to make up the classes he couldn’t attend. And the IEP normally takes 2 to 3 hours because Sangmin is in borderline and we also have translators ... Thus, we don’t have an opportunity to talk about his future (in the IEP meetings). So, IEP only considered his high school life, and we (the family) prepared everything related to college by ourselves. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Tacksu believed that of all the special education services Sangmin received (speech/language therapy, occupational therapy, counseling, resource specialist program services, adult assistance, behavioral support and audiology services; Sangmin, IEP), the most useful therapy with respect to college preparation was counseling for his anger problem:

카운슬링은 상민이가 심리상태에 따라서 **anger problem** 이 있었기 때문에 저는 카운슬링이 굉장히 중요하다고 봤어요. 왜냐면 학교생활에 대해서 저는 미국학교를 안 다녔기 때문에 학교생활을 모르고 학교생활에 문제가 있을 때 다른 테라피스트들은 거의 학교에 상주를 안 하죠. 카운슬러는 학교에 상주. 그나마 상민가 학교공부할 때 그래도 카운슬러가 제일 도움이 되지 않았을까. 왜냐면 화나거나 이럴 때 카운슬러를 찾아가서 얘기한다는 것 자체만으로도 상민이가 그나마 학교안에서 친구는 없지만 뭔가 해소할 수 있는 부분이 있지 않았을까, 그런 면에서 간접적으로는 대학입학에 도움이 됐다고 생각이 됩니다.

I thought counseling was very important because Sangmin had an anger problem. Because I didn't attend American schools, I don't know much about the school culture. And other therapists didn't stay at school when there was a problem, but a school counselor stayed at the school. So the most helpful person was the counselor. Although Sangmin didn't have any friends, he at least had the counselor to talk to about school. In this regard, I think the counselor indirectly helped Sangmin to attend college. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Speech and language therapy was particularly necessary for Sangmin. He initially received one-on-one therapy, but in the tenth grade, he switched to group therapy because, as Tacksu explained, “이미 발음은 교정할 수 있는 나이가 지났고, 대화에 주제나 이런데서 벗어나지 않고 그게 더 중요하기 때문에 한다고 해서. (the time to correct his pronunciation had already passed, and more importantly, Sangmin needed to focus on conversation; T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016).”

College entrance exams, such as the SAT, proved to be particularly difficult. Sangmin had to rush to take the exams and did not have enough time to prepare for the SAT because he was also taking AP courses at high school. Arranging accommodations for the exams was also stressful. Tacksu described the process:

5년을 학교를 보내려고 생각을 하고 있다가 갑자기 그게 안되는 바람에 SAT accommodation 도 신청을 했는데 그것마저도 학교에서 잘 못해가지고. 너무 태만했죠. 옛날 데이터를 보내도 된다는 생각을 하고 그냥 보냈는데 그것만 가지고는 부족하니까 뭘 보안하라고 편지가 왔어요. 문제는 그게 왔다갔다하는데 시간이 많이 걸린다는 거죠. 답변받는데 2,3 개월, 또 보내면 심사하는데 **minimum** 처리기간이 있어요. 근데 SAT 를 빨리 봐서 그걸로 어플라이를 해야하는데, 대학교는 또 입학 사정기간이 있잖아요, 그래서 난리가 났죠. 그래서 제가 SAT

extend time 심사하는데로 전화해서 막 사정을 했죠. 그래서 마지막 시험 두번을 간신히 extend time 을 받았죠.

Because we had thought that Sangmin had five years in high school, it was surprising to learn that taking an extra year was not a possibility. So we suddenly needed to arrange SAT examinations and accommodations, but the school made a mistake. They were negligent; the school sent old data, so we received a letter saying that we needed to provide additional documents because the data were not enough. Receiving the letter took 2-3 months, and then the evaluation for eligibility also had a minimum processing time. Because colleges also had their application deadlines, we had to hurry. I called the SAT extension department and begged. Eventually, Sangmin received an extend time accommodation for the last two exams. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

As a result of Tacksu's efforts, Sangmin was allowed to have 50% more time to take the SAT. He received a score of 1890. Because this score was lower than the baseline for the pharmacy programs he was applying to, Sangmin believed that his college essay had been extremely useful in proving that his academic capabilities were not fully reflected in his scores. Private college counseling services helped him refine his personal stories in his application essays. His essay described the strengths that allowed him to overcome his difficulties:

I am partially blind and deaf, and the deafness was particularly insidious because no one was able to diagnose it for a long time. Also, during my childhood, my balance was so limited that I would often topple over and injure myself. But these physical liabilities were nothing compared to the emotional ones. I had severe autism that manifested itself mostly as an uncontrollable temper that exploded whenever things didn't go as I intended. This shortcoming made me a target of constant bullying and ostracism by my peers... Life has not been particularly easy for me, but I am now well prepared for its challenges... ADHD, while it can impact focus, does not impact one's diligence. It is in my nature to complete any given task, even if it is nastily difficult. To learn English and adapt to American culture at a rapid rate, I would often stay up all night studying English language and American cultures and histories. Within a few years, I was able to gain complete mastery over the English language and speak it fluently without anyone's help. (S. Yun, college essay, November 25, 2015)

As a result of his efforts and his family's support, Sangmin was accepted to multiple top pharmacy programs. He finally decided to enroll in a pharmacy program near the family's home because "Actually airplane was terrible, too much airplane to ride, horring time for travel (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016)."

Gap year program. Instead of starting college right after high school graduation, Sangmin chose to attend a gap year program to prepare for college. The family chose the program based on Sangmin’s preferences and capabilities. Tacksu explained their choice:

상민이는 일단 신앙이 위주로 되었는데는 맞지 않고. 여행다니면서 하는 거는 현실적으로 눈도 잘 안보이고 귀도 잘 안들리고 그러면서 정상적인 아이들도 챌린지한 그런 프로그램에 가서는 얻을 것보다 상처만 받는 게 많을 것 같고. 그 다음에 **disability camp** 도 있는데 그거는 말 그대로 자기생활을 하기 힘든 아이들. 상민이는 최소한 심리적으로는 더 어려운 사람들을 돕고 싶어하는데 자기가 봉사를 받아야 되는 데 가면 안되잖아요. 결국 찾은데가 일정장소에서 하는 캠프. 친구가 생길 수도 있고... 8 개월정도. 제가 보니까 **high-functioning autism** 아이들이 조금 있을 것 같고...

Sangmin doesn’t fit with a religious program. Travel programs—because of his limited eyesight and hearing difficulties, he may get hurt if he goes to a travel program that can be challenging even for children without disabilities. Then there’s a disability camp, which is literally for children who cannot take care of themselves ... Eventually, we found a camp that occurs in one fixed location. He may be able to make some friends... Eight months. I guess there might be a few children with high-functioning autism. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

The family expected Sangmin to experience independent life in a protected community at the camp. Sangmin had also considered taking online lectures to prepare for college during his time in the gap year program because he knew that the pharmacy program would be challenging.

Future. The family was still concerned about Sangmin’s future, for example, whether he will be able to complete his degree and get a job. However, his parents were hopeful about his future because Sangmin had made a lot of progress. Tacksu said, “애는 중학교 8 학년 때 한 발로 서서 1 초도 못 서있던 애예요, 근데 지금은 태권도 2 단이에요. 하고 났을 때 자랑스러워하고 좋아하고 바로 그 다음거를 하려고 하는 성질이 있고 그렇게 때문에 제가 푸쉬를 할 수 있었고 그렇기 때문에 지금 해왔고. 그런 성질이 있기 때문에 향후에도 어느정도는 할 수 있지 않을까라고 생각해요 (he couldn’t even stand on one leg for one second when he was an eighth grade, but now he has earned a second degree in Taekwondo. He

is so proud of himself after completing tasks, and likes to challenge himself to the next step.

That's why I was able to push him, and he achieved those accomplishments so far. Due to those strengths, I think he will do well; T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)." Sangmin's accomplishments gave the family hope that he will eventually live independently with a family of his own:

장애가 있는 친구들은 거의 현실적으로 같은 장애를 가진 아이들끼리 결혼을 해서 양쪽 부모가 결국은 결혼이후에도 케어하면서 노년까지 힘들게 사는 것 같아요. 뭐 저희도 크게 달라질까 하는 기대는 안하지만 그래도 일단 돕긴 돕더라도 둘이 독립적으로 살 수 있는 정도까지는 갔으면 하는 게 희망이고 그거를 위해서 이렇게 푸쉬를 하는 거죠 사실은. 미국 제도 좋은데 그냥 편하게 있으라고 할 수도 있겠죠. 벌써 20년을 애를 쳐다보고 살았는데 그 이후까지도 끝까지 할려고 안해도 될거라는 사람도 꽤 있어요. 그래도 저는 그건 아니거든요. 자기가 그래도 뭔가 보람을 성취감을 느끼고 살 수 있는 삶, 제가 보기에는, 할 수 있으니까. 그래서 그 희망으로 하고 있는거죠.

In reality, children with disabilities often marry someone who also has disabilities, and their parents take care of them even after marriage for their entire lifetime. Well, I don't expect anything very different, but even if I help, we hope the couple can live independently, and that's why I push him. Somebody might say, "Just let them live easily because the U.S. disability system is great." Many people have also said that I shouldn't be too hard on myself since I have already supported him for last 20 years. But I don't agree. I hope he can feel a sense of accomplishment throughout his life because I think he can. That's why I'm striving. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Tacksu and Goun seemed to be very supportive and patient. In addition to his parents' support, Sangmin's strengths helped him gain access to postsecondary education. When I finished interviewing Sangmin, he was asking me how he should manage his free time to prepare for college and the gap year program. He was satisfied with his current achievements and was eager to continue working toward accomplishing his ultimate goals.

CHAPTER FIVE

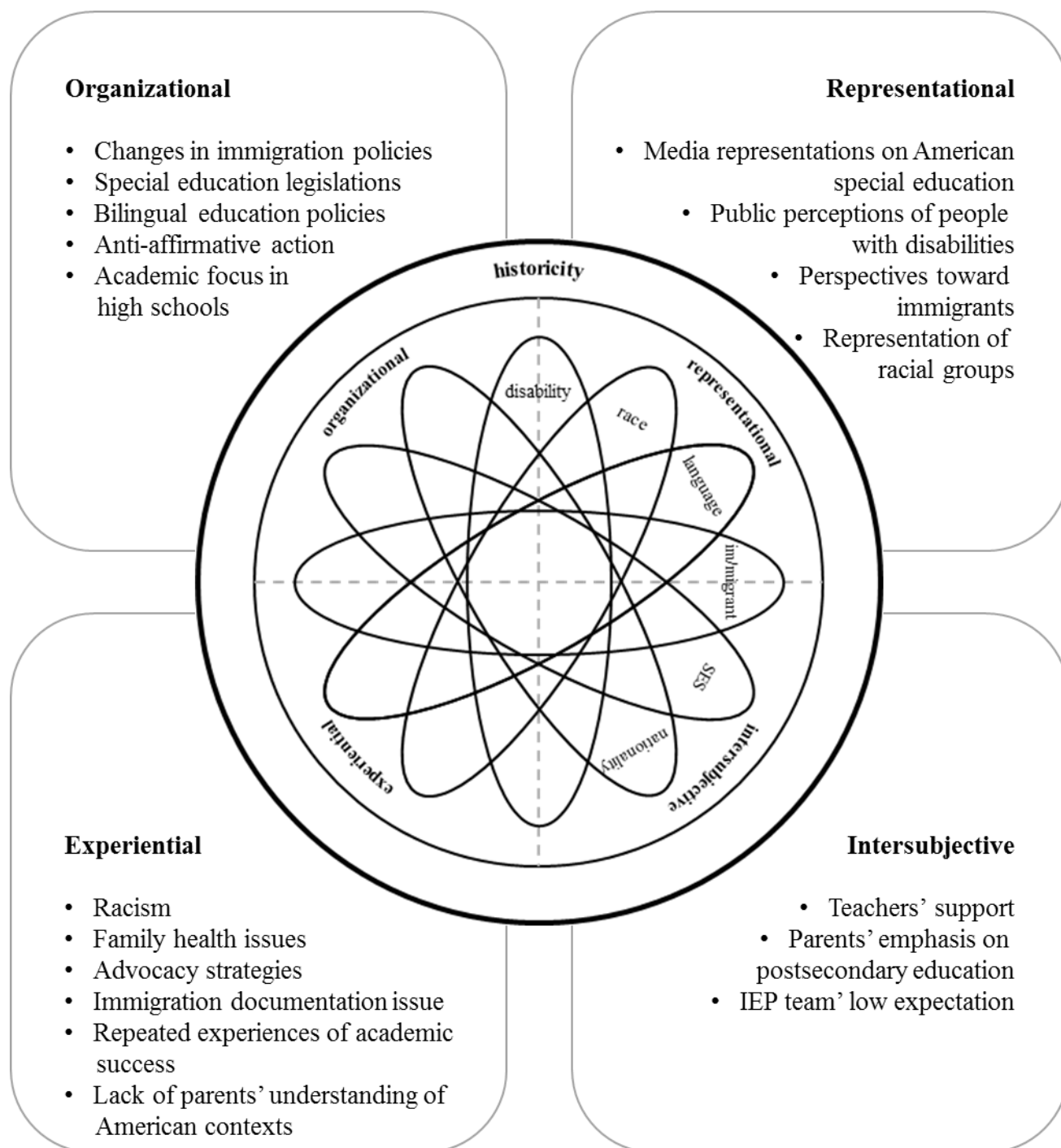
RESULTS

The research questions that guide this dissertation study are:

1. What are the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism in their transition to postsecondary education?
 - a. How are the intersectional experiences historically shaped by people, schools, communities, and policies?
 - b. How do the intersectional experiences shape the learners' transition trajectory?
2. What are the responses to the intersectional experiences?
 - a. How do the students empower themselves during the postsecondary transition process?
 - b. How do people, such as educators, peers, and community members, respond to the intersectional experiences?
 - c. How do the schools/communities respond to the intersectional experiences?
 - d. How do the policies respond to intersectional experiences?

The previous chapter provides a glimpse into the educational trajectories of the participants. In this chapter, I explore how the multiple identities of each Korean-American student with autism have intersected to shape the student's educational experiences, and I illustrate students' responses to intersectional experiences, especially in educational contexts. Because untangling these intermingled experiences can be complex, I used a multilevel model of intersectionality by Núñez (2014) as discussed in Chapter 3 (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1.

Multi-level model of Intersectionality for Korean-American Students with Autism

Note: Adopted from Núñez (2014). Employing Multilevel Intersectionality in Educational Research: Latino Identities, Contexts, and College Access. *Educational Researcher*, 43(2), p. 87.

The data reveal intersectional relationships at three levels of analysis. The first level of analysis focuses on identifying individual identity categories, such as nationality or race, im/migrant status, autism, language, and socioeconomic status, and illustrating the intersecting relationships between these identity categories. This analysis yielded a total of 98 codes and 1,434 coding references (see Appendix O).

The second level of analysis emphasizes how “embodied practices” or “domains of power” produce social division and hierarchy across social categories (Núñez, 2014, p. 88). This analysis involves investigating four arenas of influence: organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential. The results of the second level of analysis are also shown in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Themes, Coding, and Subheadings

RQs	Multi-level Coding	Themes	
		Chapter 5. Results	Chapter 6. Discussion
RQ1: Intersectional experiences CH5: Intersectionality of Multiple Identities CH6: Globalization: Ableism, Racism, and Multilingualism	Ableism Family health issues Lack of parents’ understanding of American contexts Racism Bilingualism Bilingual education policies Anti-affirmative action Perspectives toward immigrants Immigration documentation issue IEP team’s low expectation	Confusions about the Diagnosis of Autism - What are autism, high-functioning autism (HFA), and Asperger’s syndrome (AS)? - Alternative disability categories for autism and other difficulties Asian/Korean Students with Autism - Race-related experiences - Racialized community - Race-based disparities in postsecondary outcomes in California - Bilingual policies and practices - Immigrant parents and their children with autism IEP teams’ low expectations, cultural mismatches, and miscommunication	Evolving Notions of Autism and Demands for Appropriate Resources in This Global Era - Recognition of autism, high-functioning autism, and Asperger’s syndrome - Interwoven identities within disability labels The Intersection of Race/Ethnicity, Nationality, Language, and Autism - A subtle form of racism and autism - Residential segregation - Racism and ableism - Bilingualism and ableism - Costs and benefits of immigration A different set of expectations: Creating meaningful connections between families and schools
	Ableism Special education legislations Advocacy strategies Parents’ emphasis on postsecondary education	Individual Responses - Academic achievement - Transforming their struggles - International transitions - Career preferences and future goals	Utilization of Malleable and Unmalleable Traits: Individual Responses - Moving up the socioeconomic ladder through academic achievement - Converting struggles to advantages - Immigration as a choice - Future goals to enhance malleable trait: Parents’ roles
RQ2: Responses CH5: Responses to Intersectionality CH6: Responses to Intersectionality	Changes in immigration policies Media representation on American special education Public perceptions of people with disabilities Special education legislations Academic focus in high schools Advocacy strategies Repeated experiences of academic success Teachers’ support Parents’ emphasis on postsecondary education Ableism Public perceptions of people with disabilities Special education legislations Bilingual education policies	Institutional Responses - Obtaining interagency support through regional centers in California - California Proposition 58	Collective Efforts across Time and Space: Institutional Responses - Interagency efforts related to autism in California - State-wide bilingual policy: Proposition 58

The organizational arena includes a series of immigration policies, the history of bilingual education policies in California, anti-affirmative action policies such as Proposition 209, and the academic focus in high schools. Without the changes in immigration policies, the students and their families would not have been able to move to the United States and received special education. Because the parents believed that the infrastructure of special education was essential for their children to go to college, the results indicate that both immigration policies and special education systems are critical driving forces for postsecondary access for these students. Moreover, current changes in immigration policies impacted Sangmin's postsecondary education program. Bilingual policies in California (Proposition 227 and Proposition 58) also provided a conceptual space to examine how the linguistic developments of individual students with autism can be affected by macrosociological events. Proposition 209 eliminated any racial consideration in the college admission system in California. The participants believed that racial quota systems could create conflicts within and between racial groups, and this was particularly important to them because they experienced the intersecting influences of race and disabilities.

The representational arena encompasses the participants' awareness of the perceptions of their children in both Korea and America. Junyoung and Sangmin's families thought that people's perceptions of individuals with autism in Korea would not allow their children to maximize their potential. Moreover, the explosion of online information and the media's representation of special education in North America led the parents to consider immigration as another option for their children's future. However, after they moved to the United States, the students experienced racism, which was present in their everyday lives. The perceptions of immigrants, Asians, and people with disabilities intermingled to shape the students' educational trajectories.

The intersubjective arena consists of parents' emphasis on academics, IEP teams' low expectations, and teacher's support for the students. As Walter mentioned, his parents' expectations about college education were important for him because he assumed he would attend a postsecondary institution. The participants also indicated that their IEP teams did not meaningfully consider their postsecondary aspirations because the teams had low expectations for both students with IEPs and students from non-dominant linguistic and cultural backgrounds. However, all three students appreciated their teachers' academic support, and Hyewon said that the trust established between Junyoung and the teachers enabled Junyoung to practice self-advocacy skills.

The experiential arena includes immigration and health-related issues, academic success, and participation in IEP meetings. Immigration to the United States placed extraordinary demands on the families' time and energy as they sought to obtain legal residency. For Walter's family, the process took over ten years, and impacted the relationships between family members. Moreover, the students' parents also dealt with mental and physical health problems. Many of the parents experienced depression after years of devoting their time and energy to educating their children with autism and doing so as an immigrant. Fortunately, the students excelled in the academic arena, and their achievement of high GPAs allowed the participants to have college as a postsecondary option. The parents wished that they would have been aware of advocacy strategies when their children were young, and the students would have more liked chances to practice self-determination skills during their IEP meetings. The participants mentioned that a lack of advocacy skills and knowledge prevented the parents and the students from participating in IEP meetings in a meaningful way.

The third level of analysis focuses on historicity. As Núñez (2014) stated, this level includes “broader interlocking systems of economic, legal, political, media, and social power and classification that evolve over time in specific places, as well as social movements to challenge these systems.” (p. 89) The third level of analysis facilitated the development of the following themes in the Table 5.1. The table also shows the juxtaposition of these themes as explored in Chapter 5 (results) and Chapter 6 (discussion).

Based on the analysis, two prominent themes and five sub-themes were emerged (see Table 5.1). The first section of this chapter is devoted to disentangling the intersectionality of multiple identities in the context of postsecondary transition. Three sub-themes are discussed: confusions about the diagnosis of autism; Asian/Korean students with autism; and IEP teams’ low expectations, cultural mismatches, and miscommunication. The second section focuses on the responses to intersectional experiences. The responses are presented as individual responses and institutional responses.

Intersectionality of Multiple Identities

This section illustrates the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism during their transition to postsecondary education. I describe how autism has overshadowed other identities and how multiple identities intersect to shape the students’ educational experiences.

Confusions about the Diagnosis of Autism

The results show that the participating families were initially puzzled about their children’s social and communicative difficulties because in the mid-1990s these families, and even the professionals they consulted, were unfamiliar with the difficulties that these children

faced. As a result, the students had been classified in a number of disability categories, including autism, in their school contexts.

What are autism, high-functioning autism (HFA), and Asperger’s syndrome (AS)?

Because the term autism was new to the participating families in the mid-1990s, the families did not know how to address their children’s needs. Thus, they inevitably relied on the advice of professionals who possessed privileged knowledge, such as doctors and teachers. However, even these professionals did not have sufficient resources to accommodate the children’s multifaceted needs. In the field of special education, autism was a recently added disability category in both countries at the time. In the United States, the category was first added to the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) as a separate category in 1990; in Korea, autism was not added as a separate category to 장애인 등에 대한 특수교육법 (Korean Special Education for Individuals with Disabilities and Others Law) until 2007 (IDEA, 1990; 장애인 등에 대한 특수교육법, 2007). Julia, whose son Walter was later diagnosed with autism, complained that Walter’s father studied mental health and psychology, but did not understand autism (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016). Tacksu mentioned that there was no formal place in Korea to find information about autism. In the United States, Julia could allocate resources, but special education terms were so complex that she was unable to arrange special education services for Walter. Julia said, “용어의 정확한 설명과 이해를 하는데 몇년 걸렸어요. 무슨 뜻인지는 어렵듯이 지레 짐작 하겠는데..정확한 뜻을, 한속말로도 잘 이해가 안가서 너무 답답했어요. (It took several years to understand the terms precisely. I could guess the meanings... The exact meanings, I couldn’t even understand those in Korean, so I was frustrated. (informal conversation, June 16, 2016). Julia also mentioned that finding appropriate services for Walter was difficult. She regretted that she did not find effective social skill classes until Walter

was in fourth grade. The participants agreed that searching for autism-related resources was demanding.

Moreover, the participants mentioned that borderline or high-functioning autism (HFA) or Asperger's syndrome (AS) was one of the challenges for the parents to understand what autism meant. Even for those parents who had a bachelor's degree or higher, understanding their children's difficulties and receiving a diagnosis was challenging. As Figure 5.2 shows, the three participating students were born in the mid-1990s, when U.S. educators first began to use the term "autism" for special education purposes. The awareness of HFA and AS emerged even later, in the final years of the 1990s.⁶ Walter and Junyoung received a diagnosis of AS and HFA, respectively, in 2000 in the United States.

The situation was different in Korea. Participants explained that receiving special education services under the autism category was rare in Korea, especially for students with high-functioning autism. In Junyoung's case, he first received the diagnosis in the United States when he was five (in 2000), but when the family returned to Korea, they were unable to find schools or programs for his "level of difficulties" (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016). In Sangmin's case, he received a diagnosis of HFA at age ten in 2007. In contrast to Walter and Junyoung, who received a diagnosis in early childhood (ages three and five, respectively) in the United States, Sangmin was diagnosed at a much later age in Korea.

⁶ For example, Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-4 (DSM-4) added AS in 1994.

Table 5.2.

Historicity of Intersectional Trajectories

Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (US)	1968	
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (US)		
Lanterman Developmental Disabilities Services Act (US)	1969	
	:	
The Education for All Handicapped Children Act (US)	1975	
	1976	
특수교육 진흥법 (The Special Education Promotion Act of 1977; KR)	1977	
	1978	
	1979	
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-3 (DSM-3)	1980	
	:	
여행 자유화 조치 (Travel Liberalization Measure; KR)	1989	
Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (US)	1990	
	1991	
	1992	
	1993	
특수교육 진흥법 (The Special Education Promotion Act of 1994; KR)	1994	
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-4 (DSM-4)	1994	
	1995	Junyoung's birth (KR)
California Proposition 209 (US)	1996	Walter's birth (US)
Individuals with Disabilities Education Act Amendments of 1997 (IDEA; US)	1997	Sangmin's birth (KR)
California Proposition 227 (US)	1998	
	1999	
	2000	Walter DX, RC; Junyoung DX; RC (US)
Section 245(i) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act (US)	2001	
No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (US)	2001	
	2002	
	2003	
Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act of 2004 (US)	2004	
	2005	Junyoung immigration, ESL (US)
Combating Autism Act (US)	2006	
장애인 등에 대한 특수교육법 (Korean Special Education for Individuals with Disabilities and Others Law; KR)	2007	Sangmin DX; RC; immigration (US)
	2007	
	2008	Sangmin ESL (US)
	:	
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-5 (DSM-5)	2013	
	2015	Walter college; Junyoung college (US)
California Proposition 58 (US)	2016	
	2017	Sangmin college (expected; US)

Note. US = the United States, KR = Korea, RC = regional center.

Alternative disability categories for autism and other difficulties. All three students had received multiple alternative labels for their special education eligibility. For instance, Walter received special education services under multiple other disability categories, including speech or language impairment (SLI) and other health impairment (OHI [attention deficit hyperactivity disorder [ADHD]]), and his IEP had once been dismissed. There was confusion about his abilities and challenges among his family and educators. In Junyoung's case, the IEP staff at his elementary school was unsure about his eligibility until his parents provided proof of a medical diagnosis of autism. The parents speculated that the schools were reluctant to assign their children to an autism category because autism-related services cost more than services for other categories, such as intellectual disability (ID) or OHI. In Korea, Sangmin was diagnosed with an arousal disorder when he was four, and doctors and educators speculated that he had developmental delays. When Sangmin turned ten, a doctor (in Korea) who just received a medical degree in the United States gave the diagnosis of HFA. If his parents had not searched for the right diagnosis for Sangmin, he might have attended regular schools without the appropriate supports. Sangmin's father Tacksu thought that if his son stayed in Korea without an autism diagnosis and supports, he might get into serious trouble due to his anger problem.

All three participating students have other clinical diagnoses besides autism. Walter and Junyoung both received a clinical diagnosis of ADHD and took Adderall. Sangmin also received a diagnosis of ADHD but did not take any medication for the condition. Both Walter and Junyoung were clinically diagnosed with OCD, and Junyoung took Prozac. Sangmin did not receive a diagnosis of OCD, but Tacksu speculated that he might have OCD.

Other than the diagnoses, the students also have other health-related concerns. In Walter's case, eczema, asthma, allergies, and migraines were major concerns. The frequent migraines,

which were accompanied by vomiting, started when Walter was six years old. Walter also had tics and periods of depression. Junyoung also had other physical health issues and suffered from the side effects of the combination of Adderall and Prozac. Not only did these conditions individually impact the everyday lives of the students, but also the difficulties intermingled and multiplied one another. Hyewon reported that:

지금은 아티즘하고 ADHD, OCD 있구요. 처음에 ADHD 약을 초등학교 때부터 계속 먹어야되나 싶어서 약을 안 먹고 있다가 중학교 까지 그냥 버텼는데 고등학교 가서 좀 많이 힘들 것 같아서 고등학교 바로 전부터 약을 먹기 시작했거든요. 그 때 ADHD 약을 먹으니깐 애말로는 졸립기는 해도 집중은 더 잘되는 거 같고 좋다고는 했는데, ADHD 약을 먹으면서 OCD 가 좀 더 심해지는 거 같더라구요. 그래서 OCD 약은 약대로 Prozac 을 먹기 시작했구요. 요즘에는 OCD 가 너무 심해져서 이래갖고는 나중에 사회생활도 못하겠고, 애가 너무 시간 time management 를 못해서 안되겠다 싶어서 Prozac 용량을 늘렸더니 심장이 두근두근하다 그러더라구요. 그래서 너무 안되겠다 싶어서 딴 약으로 바꿨더니 이번에는 머리가 아프다고 두통약 먹고. 그래서 지금 안먹고 어떻게 해야되나 그러고 있는 중이예요.

He has autism, ADHD, OCD, now. At first, I didn't give him medication because I doubted if I should use it from elementary school, but he might have a difficult time at high school, so we began the medication just before high school. He said that even if he was sleepy he could focus more, so that's good, but his ADHD seemed to be worse after taking ADHD medication. So, he started to take Prozac for OCD as well. Then his OCD got worse, so we worried that he wouldn't be able to maintain his social life and he couldn't do time management well, so we increased the Prozac; then he said his heart pounded. Thus, we changed to another medication; then he complained that he had a headache, so he took painkillers. So now, we are wondering what we should do. (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

In Sangmin's case, his physical difficulties include high-frequency hearing loss and vision impairment, and his anger problem. Those difficulties also impacted his schoolwork as well as his relationships with other people. The data show that the navigating process to obtain an appropriate education for their children was particularly challenging for the participating parents because the diagnosis of autism was new to the families as well as professionals in the mid-1990s.

Asian/Korean Students with Autism

When I began to document the intersectionality resulting primarily from race/ethnicity and autism, the first round of coding (attribute coding, open coding, In Vivo coding) yielded few results about this confluence. However, the second round of coding, which focused on societal arenas (pattern coding), and the third round, which focused on historicity (pattern coding, axial coding, selective coding), provided ample evidence of the intersection of race/ethnicity, nationality, and autism. The students' racialized experiences were shaped in both the Korean and Asian communities in the United States. Moreover, a mix of policies related to race/ethnicity, language, and immigration influenced the students' education as well as the families' everyday lives.

Prior to the interviews, I asked participants to fill out a demographic survey about their race (see Appendix C). The survey results show that the participating families perceive themselves as Korean or Asian in various form (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.3.

Responses to the question: What is your race (귀하의 인종은 무엇인가요)?

Student		Parent	
Name	Response	Name	Responses
Walter Kim	Asian American (Korean)	Julia Park	Korean
Junyoung Lim	Korean	Hyewon Lim	아시안 (Asian)
Sangmin Yun	S. Korean	Tacksu Yun	Asian (Korean)

Note. S. Korean = South Korean, participants' secondary answers in parentheses.

Race-related experiences. The usage of racial classifications, such as Asian, was arbitrary. Participants classified themselves as “Asian (아시안),” “Asian American,” “Korean,” “S. Korean,” or both “Asian” and “Korean.” The term “Asian (아시안)” includes a broad array of nationalities and communities in a large geographical location (Mutua, 2010); in contrast,

“Korean” indicates the nationality and culture of the group of people from both South Korea and North Korea. Due to the political history of the region,⁷ Korean people living in the United States are exclusively from South Korea. However, people from South Korea typically introduce themselves as “Korean.” Although only Sangmin classified himself specifically as South Korean, all the participants are from South Korea.

In addition to having respondents complete the survey question about race, I asked them questions about their experiences of racism in order to understand how the racial category had shaped their educational trajectories. The participants reported experiencing several small instances of racism, as mentioned in the previous chapter.⁷ For instance, Walter was verbally abused; he was told, “You have a big head.” Or “Hey, you’re Chinese, right?” (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016; W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). These subtle race/ethnicity-related insults were interwoven with Walter’s social difficulties and reminded him that he did not belong to this nation. Junyoung also mentioned that “in my middle school years, there were some people who teased me, especially with my name because they thought my first name is ‘Jun’ because if there’s a space, it indicates...in California, it’s surely a middle name. [They said] ‘Hey, Jun’ and I tried to correct them, but it was like useless” (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016). Hyewon explained, “준영이가 ‘내 이름은 준영이야, 그리고 영이 middle name 이 아니기 때문에 준영이라고 불러줘’라고 좋게 얘기를 하고, 애들하고 관계가 괜찮았으면, 그리고 disability 가 없고 그랬었다면, 애들이 그냥 teasing 은 안했었을 것 같아요 (If Junyoung said nicely that ‘My name is Junyoung, please call me Junyoung because Young is not my middle name,’ if he had good relationships with his peers,

⁷ People in North Korea are inhibited to leave their country.

and he did not have disabilities, then I guess his peers might not tease Junyoung” (H. Lim, parent interview 2, February 15, 2017).

Racialized community. The participants lived in a community that has a large Korean or Asian population in California; the racial/ethnic boundary of the district was not physical but was discernible. Parents’ choice of a place to live was based on accessibility to the Korean community in order to meet their various educational and economic needs, and the families were satisfied with their decision to settle down at the center of the Korean or Asian community. The community provided rich cultural and linguistic support to meet the families’ needs; however, living in a racially isolated community affected the participants’ educational opportunities and conditions.

One benefit of living in the Korean or Asian community was that participants were able to utilize the local setting to better help their children with disabilities. In other words, living in a racially similar community had advantages for the participants, including the provision of educational information and services in their native tongues, the emotional comfort of being among people from similar racial/ethnic backgrounds, and the chance to use the rich historical context to create a career opportunity. For instance, Walter received psychological counseling in a Korean community center that provides services in both Korean and English for intergenerational immigrant families such as Walter’s. For Hyewon and Tacksu, a Korean parent support group helped them locate special education resources. Moreover, the Korean community was critical to Sangmin’s family settling in the area and receiving autism-related services—Sangmin received speech and language therapies (SLT) in his native tongue, and the school district was able to provide these services because he was in the Korean community. Tacksu said, “City A 쪽에 있다보니까 당장 먹고 살고 하는 문제에 있어서는 특별한 문제가 없었고

그러다보니까 아이들한테도 더 신경을 쓸 수 있지 않았을까요 (Since I live in City A [which has a large Korean population], I didn't have any problem with meeting basic needs to live, so I think that helped me spend more time with my children)?" (T, Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017) Tacksu also commented on the emotional comfort he experienced from the Korean community. In terms of emotional support, both Hyewon and Junyoung mentioned that they felt comfortable among Asians. Julia also said that for Munho (Walter's father), living in the Korean community was easier than living in other areas due to his English difficulties.

이 지역이 집값이 다른 데 보다 싸잖아요. 그리고 산도 가깝고 바다도 가깝고, 30 분이면 가니까 하이웨이 타고. 다른 데 갈 엄두도 안났고. 그리고 애들 아빠가 여행사에서 part-time 으로 일하고 택시를 part-time 으로 하고 그랬었어요. 그렇게 일을 하려면 영어를 힘들어 하니까 여기에 있게 됐죠.

The housing price in this area is lower than other places. And there were mountains and oceans nearby here; it only takes 20 minutes via highway. I couldn't even convince of the idea of moving to other places. And my children's dad (husband) has a part-job at a travel agency and drives a taxi as a part-time job. To work like that, and he has difficulties with English, so we have stayed here. (J. Park, parent interview 2, February 16, 2017)

Lastly, the rich immigration histories in the area became an asset for Walter. Because the district had historically experienced conflicts between racial minority groups, a neighborhood program now aims to improve interracial relationships in the community. This historical context enabled Walter to find a summer internship (during his college years) at an African American church in his neighborhood that worked to improve interracial communication and relationships.

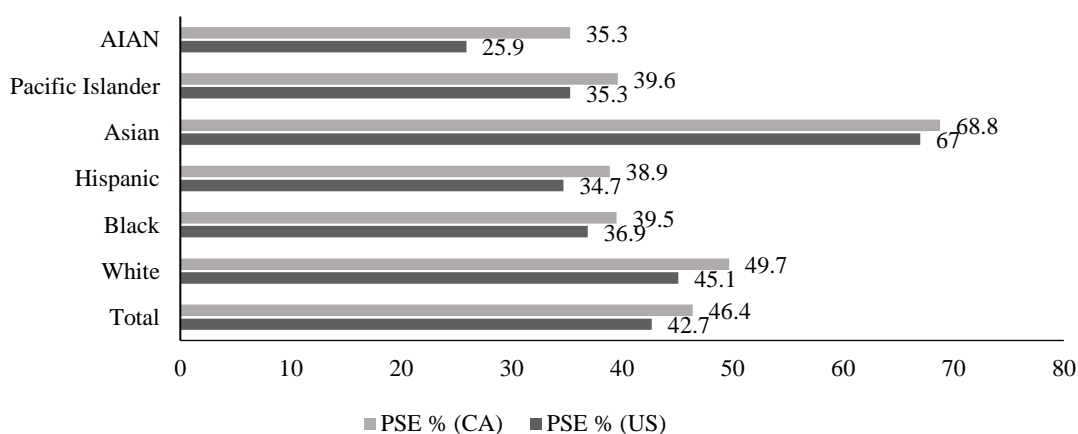
Despite these benefits, living in the Korean or Asian immigrant community had a considerable negative impact on the participants' educational opportunities. Because of the poor economic status of the area, Walter's high school had problems with academic achievement, drug abuse, and budget cuts (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). Thus, living in a homogeneous ethnic enclave had both advantages and disadvantages for the participants.

Race-based disparities in postsecondary outcomes in California. In this section, I briefly describe local race-based disparities in educational outcomes in California and discuss the practices and policies that are relevant to the participants' postsecondary access.

In 2013, a lower percentage of racial minority students than White students attended postsecondary education both in California and nationwide, with the exception of students who identified in the Asian/Pacific Islander group. In California, postsecondary education enrollment rates are slightly higher for all racial groups among states, but the patterns of racial differences in enrollment rates are similar to national patterns (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 5.2.

Percentage of 18 to 24 year olds enrolled in degree-granting postsecondary institutions in California and the United States in 2013, by region and race



Note. Adopted from *Digest of Education Statistics*. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d14/tables/dt14_302.65.asp?current=yes; AIAN = American Indian/Alaska Native

Source: U.S Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, American Community Survey (ACS), 1-year sample, 2013.

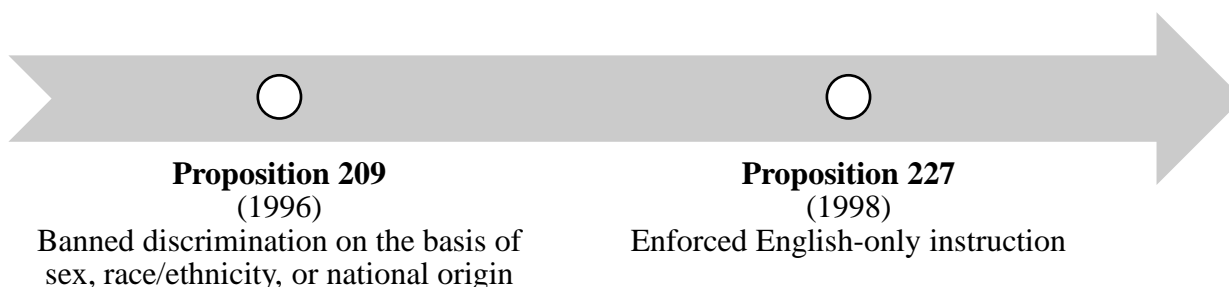
Figure 5.3 illustrates the racial differences in postsecondary education enrollment in California and the United States. As shown in Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1, the pattern of racial

disparities in postsecondary education enrollment for students with autism is distinct from the pattern for students in the general population. While postsecondary enrollment was highest among Asian students in the general population, among students with autism, White students enrolled in postsecondary education at the highest rate (Kim, under review).

California has a unique history of racial composition and political debates about racial and linguistic equity. A series of initiatives in California have impacted the transition trajectories for racial minority students with autism. Here I discuss Proposition 209 and the English-only approach (e.g., Proposition 227) in relation to the educational trajectories of participants (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3.

California Propositions Related to Postsecondary Education Enrollment for the Participants



Proposition 209, which banned racial preferences in admission at postsecondary institutions in California (Arcidiacono, Aucejo, Coate, & Hotz, 2012), was passed in 1996. According to Proposition 209, “The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting.” In terms of college admission, the initiative banned racial quota systems in public colleges. Although on the

surface the wording of Proposition 209 seems to support the provision of equal opportunities regardless of race and sex, the proposition actually lowered enrollment rates among racial minority students. One year before the initiative, the University of California eliminated racial quotas in their admission system, a change which resulted in a 17.7% decrease in incoming Black students (Takagi, 1992). Hicklin (2007) argued that the initiative did not decrease the total number of minority students in postsecondary institutions, but redistributed the minority students to less selective institutions. To understand the impact of Proposition 209, participants were asked about the racial quota systems in higher education. The participants commented that the racial quota systems would not have a positive impact on their postsecondary access as Asian students; rather the quota might have decreased their likelihood of admission due to the intersection of race and autism. Hyewon mentioned that the quotas might restrict only Asians, especially those with disabilities because it might require students with disabilities to compete with other qualified Asians. Jeonghee agreed that Korean parents might not welcome quota systems.

Bilingual policies and practices. Bilingual practices and policies, including Proposition 227, which was passed in 1998, caused additional confusion for students, educators, and families. Proposition 227 mandates that instruction must be conducted “overwhelmingly in English (Schirling et al., 2000).” After its passage in 2000, the initiative immediately affected 71.1% of English Language Learners in California, as well as their parents and teachers (Garcia, 2000). Schirling, Contreras, and Ayala (2000) interviewed students, parents, and teachers in the San Francisco Bay Area and found that the initiative negatively impacted the lives of all three groups. One particularly important aspect of the proposition was the 30-day mandate. The initiative mandated that schools first provide 30 days of English-only instruction for bilingual

students before the school could act on parent waivers. In other words, for a child to receive bilingual instruction, parents needed to sign their consent; however, their wishes would only be honored after their child was subjected to an enforced 30 days in an exclusively English-speaking classroom. Because some parents are busy and others forgot to sign the waiver, many students remained in English-only classrooms for far longer than 30 days (Garcia, 2000; Schirling et al., 2000). Moreover, participating parents were not well informed about the waiver and simply assumed the English-only classrooms were the only option. Researchers argued that the mandate negatively impacted students' emotional well-being, as well as their academic achievement; the 30-day mandate also frustrated parents because they could not help their children with their homework. In addition, Proposition 227 created additional instructional demands for teachers without providing them with proper support, causing them to become frustrated and tired. The ambiguous terms increased teachers' anxiety about breaking the rules, and many avoided using any non-English words (Schirling et al., 2000). All parents in this study are first generation immigrants and can speak English, but prefer their native tongue, Korean. However, this preference could not be freely indulged at home. For instance, when Junyoung first received a diagnosis of autism, his doctor recommended that he be educated in a monolingual environment. This occurred in 2000, a time when there were limited resources for bilingual or multilingual families of children with autism. As a result, Hyewon and Junyoung went back to Korea without Daeho (Junyoung's father). The family had to live separately to educate Junyoung and impacted Daeho's health when he lived alone. For Walter's linguistic environment, Julia's perspective toward English-first education was taken to adjust this monolingual society although Julia preferred to use her native language. Julia recounted that:

(조언) 예, 받았죠. IEP 팀이 아이가 이해하는 언어, 제가 익숙한 말로 가르치라고. 저는 영어 못했어요. 그래도 애한테 한국말로 가르쳐주고 싶지 않았어요. 영어가 더

급했어요, 저한테는. 학교를 다녀야 되기 때문에. 애가 미국학교를 매일 다녀야 되는데 한국말을 계속 가르치면 너무 힘들어 할까봐. 그리고 이중으로 가르쳐야 되잖아요, 결국에는. 저는 영어를 집중적으로 가르쳤어요. 책을 10 권씩 읽어주고, 저는 진짜 *intensive intervention* 했었어요... 영어가 익숙해지고 킨더가든 다니고 그래서 그 다음에 한국어 주말학교 보내기 시작했죠, 6 살 때. 우리 큰 애는 4 살 때 주말학교 갔거든요, 근데 월터는 6 살 때 보냈어요, 영어가 좀 익숙해진 다음에, 학교 생활도 좀 익숙해진 다음에 보냈어요. 킨더가든을 제 나이에 보내고 싶어서.

(advice) Yes, I was given advice. The IEP team recommended that I teach in a language that he could comprehend and I was familiar with. However, I didn't want to teach in Korean. English was a priority for me since he had to go to school. He had to go to American schools every day, so I thought that teaching in Korean might be a burden for him. And I had to teach in both languages, eventually. I focused on English. I read ten books; it was an intensive intervention... Once he was familiar with English and attended kindergarten, I sent him to a Korean weekend school when he was six. His older brother went to the weekend school when he was four, but I sent Walter at six after he became familiar with English and school. I did it because I wanted him to attend a kindergarten at the age he should (J. Park, parent interview 2, February 16, 2017).

Although Proposition 227 required that all public school instruction should be conducted in English, individual situations for the participants differed in terms of bilingual education at school. Thus, bilingual education was a great concern for the parents, and educators of those families might also experience confusion about bilingual education for children with autism. The confusion could be because the practitioners needed to rely on their training in that era and to comply with educational regulations, such as NCLB and California Proposition 227, which reflected a societal preference for English.

When Junyoung and Sangmin returned to the United States in their elementary years (2005 and 2007, respectively), the common practice in California was to categorize students from bilingual homes as ESL students and provide 30 days of English-only instruction unless parents requested a waiver. However, neither Junyoung's parents nor Sangmin's parent knew about the parent waiver,⁸ even though both schools were located in a district with a large Korean

⁸ The initiative mandated that schools provide 30 days of English-only instruction for bilingual students *before* the parent waivers could be acted on (Schirling, Contreras & Ayala, 2000).

population (Junyoung and Sangmin lived in different cities). In Junyoung's school district, the district designated one school to provide ESL classes in exclusively English-speaking classrooms. Junyoung remembered that "they [teachers] said, 'No speaking Korean and only English from now on'" (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016). Fortunately, this strategy was effective at helping Junyoung learn English quickly. He mentioned that an English-only ESL strategy was effective for him, who had previously learned English and had sufficient English knowledge to understand instructions. Sangmin's school district included a school that operated a Korean-English dual language program. Tacksu mentioned that Sangmin would not have been able to learn anything without the program. Because their ability to speak English fundamentally impacted their academic performance, the English education programs were essential for the participants. Moreover, English proficiency is a critical element for postsecondary access. Despite his participation in the dual language program, Sangmin still had difficulty learning English. He said, "English grammar was very confusing and difficult, and stressful. I had anger problems because of it." (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016) Sangmin's anger problem caused significant stress for him and his family. This example shows how language learning environments can intertwine with mental health and have a strong impact on a family's daily life.

Together, the English programs, parents' efforts to find the right place for their children, and the children's academic efforts yielded excellent academic performances. However, the journey to acquire another language was academically and mentally demanding.

Immigrant parents and their children with autism. The interview data show that immigration status intertwined with the students' disabilities, race/ethnicity, and language to shape the children's educational trajectories. For instance, immigration lowered the

socioeconomic status of the families. For example, due to their immigrant status, Sangmin's family did not have any relatives or network in California, which, combined with Sangmin's disability status, had a particularly negative impact on the psychological well-being of the family. Tacksu mentioned that he and his wife did not have any leisure time with other people. Similarly, Hyewon said she spent all her time educating her sons. Moreover, Sangmin's parents had to start new careers after immigrating to the United States, which hurt the family's economic situation. Fortunately, all the parents were eventually able to obtain new jobs.

The families' immigration from Korea to the United States affected their children's education as well as their postsecondary options in a variety of ways. Many Korean immigrants attend an ethnic church mainly to establish networks and access local resources. As networks for first generation immigrant families shrink after their transition, Korean churches often provide support for Korean families. Thus, all three families had made contact with Korean churches to establish local networks and to provide peer relationship experiences for their children. Walter's family attended a Korean church for several years. They received emotional support and parenting support for educating Walter. Junyoung tried to attend churches mainly because Hyewon wanted him to be with other peers who shared similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds. However, Junyoung did not like to attend the church because he wanted to rest and was not able to make friends at church. Likewise, Sangmin's family began attending a church but did not continue. Although Korean churches have become places to establish a co-ethnic network, Junyoung's and Sangmin's families were not able to justify dedicating time to attending church.

In terms of immigration status, the participants were either permanent residents or citizens. Walter's parents had been undocumented for a long time. However, their status did not

directly affect Walter's ability to receive services at the Regional Center or at school. It took almost ten years for Walter's parents to receive a green card under Section 245(i). While their status did not directly impact Walter's education, the family could not visit Korea due to their document issue, which worsened the relationships between Walter's parents. Junyoung's family always possessed legal resident status, although the process took a long time. Sangmin's family has also always resided in the United States legally.

Immigration generation (see Footnote 1 for definition) was another consideration for family conflicts. Julia explained that her children could not understand their father's sarcastic communication style, which Julia described as Korean style. While there was uncertainty about whether this conflict was generational (i.e., the conflict between first-generation immigrants and their children), Julia and Walter perceived the difficulty as due to cultural differences between the father and children. Jeonghee Bae⁹ also argued that second-generation Korean-American children had a difficult time accepting their parents' direct way of speaking.

IEP Teams' Low Expectations, Cultural Mismatches and Miscommunication

Educators' low expectations were one of the challenges that the families experienced as they prepared for college. The low expectations are rooted in the IEP structure—the focus is geared toward failure. For example, transition services did not help students prepare for college. Walter mentioned that the IEP team focused on difficulties, not strengths (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). Although all of the participants' IEPs included transition plans (as IDEA requires), they did not meaningfully address postsecondary goals. Walter recounted that “IEP they may presuppose that I will get entry-level job (sic), I think they have low expectations.” (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016). In Sangmin's case, Tacksu

⁹ Jeonghee Bae was a chair of the City C Korean Support Groups for parents of children with developmental disabilities.

mentioned that the IEP team expected Sangmin to go to a community college at best (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016).

There was a cultural mismatch between the families and the schools. The initial assumptions about advocating for students were different from what the families expected in Korea. The parents did not know the legal procedures or safeguards for students with disabilities and initially assumed that the educators would be the primary caregiver or advocate for their children at the school. Thus, the parents received the services that the school provided and thought that the IEP staff had arranged every possible service available to their children. They later learned that parents had to be the primary advocates for their children's needs. Since they did not know how to advocate, they utilized private services. Hyewon and Tacksu hired private English tutors who could also speak Korean until high school. Hyewon said:

애가 영어를 잘하지 못하는 상황이었는데도 speech therapy 를 일주일에 30 분인가 1 시간인가 되게 조금주면서 처음엔 group 으로 하겠다 그래서 생각보다 잘 안해주는 구나, 알아서 해주는 건 아니구나. 참 느꼈죠. 그 다음부터는 집에서 애한테 좀 도움될 수 있는 거를 찾아보고...

When my child initially didn't speak English well [in elementary school], he was given 30 minutes or one hour of speech therapy per a week in a group, so I realized that the IEP team wouldn't do everything for him automatically; I noticed that for the first time. Then, I searched for things that I can do at home... (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016)

Tacksu later hired a lawyer to attend an IEP meeting so Sangmin could receive the services that he intended to get. Tacksu added that if he had understood the cultural differences and their legal rights, their families would have experienced less stress and their children might have performed better. Tacksu added that if the IEP had offered some insight into a possible career for Sangmin, it would have been very beneficial; specifically, it would have reduced the family's stress and given them time to navigate the postsecondary transition process. This would hold true especially

for those first generation immigrant families who do not have a good understanding of the education system in the United States.

Sangmin's education was also hampered by miscommunication. The family had considered spending one more year at high school, and the IEP staff initially agreed. However, the IEP team intended to provide an extension if Sangmin did not perform well enough to graduate on time and Sangmin's family believed that he would take an extra year to prepare for college without other academic demands, regardless of his graduation requirement status. The miscommunication might have been due to cultural differences, language difficulties, school resources, and/or a lack of communication between the school and the family. The family and IEP staff were already busy addressing their immediate agenda: accommodations and counseling services, and thus did not have sufficient time and resources to review the initial request. As a result, Sangmin's senior year was stressful for him and his family. The low expectations and cultural mismatches and miscommunications occurred at the intersection of culture, language, IEP structure, and resources.

The data show that the diagnosis of autism had a complex impact because of the existence of multiple other issues, including immigration experiences, other health conditions, and socioeconomic situations. Despite all these stressors, the families remained in the United States because the parents considered that educational benefits for their children exceeded the challenges.

Responses to Intersectionality

The intersectional experiences discussed above shaped the postsecondary access and trajectories of the Korean-American young adults with autism in this study. In turn, the families and institutions responded to these experiences; individual students and their families equipped

themselves with strategies to utilize their strengths; educators, peers, and community members tried to enhance postsecondary opportunities for the students; schools and communities made interagency efforts to address their unique needs; and policies were established as a response to the previous legal conditions of this population. In this section, I explore the second research question: What are the responses to intersectional experiences?

Individual Responses

Participants' responses to the intersectional experiences had several similarities and differences. The combination of students' strengths and their difficulties enabled the students to maintain excellent academic records; the students and their families utilized strategies to increase postsecondary access; the parents decided to move to the United States for their children's education; and the parents focused on certain careers that would allow their children to live independently.

Academic achievement. All three students excelled academically. Walter earned a GPA of 3.4; Junyoung earned a 3.96; and Sangmin earned a 3.88. Their academic achievement was possible because of the confluence of the students' characteristics and endeavors, the socioeconomic status of the families, the schools' efforts, and special education infrastructure.

Individual characteristics and motivation. Participants mentioned their individual characteristics, such as cognitive ability and personality, as important reasons for their academic achievements. The diagnosis for all participating students was Asperger's or high-functioning autism (W. Kim, IEP, February 10, 2009; J. Lim, EP assessment report, January 8, 2015; S. Yun, Psychological Evaluation, February 7, 2008 & March 5, 2008). Walter had also been classified as a highly gifted student (W. Kim, Gifted Eligibility Document, March 16, 2005). Intelligence is also measured by a student's intelligence quotient (IQ). The participants' IQs were measured as:

Walter: 115 (on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-Fourth Edition [WISC-IV], February 3, 2009), Junyoung: 93 (on the Woodcock Johnson Test, Third Edition, January 4, 2012), and Sangmin: VIQ=108, PIQ=94, FSIQ=102 (full-scale IQ was not reported; measured on the WISC-KEBI [Korean version], October 13, 2007). Their cognitive functioning could be one of the fundamental reasons for their academic success.

Moreover, all three students worked hard in high school; Julia mentioned that Walter studied five hours a day after school (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016); Junyoung heavily focused on academic assignments (J. Lim, student interview 2, September 13, 2016); and Sangmin voluntarily asked teachers for extra assignments to improve his grades and spent a lot of time completing these tasks (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016). Furthermore, Tacksu said that whether it was obsession or dedication, his son had a very strong focus on academic achievement or grades.

그게 강박관념인지 아니면 천성인지 잘 모르겠지만, 뭔가를 하려고 하면 주어진 일은 끝까지 꼭 잘 해서 마무리를 하려고 해요. 그래서 학교 숙제도 시험공부도 밤늦게까지 하고 그런 것들이 힘들지만 그러고 나면 보람도 느끼고. 저게 그냥 천성일지 아니면... 흔히들 자폐 아이들 가지고 있는 특징 중에 하나가 강박관념이잖아요. 이걸 해야되는데 안하면 불안해, 그래서 하는 걸까? 어쨌거나 그 부분이 단점이자 장점이 된거죠, 공부면에서는 특히.

I don't know whether it's obsession or personality, but he tends to work hard to complete given tasks. So, he did his homework and studies for exams till late at night, those were difficult, but he also felt a sense of accomplishment. The trait can be his personality or... Children with autism typically have an obsession. He feels uneasy if he doesn't do whatever he must do, so he works hard. Anyway, that became a weakness and strength, especially for academics. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

Hard-working or obsessed with academic achievement was how all of the participating parents described their children. Hyewon also said that Junyoung was very responsible about academic tasks. Walter was also studying diligently to receive excellent grades. However, at the same time, preoccupation with completeness could be an obstacle to meeting multiple deadlines at schools.

Because written assignments are a typical tool for measuring academic comprehension in today's schools, taking too much time on writing assignments was a difficulty faced by all three students: Walter mentioned that choosing a topic for his writing was particularly difficult (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016); Junyoung said he took too much time on writing (J. Lim, student interview 1, June 15, 2016); and Tacksu recounted that writing a report took a lot of time for Sangmin because he had to read everything before writing (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016). Along with other psychological conditions, such as ADHD, depression, and anxiety, participants stated that obsession with incompleteness had both positive and negative impacts on academic achievement, which is essential for postsecondary access.

Strong academic motivation was one of the responses to intersectional experiences, such as feelings of accomplishment and experiences of bullying. Hyewon and Tacksu mentioned that their children were responsible for their given tasks, and the parents were happy to see their children enjoying their work (H. Lim & T. Yun, parent interviews). Sangmin recounted, "I participated a subject named design, and design needs quite a lot of patience; I learned patience, and everything went okay, better and better." (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016) Although the students excelled academically, making friends was still difficult. All three were bullied at school, especially during their middle school years, because of their Korean names, their appearance (e.g. eczema), and a lack of social skills. Julia guessed that Walter might believe that his academic achievement would prevent his peers from teasing him (J. Park, parent interview 1, September 12, 2016).

Family's socioeconomic status. The socioeconomic status of the families, such as parents' education attainment and household income, was also critical to academic success. All the participating parents had a bachelor's degree or higher. In terms of educational attainment

and household income, Junyoung and Sangmin's families classified themselves as middle class. The participants considered the confluence of household income and parents' educational attainment critical to achieving postsecondary access. For instance, Walter's family classified themselves as a low-income family, but both of his parents had graduated from one of the top universities in Korea, and his father, Munho, had received PhD-level training in the United States (even though Munho did not complete his study). Their experiences in higher education and their networks enabled the families to navigate the college preparation process. The family took it for granted that their children would attend college if at all possible. Walter mentioned:

That was my family who emphasized academics. My dad went to University A, and my mom went to University B [the universities mentioned here are two of the top universities in Korea]. Because they are academically up there, they are very intelligent. It was natural for them to make me pursue college. (W. Kim, student interview 2, February 26, 2017)

Furthermore, one commonality of the families was that they put a high value on education. All the parents had dedicated most of their time to educate their children. Their dedication positively impacted their children's academic growth. Along with private English tutors, the families utilized other outside educational services for college preparations for three reasons: they did not know if the schools could provide the necessary information or how they could request it; the schools did not expect the students to attend four-year institutions; and the families were able to obtain sufficient information through their networks and the private service sector. When I asked about college counselors in Junyoung's high school, Hyewon replied, “[FAFSA or scholarships] 그런 거는 저희가 알아서 한거죠, FAFSA 같은 거는 주변에서 대학들 보내고 그러니까 해야된다고 알고 있어서 회계사 통해서 저희가 그냥 했구요. (We took care of things [like FAFSA]. People I knew told me that we should apply for FAFSA, so we just did it through our accountant.)” (parent interview 2, February 15, 2017) Moreover, all three students received

private college counseling services because most of their peers also utilized these services and the IEP teams and teachers did not have sufficient time and resources to provide this level of services. Although the families were able to support their children with private services, they said that the process was stressful because they did not have time for themselves and invested a lot of their time and money in the process. The parents worked long hours and spent almost all of their time supporting their children.

Academic atmosphere at the school. Participants talked about the atmosphere at the schools, especially the high schools' focus, academic structure, and teacher's attitudes. Walter pointed out his school's focus on going to college; he said:

First was how teachers and faculties in the school emphasized a lot of going to college, being able to take rigorous classes; they made it seem like that is life so at least for high school, my motivation was, in order to go to college, I need to study. (W. Kim, student interview 2, February 26, 2017)

Moreover, all three high schools provided many AP classes, and the students were able to take these courses: Walter took AP biology, world history, English, and calculus (dropped); Junyoung took AP physics, environmental science, and computer; and Sangmin took AP environmental science and calculus (high school IEPs).

Furthermore, participants mentioned school structure, such as leadership and services. Particularly in Walter's high school, unstable school leadership was detrimental because the school was disorganized in terms of providing consistent education services for their students. Walter explained,

There was a principal in the high school who wasn't doing so well organizing and addressing issues, so she got fired, so we had a substitute principal like 2-3 months. A lot of stuff going on, that year, every other day, or every day, there's fire. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Even though Walter's high school had many problems, the high school did provide both college counseling services, which helped Walter arrange FAFSA in advance, and AP courses.

Although educators' low expectations were noted previously, the students believed that their teachers were supportive. Walter said, "I love my teachers. They saw me as different and unique, they respected me; I'm grateful for that." (student interview 1, June 14, 2016) Junyoung mentioned, "My relationship with teachers were really good, particularly good because they were always supportive of me, they always help me." (student interview 1, June 15, 2016) Sangmin said, "Teachers were fine, they helped me." (S. Yun, student interview 1, September 14, 2016) Hyewon added that the teachers' support was helpful for Junyoung with regard to his self-advocacy in college.

선생님들이 다 nice 하게 잘 해주셔서, 준영이가 항상 선생님들은 자기를 support 해주시는 걸로 알고 늘 마음 편하게 선생님한테 가서 얘기를 했고, 그래서 애가 직접 찾아가서 묻고 그러는 것에 대해서 부담이 없어요. 저희가 대학도 사실은 그래서 public school 을 보낼 수 있었던 거죠. 애들이 많은 public college 에서는 개별적으로 이런 disability 가 있는 애들을 따로 불러서 신경써주는 체계가 갖춰져 있는 것이 아니라, 자기가 직접 disability office 도 등록을 해야되고, 그쪽에다가 필요한 것을 스스로 요청해야되고, 교수 office hour 같은 것을 자기가 알아서 찾아가고, 필요할 때 교수님께 이메일 보내고 이런 것들도 애가 알아서 해야 해요. 그런 것들이 다 되니까 저희도 public school, college 를 보낼 수 있었던 거죠. 항상 저희는 (선생님들께) 고맙죠, 애한테 그런 생각을 가지고 있을 수 있게 해주셨다는 것이...

Since all his [Junyoung's] teachers have been nice, he believes that teachers are the ones who always support him. Thus, he was always comfortable going to teachers for help, so he is not afraid to go to teachers and ask. That's why we were able to send him to a public school [college]. Public colleges don't have systems to give personal attention to students with disabilities since they have many students. He also has to register with the disability office, and he asks for what he needs. He also has to go to office hours and emails professors by himself. Because he can do all those things, we could send him to a public school, college. We always appreciate the teachers, that they made him trust teachers. (H. Lim, parent interview 2, February 15, 2017)

Special education system. Lastly, the infrastructure embedded in the special education system, such as accommodations, mental health supports, and a free appropriate public education

(FAPE) provision, helped the students maintain excellent academic records. Overall, the participants appreciated the special education systems in the United States and believed that the system was crucial for their children to attend college. Hyewon compared the special education systems in both countries:

한국에서는 일반 regular school 을 다니면서 IEP 같은 프로그램이 없으니까, 아무래도 학교다니면서 많이 힘들었을 것 같아요. 미국에서는 제도가 잘 되어있으니까, 저희가 SLT 라던가 이런것들을 많이 받거나 엄청 효과가 있었다는 건 아니어도, 그래도 accommodation 이 있어서 애가 수업따라가고 이런 부분에서 도움을 많이 받았던 것 같아요. 그렇지 않았으면 애가 대학가기 어렵지 않았을까 싶은데요.

In Korea, there were no programs like IEP since Junyoung was attending a regular school, so schools [in Korea] might be stressful for Junyoung. Because American systems are well established, although we didn't receive a lot of SLT or it wasn't very effective, we got a lot of help regarding catching up with classes due to accommodation. Otherwise, I think going to college might be very difficult for my child. (H. Lim, parent interview 2, February 15, 2017)

Hyewon added that the accommodations enabled Junyoung to maintain a sufficient GPA for college admission. Moreover, accommodations for college entrance exams such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) were also critical for the participants. Fortunately, the participants were able to arrange these accommodations on time even though the process took a lot of time and even though, in Sangmin's case, the school did not prepare the necessary documents.

Moreover, Tacksu mentioned that accessibility to a school counselor was particularly helpful for Sangmin during middle and high school, and he believed that the service might have indirectly helped Sangmin perform well academically. When Tacksu talked about the special education system in Korea, he reported:

상민이가 한국에 있었으면 이런 교육 시스템에 못있었을 거고 다른 아이들로부터 한국은 특히 조금 다른 아이들에 대해서 애들자체가 인식자체가 안 좋기 때문에 아마도 많이 괴롭힘을 당했을거고 심성을 유지하기가 힘들었겠죠. 아주 장애가 많아서 주변상황을 인식하지 못하는 것도 아니고 다 알기 때문에 다른 상황에 대해서 상처를 많이 받았을 거고 그러면 중학교 때나 anger problem 이 많이 나왔을

때 만약에 한국같은 상황이었고 주변에 친구들이 더 놀리거나 이랬다고 하면 그때는 사고를 쳤을 수도 있고 더 안 좋은 상황에 많이 있었을 거라고 생각을 합니다.

If Sangmin was in Korea, he was not able to receive special education supports like in here. Because children's awareness toward different children is still poor in Korea, he might have been bullied and unable to maintain his mental health. It's not like he had too many disabilities to recognize circumstances—he can recognize everything. Thus, he might have been hurt by the situation if he was in Korea and his friends bullied him a lot, then he might have gotten into trouble or worse when he had an anger problem during his middle school years. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

Tacksu also pointed out that the overall support in Korean schools might not have been sufficient for Sangmin to have excellent academic achievement. American special education support systems, such as IEP or counseling services, were the ones he appreciated.

여기[미국]서는 여기있는 IEP 를 통한 아이들한테 개별적인 필요를 채워주려고 하는 제도가 있었기 때문에 상민이가 지원을 받으면서 공부를 할 수 있었지 만약에 없었다면 그냥 멘탈이 흔들리고 제대로 하지 못하면 공부자체를 할 수가 없었겠지요. 그래서 학교에서 therapist 나 counselor 이나 psychologist 나 이런 사람들하고 계속 얘기하고 피드백이 있고 친구들하고 관계는 없드래도 그런 거라도 있었기 때문에 상민이가 anger problem 이 많이 나왔을 때도 마음을 잡고 스스로 컨트롤하는 법을 배우고 그런 것 때문에 공부도 계속 할 수 있었을 거고 그런 면에서 대학가는 데 도움이 많이 됐겠죠... 직접적인 시험 점수의 문제가 아니고 공부할 수 있는 환경을 끊임없이 만들어 주려고 하는 노력이라는 거 이런 측면에서 많이 도움이 된거라고 봐야죠.

Since there was a system like IEP, which provides individualized supports, Sangmin was able to study. If there had been nothing, he would not have been able to maintain his mental health for study. He always had feedback from therapists, counselors, or psychologists at school although he didn't have any relationships with friends, so he was able to learn self-control and study. That might help him to go to college... It's not about the exam scores, but efforts to establish environments in which he can study, I think that was very helpful indirectly to complete high school and go to college. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

Julia concluded that the special education system was helpful in preventing Walter from being disciplined at school. She recounted:

월터가 킨더하고 일학년 다닐 때 suspension 을 몇 번 받았어요. 애들을 밀어갓고 머리에 흑이 났어요, 밀린애가, 벽에 부딪쳐가지고. 그리고 4 학년 때도 suspension 을 받은 적 있어요. 월터를 놀려서 우리 애가 개를 발로 차갓고. 만약에

월터가 IEP 를 안 받았더라면 계속 suspension 을 받고 그랬을 거예요. 행동이 충동적이고 그런 게 있었거든요. 근데 IEP 를 받고 진단을 받고 그래서 그런 행동을 하더라도 선생님이 이해를 해주는 쪽으로 했던 것 같아요.

Walter was suspended when he was in first grade since he pushed other children, and one child got a bump on his head when he bumped against a wall. When Walter was fourth grade, he was suspended again. A child teased him, so Walter kicked the child. If Walter didn't have an IEP, he might have been suspended again and again since he was impulsive. I think teachers tried to understand him because of his IEP and the diagnosis.

During an informal conversation with Julia, she mentioned that having a record of suspensions would be detrimental for his college application, and in that regards, the FAPE safeguards could be helpful. Interviews revealed that the participants attributed students' academic achievement to the intersection of efforts by the students, their families, the schools, and the special education support system.

Transforming their struggles. The participating students were not only passive recipients of education support but also active participants in the process. In other words, they utilized their struggles to gain admission to college and determine a future career.

First, college essays were considered to be an opportunity for the participants to prove their academic capability. They utilized their struggles to emphasize their endeavors: Walter mentioned that he described all his struggles, such as the disabilities that he overcame, in his personal statement; Junyoung also disclosed his disability labels in his essays; and Sangmin recounted that he described his physical and emotional challenges in his essays to make up for his SAT scores, which were slightly lower than required for the pharmacy programs that he applied to. They students mentioned that writing about their process to overcome the difficulties became opportunities, and the strategy of empowering themselves during the rigid admissions process was considered to be effective.

Walter experienced another transformation through religion. Walter's spiritual realization led him to choose his major, Christian ministry. He responded to his intersecting struggles by actively involving religious practices, and this response impacted his career path. He also chose psychology for his minor because his ultimate career goal was to help other people, and he thought that counseling and psychology could help people like him and others who struggle with sexual violence. Walter summarized:

Right now, I'm grateful for the all the experiences although that lot of them [pornography addiction] were not being good, who I am, part of my identity. Jesus and God, just my past is that because Jesus he died on the cross and rose back to life and he paid for all our sins and forgave us for those, I find hope... I was very scientific, biology. I went to Beacon [his current college] in ninth grade; at an event called Beacon Outreach at the end of the day, I realized that love and caring and generosity that they had, I didn't feel, or I didn't get even from my family. It clicked, it was like, "Wow, hope! I want this love; I want this hope." Faith is something that's very internal in my life because I believe that it's not the IEP, it's not the people in IEP, it's part of my process and building hope into my character but being able to know for sure that my character and my identity all came from faith. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

Moreover, Walter experienced a pornography addiction and wondered about the intersection of autism and the addiction. His faith allowed him to recover from the addiction. Walter said that he did not have any hope, but then he found hope through faith. Although Walter's experiences were far from ideal, he eventually used his struggles to establish a future career goal.

International transitions. In addition to the diagnosis of autism, transitioning between nations had dramatic impacts on the families. The primary reason for their immigration was education. International migration was possible due to changes in policies and the socioeconomic assets of the families.

Seeking better education options. The families' reasons for immigrating varied, but all the families agreed that the American special education system provided better educational opportunities for their children than the Korean system. Walter's families came to the United

States for the father's doctoral education. Thus, Walter was born in the United States. The family continued to stay in the United States because his father did not want to go back to Korea (he did not want to be seen as a failure after dropping out of his doctoral program), and his mother's family lived in California. Junyoung's family also came to the United States for his father's job rather than Junyoung's education, and then returned to Korea due to linguistic concerns. Later, the family reunited in the United States mainly because of Junyoung's education. Sangmin's family immigrated solely for Sangmin's education. Later Sangmin went abroad for his gap year program but had to return due to the fear of being denied re-entry under the Trump administration.

Junyoung initially received his diagnosis of autism in the United States. Then, he went back to Korea with his mother because of his doctor's recommendation that he be in a monolingual environment. Hyewon said that when they went back to Korea, Junyoung's linguistic and social skills were developing in an interactive way because they were surrounded by relatives and friends who adored Junyoung regardless of his disabilities. However, Junyoung and his mother had to return to the United States when Daeho became sick after living alone for a while.

Junyoung's and Sangmin's families migrated for the sake of their children's education, because the parents could not find sufficient support for their children in Korea, and were concerned about the public view of individuals with disabilities in Korea. In the mid-2000s, finding resources for children with autism in Korea was challenging for the participants, and an increasing amount of online information enabled the parents to navigate special education systems in other nations. Moreover, the families believed that special education and public attitudes toward their sons in Korea were problematic and would not improve. In Junyoung's

case, he already had the diagnosis of autism before he returned to Korea. However, even with the diagnosis, resources were only available via network contacts—there was no formal resource center such as the regional centers in California that were available at that time. Hyewon had to search for preschools for Junyoung through a church that provided services for individuals with disabilities. The church staff introduced her to an inclusive preschool. Around the same time (the mid-2000s), Sangmin’s parents were also looking for information. They had gone through several psychiatrists by the time Sangmin turned ten. Tacksu was also searching for the right place for Sangmin to be educated in Korea, for example, alternative schools. Then, he found information about the special education system in North America.

인터넷 검색을 통해서 [북미의 특수교육에 대해] 알게 됐죠. 왜냐면 [정보를 인터넷으로 찾았나면] 그 당시에 한국에서는 미국처럼 regional center 라는 기관이 있는 것도 아니고 치료하러 갔을 때 부모들이 만나서 정보교환정도 이외에는 인터넷에서 있는 정보 이외에는 공식적으로 정보를 주거나 찾을 수 있는 데가 없었죠. 아이들이 겪은 경험같은 거를 캐나다에 있는 부모가 인터넷에 있는 글을 올린 거를 제가 검색을 하게 되가지고. 그래서 관련된 내용을 검색을 해가지고 알게됐죠.

I found information [about the special education system in North America] through an Internet search. [I searched the Internet] because at that time in Korea, there were no centers like the regional centers in the United States, there was no formal place to exchange or obtain information other than the Internet, except occasions like meeting other parents and exchanging information at therapy sessions. I found an Internet post that was written by a parent about their children’s experiences in Canada, so I searched for related information online. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

Recently, Sangmin experienced another international transition when he returned to the United States from his gap year program abroad due to the fear of possible family separation. More details are discussed in the next section.

Immigration policies and socioeconomic status. When Junyoung and Sangmin were living in Korea, there was insufficient support for students with autism. 특수교육 진흥법 (The Special Education Promotion Act in Korea) did not list autism as a separate category until 2007

(while in the United States it was listed separately in 1990 in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act), and 자폐 (autism) was still a new term in educational settings at that time.

Because information about special education in other nations was available (online), the families of Junyoung and Sangmin decided to immigrate. In Junyoung's case, the family already had experience with the special education system in California, whereas in Sangmin's case the family did not have their own experiential knowledge about the education system in North America. However, informational technology allowed the families to obtain resources about the U.S. education system.

Both families also believed that in Korea the special education system and public attitudes were not supportive for educating their children. Junyoung and Sangmin did not receive special education services in Korea because special education services were not available for students with their level of difficulties. The parents also mentioned that raising children with disabilities in Korea can be very demanding due to the lack of awareness and infrastructure for individuals with disabilities. Julia said that none of the Korean families of children with disabilities in the United States she knew went back to Korea, and Julia did not want her own family to go back because the Korean education system is too demanding. Hyewon said, “저희는 여기 미국에서 쭉 살아야 되겠다고 생각했어요, 애때때. 한국에 있으면은 워낙에 장애인에 대한 사회적인 편견이 심한 거 같고 애 데리고 다니기도 좀 그렇거든요. (We thought that we had to live in the United States because of Junyoung. In Korea, people have a strong social prejudice against individuals with disabilities, and I felt uncomfortable with going out with him.” (parent interview 1, September 13, 2016) Tacksu also mentioned that there was a lack of awareness of differences among children in Korea. Thus Sangmin might have been bullied harshly and might have become aggressive due to his anger problem.

Moreover, immigration became a feasible option for the families because of changes in immigration policies in both nations, and the ease of international transportation and information exchange. A series of policies, as shown in Figure 5.2, enabled the families to migrate to the United States. After the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, a large influx of Korean immigrants was able to come to the United States. In addition, in 1989 여행 자유화 조치 (the Travel Liberalization Measure) was passed, which repealed age restrictions on international travel; this allowed the families to explore international options for educating their children (Linver, Brooks-Gunn, & Kohen, 2002). Of course, developments in information and transportation technology also made the immigration option feasible. Despite their varying experiences, all the three families agreed that immigration was the right choice for their children with autism as a response to intersectional experiences.

Immigration policies not only affected the families' initial entrance and immigration decisions but also influenced the families during their stays. For instance, Julia took about ten years to receive a green card through 245(i). During this period, the family was not able to go back to Korea even when Walter's paternal grandfather passed away. For this reason, the relationship between Walter's parents deteriorated. Sangmin's family faced difficulties due to recently implemented immigration policies. Before Sangmin completed his gap year program, he decided to return to the United States because the family feared he would be blocked at the airport if he returned at a later time. The decision was made in response to the changes in immigration policies and recent executive orders by Trump administration. Tacksu explained:

원래 [gap year program 에] 5 월말까지 있어야 되는데... 도널드 트럼프 이민정책이 이민자들이 나라에 부담을 주고 백인들이 내는 세금을 다 뺏어간다고 생각을 하는 그런 이민정책을 하고 있기 때문에 상민이가 disability 잼아요. 지금 영주권 상태고. 그래서 저는 혹시나 이런 장애나 medical problem 이 있는 애들한테는 시민권 기회자체도 박탈될 가능성도 생각 안 할 수가 없어서, 지금 빨리 들어와서 시민권

신청을 하려고 불러들였어요. 캠프를 포기하게 됐습니다... 거기 친구들 사귀고 많이 좋았던 것 같은데... 그래서 커뮤니티 조금씩 조금씩 소셜 스킬이 많이 늘었다고 좋아하고 있었는데 아쉽네요.

Originally, Sangmin was supposed to be there [gap year program abroad] until this May... Immigration policies by President Donald Trump tend to imply that immigrants are a burden on this nation and take away the taxes paid by Whites. Sangmin has disabilities and is a permanent resident. Thus, I worried that citizenship wouldn't be granted to those with disabilities or medical problems, so I called him back to apply for citizenship. He gave up the camp [the gap year program]... He really enjoyed being there, made friends... So, we had been so happy to see that his social skills had improved, so sad. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

Career preferences and future goals. The parents played an important role in determining the young men's postsecondary goals, such as college majors and marriage aspirations. The families and children determined their career paths based on earning potential and job security. The degree of parental involvement in academics varied. For instance, Walter took a leadership role in choosing courses in high school and his major/minor in college. Julia assisted him by providing rides, asking those who Walter trusted for advice, and attending parenting classes and counseling. In contrast, Junyoung's parents were much more involved. They searched for the information regarding AP courses, possible majors, and his future career so that Junyoung could focus on his studies. For example, Hyewon helped him choose a topic for his writing assignment he was spending too much time choosing, and investigated a range of jobs that might be suitable for Junyoung, who was majoring in environmental science and interested in becoming a public servant. However, the family had recently decided that Junyoung needed to become more independent and so had begun to foster more self-determination skills to help him in his life after college. The family was seeking applied behavior analysis (ABA) services to train him in basic independent living skills. In the meantime, Junyoung was also working to determine his best career option, although he generally agreed with his parents' opinion about the

importance of job security. In Sangmin's case, his parents were trying to provide the best academic environment for him. His parents actively participated in IEP meetings, sought information about jobs, and arranged all the accommodations/services Sangmin received at college. His parents believed that having a professional license would make it easier for Sangmin to get a job and avoid daily competition. Thus, Sangmin applied to pharmacy programs and was admitted. However, his parents knew that Sangmin still loved the arts and were concerned about the demanding coursework in the pharmacy program. After he returned from his gap-year program, his parents and Sangmin were rethinking his future career together.

Parents valued earning potential and job security for their children. First, the parents valued earning potential because they wanted their children to support themselves. While Walter's families respected Walters' choice to become a pastor, Julia was concerned if he would not be able to support himself financially. Thus, she welcomed his minor, psychology, because it would increase his earning potential. This career preference reflects global trends as well as the family's immigration history. Although traditionally economic capital was not a primary value for choosing a career in Korea, economic capital became an essential criterion for jobs in the current neoliberal era. Diana Baker¹⁰ suggested that "families' emphasis on their sons choosing lucrative careers (which would allow them to earn a living) is perhaps related to their immigration trajectory." (Email communication, February 5, 2017) Given that society is organized in a hierarchical order, the families may consider that disabilities already limit their children's social location. Thus, a lucrative or professional career would allow their children to move up the social ladder. Second, job security was other important considerations for the families and students. Job security could reduce the parents' concerns about their children's

¹⁰ Diana Baker is one of the researchers who provided interpretations of this dissertation study.

futures, and establish a routine for the children with autism to maintain their career without dramatic changes. Hyewon thought that working for the government might increase the likelihood of having a permanent job, and she believed Junyoung was capable of taking this career path (H. Lim, parent interview 1, September 13, 2016). In the same vein, Tacksu hoped that Sangmin would have a professional license, which would secure his employment despite his communication and social difficulties (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016). However, his parents also want Sangmin to enjoy his career, so as his continued to express his interests the family rethought his career path, and considered a shift from a pharmacy program to art.

Institutional Responses

Data reveal that the collective efforts to support children with autism as well as individuals from non-dominant cultural and linguistic backgrounds yield interagency collaboration in California and newly enacted initiative, Proposition 58.

Obtaining interagency support through regional centers in California. Beyond public special education services, the families obtained educational services for their children with autism mainly through the regional centers, and ethnic communities also provided various services for the families.

In California, there are 21 regional centers that provide community-based services to individuals with developmental disabilities including autism spectrum disorders. According to Jeonghee, the regional centers typically provide early intervention services for children age 0-3, school districts take charge of school-aged children, and then the regional centers support adult programs including living arrangements and career services. The regional centers are operated privately through a contract with the Department of Developmental Services (Frank D.

Lanterman Regional Center [FLRC], 2006). The regional centers were established after the passage of the Lanterman Developmental Disabilities Services Act in 1969; this legislation enabled individuals with developmental disabilities to live in a community rather than institutions (see Figure 5.2; FLRC, 2006). In 1973, these services were extended to other developmental disabilities, such as cerebral palsy, epilepsy, and autism (FLRC, 2006).

Along with special education legislation, this law enabled the three participating families to locate the needed support for their children through interagency efforts. The local centers are also connected with other ethnic communities and schools, and their interagency efforts to accommodate developmental and linguistic needs were very useful for the participating families (see Table 5.3). Julia participated in their programs and service meetings and observed that “Department of Developmental Services [DDS], national and regional center service providers, clients, parents, assemblyman, local community 에서 일하는 모든 사람들이 [the regional center meeting] 모여서 regional center 예산에 맞춰 service 를 얼마만큼 배분하는지 의논하더라구요. (People from DDS, federal and regional centers, service providers, clients, parents, and assemblyman all gathered [in the regional center meeting] to distribute services to meet the budgets.)” (informal conversation, June 22, 2016)

Through the regional centers, Walter’s family first received behavior intervention consultation, music therapy, and an after-school program for children high-functioning autism. The after-school program services were arranged through the regional center but provided by the local medical center. In Sangmin’s case, because he came to the United States when he was ten, he did not receive many services through the regional center. However, the regional center helped the family navigate the special education system because the center had a Korean coordinator. The center also provided an initial assessment because Sangmin did not have any

data or evidence about his needs at that time. The coordinator also helped the family arrange special education services and provided information in their primary language. Tacksu said, “IEP 에서 부모의 권리나 이런 부분에 대해서는 printout 이 있었어요. 책자가 한국말 버전이 있어가지고, 한국담당자들도 제가 영어를 못하는 걸 아니까 그거를 버전을 구해서 저한테 주셨어요 (There was a Korean version printout about parental rights and so on. Because the Korean coordinator knew that I could not speak English, s/he gave the printout to me).” (parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Table 5.4.

Local Service Providers and Autism-Related Services

Providers	Services
Regional Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information and referral • Assessment and diagnosis • Counseling • Lifelong individualized planning and service coordination • Purchase of necessary services included in the individual program plan • Resource development • Outreach • Assistance in finding and using community and other resources • Advocacy for the protection of legal, civil, and service rights • Early intervention services for at-risk infants and their families • Genetic counseling • Family support • Planning, placement, and monitoring for 24-hour out-of-home care • Training and educational opportunities for individuals and families • Community education about developmental disabilities
Korean Community Center	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 심리상담 서비스 (Clinical services) • 주거 서비스 (Housing services) • 유아 교육 서비스 (Early childhood services) • 예방 교육 (Prevention education)
Korean Parent Support Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 가족 상담 (Family counseling) • 부모 교육 (Parenting class) • 사회성 교육 (Social skill training)
Korean Church	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 교류 (Networking) • 한국어 교육 (Korean education) • 정서지원 및 상담 (Emotional support and counseling) • 협력단체 (Support group)

Interagency support was not limited to educating their children, but also included efforts to improve family wellbeing. As Table 5.3 shows, Korean community centers and support groups also helped the families in terms of parenting and navigating educational resources. Walter's family received mental health services, family therapy, and parenting classes. Julia said that the three years of counseling was most helpful for Walter to develop his social skills. Junyoung and

Sangmin were involved in a Korean support group. Jeonghee, the chair of the support group, mentioned that the most difficult thing for many Korean families of children with autism or developmental disabilities was dealing with the language barrier. The families have to prepare for their eligibility assessment within 120 days, and preparing documents and receiving support in English is the most difficult part. Thus, the support group helps Korean families arrange services and offers parenting advice in their native tongue. Sangmin explained:

나중에 시간이 지나면서 [학교에서 서비스를 제공하도록] 그냥 맡기고 있으면 안되겠구나 그런걸 알게되서 더 알아보게 됐고 그랬죠. 그래서 City C 에 정희씨가 그 모임에 끼면서 가끔 한 번씩 세미나같은 거 좋은 정보나 이런거에 대해서 모아놓고 얘기를 해주고 이런 게 많이 있었죠.

I gradually realized that I shouldn't just let the school provide services, so I searched for additional information. When Jeonghee in City C became involved in the group, she often provided good information about seminars. (T. Yun, parent interview 1, September 14, 2016)

Korean churches also played an important role in providing information and networking opportunities for immigrant families. Along with their spiritual ministries, the churches provided other public services, such as emotional support, Korean language classes, family counseling, and opportunities for social skill training in Korean. Julia recounted:

그 교회에 계셨던 어르신들이 참 인자하셨었어요. 우리엄마 아버지와는 사뭇 달랐던 그분들이 참 따뜻했어요. 제 아픈 얘기를 공감해 주셨고 위로해 주셨고 항상 밝은 미소로 인사해 주셨고... 아직까지 엄청나게 고마워 하고 있어요.

Elders in the church were very kind. They were different from my mom and dad, and warm-hearted. They sympathized with my painful stories, comforted me, greeted me with a smile... I still thank them very much. (informal conversation, June 15, 2016)

While the participating families utilized these services, Junyoung and Sangmin did not enjoy attending services. While the churches were not an official service provider for the families of children with autism, the church did play a unique role in bolstering interagency efforts for the

Korean families. Overall, the regional centers and ethnic communities provided essential and/or supplementary support for the families as a response to their intersectionality.

California Proposition 58. As mentioned earlier, due to policies as well as the societal atmosphere, the families were discouraged from having their children in multilingual homes. After the passage of Proposition 227 (English language in public schools statute) in 1998, a large proportion of Californians objected to the monolingual approaches used in the educational system. As a result, Proposition 58, which was passed in 2016, repealed the English-only instruction policy. The passage of the initiative suggests that there may have been statewide agreement that multilingualism can be an asset.

The instructional language policy and monolingualism in the surrounding society prevented the families from encouraging their children to learn Korean. As shown in Figure 5.2, the English-only instruction policy in California (Proposition 227) impacted language education for Junyoung. While Sangmin's school district was also subject to the policy, his family intentionally chose a dual language program (Korean and English) for Sangmin. Along with the instructional language policy, the atmosphere in a society influenced the families' decisions about practicing bilingualism at home. Monolingualism is common in City A and City C, even though both cities have large immigrant populations. As a result, opportunities to practice Korean became less common and less valuable for the children, who planned to live permanently in the United States. Hyewon believed that if students from non-dominant linguistic backgrounds who had autism were exposed to both Korean and English in their everyday lives, they might be able to use both languages.

애들도 받아들일 수 있는 한계치가 있고 자기가 편한 것이 뭔지를 아니까...
[이중언어 환경이 제공된다면] 두 가지를 아주 perfect 하게는 못해도 두 언어를 다 쓸 수 있는 상황이 되었을 것 같아요. 그렇지 않고 영어만 가능한 지금같은 상황이 되면, 영어는 제대로 하고 한국말은 못하지 않을까 싶어요.

Since children also have a limit to learning, and they know which one is more comfortable... [If students were situated in a dual language environment] I think they can use both languages although they can't use it perfectly. Otherwise, if they were in a situation like now, when only English is available, they may be able to use English perfectly, but no Korean. (H. Lim, parent interview 2, February 15, 2017)

The families in this study recognized the value of multilingual education in this transnational era. In 2016, the state passed Proposition 58 and repealed Proposition 227, which had required public schools to provide English-only instruction, may be a collective response to the bilingual education.

Summary

This chapter explores the intersectional experiences of the Korean-American students with autism and their families. In the mid-1990s, the families experienced confusion about the diagnosis of autism, especially for children with HFA or AS. The educational trajectories for these young adults with autism were further shaped by the ethnoracial hierarchy embedded in their everyday lives, bilingual policies and services, and ableism. However, the participants also responded to intersectionality. The families chose to live in the United States to take advantage of the educational system, strove to maintain excellent academic records, utilized their vulnerability to prove the students' academic capability in college admission essays, and chose career paths that would enhance their quality of life. Moreover, a series of collective efforts on the part of the community and the state of California show how institutional efforts have been established in response to intersectionality.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

In this highly stratified society, the conjunction of multiple social identities has shaped the educational trajectories of the Korean-American students with autism. The students and their families actively participated in the educational process throughout their transnational experiences in this global era. Moreover, the joint efforts reshaped large social systems and local practices at a specific place and time. The central questions guiding this study are two-fold:

1. What are the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism during their transition to postsecondary education?
2. What are their responses to these intersectional experiences?

The intersectionality framework enables the disentanglement of postsecondary transition process among the Korean-American students with autism. The analysis yield two main themes and five sub-themes (see Table 5.1). In the first section of this chapter, I present glocalization regarding ableism, racism, and multilingualism in order to answer the first research question. Three sub-themes were emerged: evolving notions of autism and demands for appropriate resources; the intersection of race/ethnicity, nationality, language, and autism; and a different set of expectations. The second section focuses responses to the intersectionality, the second research question. I illustrate two sub-themes: utilization of malleable and unmalleable traits as individual responses, and collective efforts across time and space as institutional responses. After delineating the themes, I also provide the implications for practice and research, and the limitations of the study.

Glocalization: Ableism, Racism, and Multilingualism

In this section, I discuss how evolving notions of autism have impacted the families across time and space, and how the impacts have interacted with racism, multilingualism, and other aspect of the students. To discuss intersectionality, I borrow the term “glocalization.” As sociologist Robertson (1995) noted, the term is used to embrace both macrosociological phenomenon and temporal/spatial locality (p. 25). Autism is a recently added disability category in both the United States and Korea, and definitions and classification criteria in both countries are shared in this global era, for example, via the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-V.

Glocalization is also shown in the way that racism pervades the educational realities of the Korean-American immigrants as an advance in transportation and telecommunication allowed the participating families to migrate to the United States. This arbitrary identifier of race cannot be described without understanding the notions of immigration and language, which can be defined more clearly than the concept of race/ethnicity. Moreover, socioeconomic status is one of the most significant factors influencing postsecondary access. Thus, this section is devoted to disentangling the intersecting effects of these identities in the context of glocalization.

Evolving Notions of Autism and Demands for Appropriate Resources in This Global Era

Glocalization allowed transnational exchanges of information and the homogenization of medical and educational systems in both countries as the participants were working to obtain the right education for their children.¹¹ While definitions of the terms (autism, high-functioning autism [HFA], and Asperger’s syndrome [AS]) were adopted homogeneously, local practices developed heterogeneously in the two nations. Thus, the recognition of autism and its impacts on

¹¹ Debates about global homogenization and heterogenization were discussed in Robertson’s (1995) writing on glocalization (p. 27).

the college admission process are discussed in the context of intersectionality within both the global homogenization and the local heterogenization of autism-related policies and practices.

Recognition of autism, high-functioning autism, and Asperger’s syndrome. I reported that the families and students had been experiencing confusion about their children’s clinical diagnoses and special education eligibility as well as other health concerns. Because the notion of autism was changing rapidly as the families were navigating the right diagnosis, their confusion was closely related to the history of autism in both nations.

In the United States, there were rapid increases in autism prevalence beginning in the 1990s; research, policies, support systems, and special education services increased accordingly. For instance, studies have repeatedly confirmed the increase in the prevalence of children with ASD (Newschaffer, Falb, & Gurney, 2005; Yeargin-Allsopp, Rice, Karapurkar, Doernberg, & Boyle, 2003). Accordingly, recognition of special education services and interventions for students with autism became obvious in federal special education classification and local practices.

In Korea, autism is called as 자폐(自閉). Students with autism received special education services under an emotional disability category until 2007, when autism was added as a separate category in 장애인 등에 대한 특수교육법 (the Korean Special Education for Individuals with Disabilities and Others Law). Using the government’s classification of autism, the prevalence was only .046% (Kang-Yi, 2013). However, Kim et al. (2011) suggested that the prevalence of autism spectrum disorders among Korean children born between 1993 and 1999 was 2.64% (95% CI=1.91–3.37). The results suggest that this discrepancy can be explained by the lack of child psychiatrists and trained special education professionals in the early 2000s. This finding is aligned with previous studies (e.g. Kang-Yi, 2013; Kim et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the participating families found that the term, autism, did not explain their children's needs accurately. Then, they were introduced to other terms including AS and HFA (or borderline autism). After being recognized by Asperger in 1944 and reintroduced by Frith (1991), AS first appeared in DSM-IV in 1994 and then disappeared in DSM-V in 2013. Thus, participants and professionals that the participants met often used the terms 자폐 (autism), 아스퍼거 증후군 (AS), and 고기능 자폐 (HFA) interchangeably.

In Korea in the 2000s, high-functioning children with autism might not receive either a diagnosis or special education services in Korea because of a lack of recognition of high-functioning autism in the Korean medical and education system. Tacksu (Sangmin's father) stated that high-functioning children with autism in Korea in the mid-2000s were not commonly eligible for special education services. Hyewon also recounted that Junyoung's elementary school in Korea did not have formal services that would address Junyoung's needs in the early 2000s. Standardized assessment instruments for autism spectrum disorders (ASD) had just been translated into Korean when the participants were navigating toward the right diagnosis or services (Behavior Assessment System for Children II; Song et al., 2011). Thus, the two families' journeys were likely typical among families of high-functioning children with autism in Korea in that era.

Interwoven identities within disability labels. Even after the families moved to the United States, received the diagnosis of autism, and special education services; the students' special education eligibility categories still confused the families. Thus, the students and their families had to reconcile these labels and classifications throughout their education.

For instance, speech or language impairment (SLI) and other health impairment (OHI) for attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) had become an alternative category for

Walter. SLI can be a dubitable category for Walter at the intersection of autism and bilingualism. The confusion about eligibility classifications with OHI might have occurred because the core symptoms overlap between HFA /AS and other diagnoses, such as ADHD and anxiety disorder (Hartley & Sikora, 2009). The similarities between ASD and ADHD include communicative and social difficulties and restricted interests (Clark et al., 1999; Gadow et al., 2005), and researchers found that 50-80% of children with ASD also had traits of ADHD (Frazier et al., 2001; Gadow et al., 2005). In Junyoung's case, Hyewon mentioned that during the first IEP assessment, the IEP team seemed to avoid using the autism label. Hyewon assumed that they might have been hesitant because services for those in the autism category were often more expensive than services for students in other disability categories, such as OHI. MacFarlane and Kanaya (2009) found that the differences in state-wide autism eligibility criteria have financial implications. Although there was no clear evidence, budget constraints might lead Junyoung's IEP team to be reluctant to give him an autism classification.

When the parents were struggling to find the right education for their children, homogeneously evolved notion of autism in this global era and heterogeneously developed practices in the specific time and place created confusions among the families and practitioners, and ultimately impacted the students' education as well as the families' lives.

The Intersection of Race/Ethnicity, Nationality, Language, and Autism

In this study, the subtle spectrum of racism was found to permeate the participating students' lives at both the micro- and macro-levels, for example, via microaggressions and color-blind policies. Anthias (1992) argued that "racism occurs when race or ethnic categorization is accompanied by discourses and practices of inferiorisation and subordination (p. 433)." Due to historic efforts to end racial discrimination, recent Korean immigrants—relative to the large

numbers of Korean immigrants who arrived in the United States in the early 1960s—are less likely to suffer from overt forms of racism, such as the denial of educational rights (e.g., California prohibited Asians, blacks, and Native Americans from attending public schools in 1860) (Ancheta, 2006). However, the practice of “othering” by corporeal distinctions is an undeniable part of modern society (Omi & Winant, 1986). These implicit forms of racial discourses and practices were further intertwined with the students’ social difficulties.

A subtle form of racism and autism. Interviews reveal that racism entwined with disabilities and pervaded the educational realities of the Korean-American students with autism, but often appeared in subtle forms in this global era, especially in the focal area, which has a large immigrant population. The conjunction of the subtle form of racism with social difficulties has shaped the educational experiences of the participants. Moreover, the experiences have negatively impacted everyday psychological well-being, just as researchers have argued (see Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

For instance, race or nationality-related insults were intertwined with social difficulties of the Korean-American students with autism and further influenced their emotional well-being. All the participants were bullied at school, especially during their middle school years. The race/ethnicity-related verbal abuse and name-calling practices show how Asian students have been racialized¹² un/intentionally as perpetual foreigners in the United States. In other words, verbal forms of racism remind them that they are not perceived as Americans regardless of their place of birth. Moreover, as sociologist Angelo N. Ancheta (2006) confessed in an autobiographical description, name-calling practices can be assaultive, Korean names became a

¹² Racialization in this study follows Omi and Winant’s definition, “the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group (p. 111).”

source of othering when there are typical name-calling practices. Due to social difficulties, the Korean students with autism could not appropriately handle the stressful situation.

Residential segregation. Residential segregation had a considerable impact on the participants' education. While the very first Korean community in City A was originally formed as a homogeneous ethnic enclave in response to the anti-Asian practices in housing and jobs (Ancheta, 2006; Turner et al. 2002), the participating families settled down in the spatially homogeneous area due to the presence of educational resources in their native tongues, emotional comfort, and economic accessibility. Charles (2001) also argued that feelings of comfort and economic affordability could be the reasons that immigrants settle in homogeneous ethnic enclaves.

While the participants reported that living in the highly concentrated Korean/Asian area was the best option for their family, the residential segregation of the area was not solely due to individual choice. The Korean district in City A was established due to past discrimination toward racial minority populations and the low cost of living (Ancheta, 2006; Turner et al. 2002). Because school districts have compounded housing environments, the schools were not performing well, which affected the accessibility of special education services and postsecondary education.

Racism and ableism. The previous chapter discussed this history with regard to postsecondary access, specifically Proposition 209 (anti-affirmative action), Proposition 227 (English-only instruction policy), and related practices. While autism was the greatest source of marginalization for the participating students, they believed that a race-based admission system in postsecondary institutions might add another barrier for Asian students with autism. Moreover,

English-only instruction policy added another complexity to the race/ethnicity dimension of the bilingual students with autism.

The results suggest that anti-affirmative action in college admission added another layer of marginalization for an Asian student who already had communicative, social, and behavioral difficulties. The intended goals of affirmative action are “remedying the present effects of past discrimination; preventing ongoing and future discrimination; and encouraging inclusiveness and diversity within an institution such as a college or a corporation” (Ancheta, 2006, p. 159). The participants concerned that race-related college admission policies might cause tension between Asian students if it increased the competition for admission, and the competition can be disadvantageous for the Asian students with autism. Takagi (1992) argued that Proposition 209 replaced affirmative action with a color-blind initiative, a move that removed race from the political discussion. In this regard, simply adding or ignoring racial/ethnic stratification would not be an ideal way to address inequity in access to higher education, especially when race intersects with other difficulties, such as disabilities.

Bilingualism and ableism. Bilingual practices/policies added another complexity to the race-based issues for the bilingual students with autism. Professionals’ recommendations and English-only instruction policies (e.g. Proposition 227) created additional confusion for families trying to determine whether bilingualism was best for their children.

Although studies have repeatedly found that bilingual or multilingual education for students with autism does not harm their language development (Bird, Lamond, & Holden, 2012; Hambly & Fombonne, 2012, 2014; Jegatheesan, 2011; Ohashi et al., 2012; Petersen, Marinova-Todd, & Mirenda, 2012; Seung, Siddiqi, & Elder, 2006; Valicenti-McDermott et al., 2013); these findings are recent, and practices based on these results had not been implemented while these

students were in elementary and middle school. An extreme example of the effects of linguistic practices was the dispersal of the Junyoung's family. Because learning multiple languages other than English was already a great concern for families in the education of students with autism (Hambly & Fombonne, 2012), professionals' (who represent privileged knowledge) recommendations about monolingual practices at home were critical for the family to determine their language practices at home. The recommendation separated the family and had detrimental effects on Daeho's health. Another example of the impact of linguistic practice was Julia's use of an English-first approach at home. While it was suggested that she taught Walter in the language that she felt more comfortable with, her primary goal was to teach him solely in English so he could keep up with age-appropriate education in schools. Although she could not speak English well, Julia voluntarily chose to teach him only in English because of the linguistic homogeneity of U.S. education system. This example shows how the intersection of ableism and bilingualism impacted the professionals' recommendations and parenting strategy.

The impact of Proposition 227, which mandates that instruction must be conducted primarily in English, vary due to a combination of the policy and autism during the language-learning state. However none of the students were able to maintain their bilingual skills. For instance, Junyoung enjoyed his English-only classrooms because the lower-level English classroom masked his communicative and social difficulties. Although his experience was positive, Junyoung mentioned that he gradually lost their ability to speak Korean. Efforts to establish and support programs that value multiple languages as an asset were hindered by the bureaucratic system, including initiatives like Proposition 227. Although Junyoung's case shows that the local application of the policy can be perceived positively by residents, the impacts of the state-wide policy and the local operation can limit students' linguistic potential.

Costs and benefits of immigration. The results show how socioeconomic status and family relationships have been influenced by immigration. Researchers argued that immigrant families often face the loss of networks, economic constraints, isolation, and stresses from learning a new language and adjusting a new environment (Portes, & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou, 1997). In addition, the participating families also experienced worsened relationships between family members and lowered socioeconomic status. While the policies discussed above addressed the accessibility of immigration at a macrosociological level, the impacts crystallized into the family's lives at the microsociological level. The effect of documentation issues on family relationships was the first example. All the parents are now permanent residents. The documentation process varies by family, but always requires a lot of time and money. Coll and Marks (2016) suggest that the documentation process is extraordinarily demanding, and the individual family is exclusively liable for the costs and the demands. Walter's parents applied for a green card (permanent resident status) in 2001, and received it in 2011. Before that time, Walter's parents were undocumented. During that period, the family was not able to travel to Korea. The documentation process was detrimental to family relationships, especially between spouses. Moreover, as reported above, Sangmin ended his gap-year program due to the family's fear that he would be refused for citizenship, which would erase a decade of efforts in the United States. The parents' decision to have him return to the United States from his gap-year program abroad was a response to the new anti-immigration policies enacted by the Trump administration. The family's concerns illustrate the increasing polarization of perceptions between 백인 (Whites) and other racial/ethnic groups, not between the U.S. citizens and immigrants.

Overall, the participants were satisfied with special education services in the United States, and they appreciated the special education system. This finding aligns with the results of previous studies (e.g. Park, & Turnbull, 2001). The families believed that their choice to immigrate to the United States helped their children with autism get into college. While the rationale for immigrating varied, the decision clearly impacted the educational trajectories of their children. Participants mentioned that being admitted to the desired school was one of the most exciting and fulfilling moments for the families after immigration. However, the immigration process entailed the families' concerns and demands, which influenced the children's education in/directly. In other words, the families' paths to better education for their children with autism and improved lives were also influenced by their immigration history.

A Different Set of Expectations: Creating Meaningful Connections Between Families and Schools

The previous chapter presents the mismatch and miscommunication between the families and the schools regarding advocating for the children's needs. The focal families did not rely on the individual transition plans (ITP) embedded in IEPs because for the reasons outlined in the following paragraphs.

First, the participants did not know that IEP meetings can meaningfully address a student's postsecondary goals, and the parents did not expect the school to provide support for the postsecondary transition. None of the participants recognized that ITPs are required to accommodate a student's interests and strengths to develop a postsecondary transition plan. Although the IEP teams filled out the ITP forms, it was done in a perfunctory manner. There were discrepancies between the students' postsecondary goals and the descriptions in the ITP forms, and the documents were not updated annually.

Second, the students did not want to participate in the IEP meetings for varying reasons including the fear of disability disclosure and missing classes. Walter said he did not want his peers to ask him where he was going. Junyoung and Sangmin did not want to skip their classes for IEP meetings because then they had to make up the classwork. Moreover, the IEP meetings were not meaningful for the participants because of their expectations about preparation for postsecondary education were different from the IEP team.

As mentioned, the third reason families did not focus on ITPs was the IEP teams' low expectations concerning postsecondary goals. As Newman, Wagner, Huang, et al. (2011) reported, students with autism often receive higher academic grades than other students in special education. In this study, the students' GPAs were very high, ranging from 3.4 to 3.96. However, students with autism often encounter low expectations for higher education relative to other students who receive special education services (Wagner, Newman, Cameto, Levine, & Marder, 2007). High expectations are known to be correlated with obtaining higher education (Wagner et al., 2007). Unfortunately, researchers have found that students with autism often experience "residual attitudes and practices" in terms of postsecondary education (Wolanin & Steele, 2004). Walter and Tacksu also expressed their frustration with educators' responses to their postsecondary goal of going to college. The IEPs of the students in this study showed that educators did not meaningfully respect the postsecondary aspirations of the students and their families.

A meaningful connection between families and schools might provide a seamless transition for students and families, and it will require providing the families with more information about ITPs, helping students play a leadership role in their IEP meetings, and raising expectations. Researchers have also suggested that a student-centered transition process and

family involvement are necessary to foster culturally relevant self-determination skills (Chiang et al., 2012; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009). As Tacksu suggested, having high expectations and providing examples of postsecondary options for students with high-functioning autism (like Sangmin) would be tremendously helpful, easing families' concerns and preparing students for their lives beyond high school in a timely manner.

This first section of this chapter focus on the first research question: what are the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism during their transition to postsecondary education? I explore how conjunction of ableism and bilingualism have intensified confusions among the families, and how the intersection of racism and bilingualism have influenced the lives of the families in this global era.

Responses to Intersectionality

In addition to exploring the intersectional experiences of the Korean-American students with autism in their postsecondary transition to college, delineating their responses to intersectional experiences can provide useful insight for educating future students. The intersectionality experienced by participants in their postsecondary transitions shows that some of the students' identities are mutable and students can utilize their traits to empower themselves during the admission process. For instance, racial categories seem to be a permanent label as the terms directly reflect biological differences (Omi & Winant, 1986). However, socioeconomic status (SES) is a mutable factor, and the participants were attempting to move up in the SES hierarchy via education. Moreover, historically, collective efforts in response to systemic marginalization due to immutable labels, such as race and disability, have established support systems for students with autism and students from non-dominant linguistic backgrounds. In this section, I focus on two types of responses to intersectionality: individual efforts to address the

intersectional needs of students, which is titled as “utilization of malleable and unmalleable traits”, and institutional responses to intersectionality, which is re-worded as “collective efforts across time and space”.

Utilization of Malleable and Unmalleable Traits: Individual Responses

In this study, my initial attention focused on the intersectionality of race and disability. However, other markers of differences soon became critical instruments for delineating the intersectionality of the participants. These include both malleable (e.g. socioeconomic status) and unmalleable traits (e.g. race) of the individual students. Importantly, the status of some traits (e.g. disability, personality) can be malleable in some contexts through subordination or empowering processes, and unchangeable in other contexts.

Moving up the socioeconomic ladder through academic achievement. One of the malleable traits the students commonly utilized was socioeconomic status. Results show their strategy to move up the socioeconomic ladder through academic achievement. This section illustrates joint influences on the students’ efforts to maintain satisfactory academic records to go to college: 1) students’ intelligence and personality, 2) academic focus of families, 3) school environment, and 4) special education infrastructure. While some traits were immutable (e.g. parents’ education attainment), other traits were mutable (e.g. personality) in some contexts.

Malleable and unmalleable characteristics of the students. Participants reported that cognitive ability and personality played an important role in the students’ academic achievement. Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham (2003) suggested that intelligence implies “what a person *can* do” and personality exhibits “*how* a person will do it” (p. 320). The results suggest that cognitive ability can be an unmalleable trait for the students while personality can be both unmalleable and malleable traits.

Intelligence, which is often represented by IQ tests results, can partially explain the participants' academic achievements. Although cognitive ability as measured by IQ tests does not fully explain the academic performance of individuals, the tests are a significant predictor of measures of academic performance, including GPA and SAT scores (Rohde & Thompson, 2007). Because GPA and SAT scores are essential criteria for college admission, the influence of cognitive ability on students' academic achievement is considerable. While cognitive ability can be developed throughout education, intelligence was relatively less changeable than personalities for the participants.

Students' personalities also affected their academic success and difficulties. Researchers have repeatedly found that, along with intelligence, personality is a predictor of academic performance (Busato, Prins, Elshout, & Hamaker, 1999; Furnham, 1992). I reported that all three students were hard workers, and they were very responsible for their given tasks. However, they had problems with anger, anxiousness, and depression, and had been diagnosed with ADHD and/or OCD.¹³ Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham (2003) used the Big Five personality factors in the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R)¹⁴ and argued that conscientiousness and neuroticism were predictors of academic performance. In the NEO-PI-R, the traits of conscientiousness include competence, order, dutifulness, achievement striving, self-discipline, and deliberation; and the traits of neuroticism include anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, and vulnerability (Costa & McCrae, 1992). According to

¹³ Researchers found that ASD increased the co-occurrence of ADHD and OCD (Leyfer et al., 2006; Polderman et al., 2013; van der Plas, Dupuis, Arnold, Crosbie, & Schachar, 2016). DSM-5 also states that ASD can co-occur with ADHD, anxiety disorders, and/or depressive disorders (APA, 2013, pp. 58-59).

¹⁴ Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R) is a widely used personality measure instrument developed by Costa and McCrae in 1992. The NEO-PI-R lists distinctive dimensions of personality called the Big Five, which include extraversion, openness, neuroticism, agreeableness, and conscientiousness.

Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham (2003), conscientiousness is related to positive academic performance, and neuroticism is associated with negative outcomes.

The interviews revealed that this positive predictor (conscientiousness) and this negative predictor (neuroticism) of academic performance interacted to impact students' academic outcomes. In other words, two dimensions of personality (conscientiousness and neuroticism) are aligned with what the participants described as the students' characteristics. Tacksu mentioned that Sangmin's preoccupation or obsession with incompleteness might have paradoxically improved his educational outcomes. In this context, "강박 (obsessions)" was interpreted as a combination of hard work, dutifulness, self-discipline, and anxiety (the severity or degree of the traits varies). In other words, "obsession" was interpreted by Tacksu as a combination of conscientiousness and neuroticism. At the same time, the students' particular traits were also a source of academic difficulties. The participants reported that the students had problems with angry hostility, depression, impulsiveness, and vulnerability; these fall into the category of neuroticism in the NEO-PI-R. Importantly, being obsessed and being diagnosed with OCD are two different things, and concluding that a student's obsessive nature improves their academic achievement is beyond the scope of this study. However, the students did possess the trait of conscientiousness, which helped them complete their tasks.

In terms of academic motivation, participants reported that experiences of bullying and feeling a sense of accomplishment were sources of motivation. Although I found that bullying and teasing motivated the participating students to focus on academics, bullying has been found to be a stressful experience that impacts not only mental health but also academic achievement (Beran, Hughes, & Lupart, 2008; Boulton, & Underwood, 1992; Hawker, & Boulton, 2000; Hemphill, Kotevksi, Tollit, Smith, Herrenkohl, Toumbourou, & Catalano, 2012; Sharp,

Thompson, & Arora, 2000). Researchers have also repeatedly found that adolescents with autism commonly experience bullying and teasing in their schools (Schroeder, Cappadocia, Bebko, Pepler, & Weiss, 2014; Sterzing, Shattuck, Narendorf, Wagner, & Cooper, 2012). Sterzing et al. (2012) also concluded that adolescents with autism spectrum disorders (ASD) were more likely to be bullying victims than the general adolescent population in the United States (46.3% vs. 10.6%).

Thus, instead of assuming that bullying directly triggered the students to focus on academics, their personal motivation to focus on academics should be understood in an interactive way. For instance, the participants achieved academic success repeatedly. Their experiences of feeling efficacy in academic performance also aroused their intrinsic motivation (Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, & Kindermann, 2008). Participants mentioned that getting As or having a feeling of accomplishment intertwined with their social difficulties and motivated them to maintain strong academic records. In contrast to the concept of learned helplessness, the participating students' repeated experiences of academic success positively impacted their self-esteem because their experiences of success positively influenced academic motivation (Koegel, Singh, & Koegel, 2010). In this regard, participants unintentionally utilize their personalities for better academic outcomes, and personalities became a mutable trait for the participants when it comes to academic success and challenges.

Malleable assests of the families. The socioeconomic assets of the families were an essential part of postsecondary access for the participants. Those environments were immutable for the students, but the participants were trying to use their household assets to change socioeconomic status. Parents' educational attainment and household incomes are well-known predictors of college education for students with/out disabilities and students with autism (e.g.,

Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; Chiang et al., 2012; Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1999; Halpern, Yovanoff, Doren, & Benz, 1995; Roderick, Nagaoka, Coca, & Moeller, 2008). Because all the participating parents had completed higher education, they were able to utilize their personal knowledge about postsecondary institutions, college preparation, and the benefits of postsecondary education; consequently, the students did not rely on resources at their schools.

In this study, parents assumed that their children would go to college if the children were capable. Davis-Kean (2005) found that household socioeconomic factors were indirectly related to the academic achievement of children through parental beliefs and behaviors. The parents also placed a high value on education and organized their household resources to support the academic growth of their children. As Shin (2008) reported that Korean parents of children with autism placed a high value on the academic achievement of these children, the participating parents' belief and behavior can be partially explained by Korean culture. The interviews showed that going to college was a natural sequence after high school for the participants. Thus, the students' academic achievement was indirectly affected by parental beliefs and behaviors.

Further, household income and parents' education were also related to diagnosis, interventions/therapies/services, parents' experiences with professionals, and parental stress (Estrada & Deris, 2014; Valicenti-McDermott et al., 2015; Zuckerman et al., 2013). Parental education attainment is a well-known factor affecting college enrollment. In this study, all the parents were college educated, and they were able to immigrate based on their professional capabilities. Although Julia and Walter reported that their family falls into the low-income family category, they were aware of possible sources to fund Walter's higher education, such as FAFSA and loans. Junyoung and Sangmin utilized expensive private counseling services to navigate their future careers and received assistance with their college essays. Again, the families'

priorities have always been the education of their children as they believe that the benefits of postsecondary education justify the cost and time. The intersection of race, language, and disability can be complicated by socioeconomic stratification because students can change socioeconomic status via education and can ultimately increase their social mobility.

Both malleable and unmalleable traits of school environment. The participants reported that school atmosphere, academic structures, and support from teachers were related to the students' academic outcomes. While students could not change their schools, they were influenced by the learning environments.

Participants mentioned that the academic focus of their high schools facilitated their awareness of postsecondary options. Although all participants mentioned that IEP teams did not meaningfully address their aspirations to attend college, other academic support systems embedded in their high schools allowed the students to succeed academically. Participants said that educators emphasized college education, their peers were concerned about their GPAs, and the school provided AP classes. This academic atmosphere implied that college education is an ideal option beyond high school. Researchers have found that students' perceptions about their academic goals are shaped by instructional environments, interpersonal practices, and the organizational dimension of schools (Ames, 1992, Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000). As mentioned earlier, the learning environment at the focal schools also helped the students develop a feeling of self-efficacy and further increased academic motivation.

AP courses in high schools were also beneficial for the students to go to college. After six decades of AP courses being offered in high schools, AP courses have become widely used criteria for college admission (Geiser, & Santelices, 2012). For example, the University of California (UC) system listed “[the] number of and performance in UC-approved honors and

Advanced Placement courses”¹⁵ as one criterion for admission. UC campuses use their own calculation system to add AP coursework into the GPA (Geiser & Santelices, 2012). The participating students and their parents knew that taking AP courses was necessary for college admission, and the high schools provided some AP classes and honor classes. Studies have outlined the possible inequity issues related to AP courses and admission policies (e.g., Solorzano, & Ornelas, 2004). Because the high schools that the participants attended focused on college preparation, the students were able to complete AP classes in time improve their chances of being accepted to a university in the UC system. However, students experienced stress due to this additional element of the admission process. Although taking AP courses was not an official requirement for college admission, taking the courses had become a *de facto* requirement. In this regard, the students believed that taking AP courses had helped them gain admission.

Participants also discussed school leadership, postsecondary transition services, and school budgets. Walter discussed school administration; he noted that the school structure was disorganized, for example, the high school principal changed frequently. School leadership and its relationship with student achievement have been well documented (e.g., Andrews, & Soder, 1987; Goldman, 1998; Elmore, 2000; Leithwood, & Jantzi, 1999). As Andrews and Soder (1987) argued, the school principal plays a key role in students’ academic achievement. Walter mentioned his high school principal when he answered a question about accommodations:

[In college] I have to be my own advocate. I realize that the big difference is that teachers won't remind me of or let me know about accommodations. But a lot of times, they didn't do that in high school, teachers... there was a principal in the high school who wasn't doing so well organizing and addressing issues, so she got fired, so we had a substitute principal [for] like 2-3 months. (W. Kim, student interview 1, June 14, 2016)

¹⁵ The admission policy was retrieved from <http://admission.universityofcalifornia.edu/counselors/freshman/comprehensive-review/index.html>

Walter's IEPs show that the school did not address his academic goals in a meaningful way. Although the transition plan sheets were filled out, the information did not reflect his goal of obtaining a postsecondary degree and did not describe needs adequately. During an informal conversation, he said that there was nothing in his IEP in terms of postsecondary education, and that the special education process was disorganized. College counseling services were more useful than the IEP for Walter with regard to increasing the accessibility and feasibility of higher education. However, as mentioned, all the participants used private college services, which provided the most critical help with the college admissions process. School budget issues were another source of disadvantage for the high school students, as Walter mentioned. Tacksu also believed that school poverty level affected the academic performance of students with autism through school-level services, such as counseling.

The participants said that support from teachers had a positive impact on the students' academic motivation and cultivated their self-advocacy skills, which is critical to succeeding in the postsecondary setting. Studies show that teachers' supportive behaviors help students meet instructional expectations (Patrick, Ryan, & Kaplan, 2007). The students mentioned that their teachers were very supportive and accessible. Junyoung felt comfortable meeting with professors and disability counselors at the college to address his needs. Prior studies have shown that students with autism sometimes find increased expectations for self-directed learning are more demanding than academic tasks (Camarena & Sarigiani, 2009; Geller & Greenberg, 2010). In this regard, teachers' caring and support eventually helped the students advocate for themselves in college.

Blurred boundary between malleable and unmalleable trait of disabilities through special education infrastructure. While "disability" categories can be unmalleable, the special

education infrastructure enabled the students to prove their “ability.” The results show that the special education infrastructure was critical for the students with autism in terms of academic records: accommodations helped the students earn excellent GPAs and SAT scores, mental health services provided school environments that allowed the students to stay focused on academics, and free appropriate public education (FAPE) safeguards prevented the students from having bad disciplinary records. Although the students could not change the special education system, they have utilized the infrastructure to increase their postsecondary access.

Academic accommodations in high school helped the students earn high GPAs and SAT scores. All the students said that the most effective accommodation was an extended time on assignment and exams. Walter and Junyoung mentioned that extra time on tests was the most useful accommodation in college as well. The two students who had started college (Sangmin had not started college yet) disclosed their disabilities in order to receive accommodations in college. Hyewon mentioned that the process was stressful because the family had to search for the necessary information, while in K-12 the IEP team had done this. Lynch and Gussel (1996) argued that accommodations arrangements in postsecondary institutions are complex and stressful, and Geller and Greenberg (2010) also suggested that students may be overwhelmed by the college setting, which is less structured than K-12. Walter also mentioned that sitting in the same seat with the same classmate in every class was particularly helpful for him, although it was not an accommodation. Walter and Junyoung did not exactly know the accommodation processes and differences in colleges. In this regard, the accommodations in high school helped the students earn GPAs and exam scores sufficient for college admission, but the accommodations or other services in high school did not directly prepare the students to adjust to the postsecondary setting.

Mental health supports were essential for Sangmin when he had anger problems. As the American School Counselor Association (ASCA; 2016) states, school counselors are encouraged to provide services to assist with academic and postsecondary transition plans. Special education legislation increased school counselors' involvement with students with disabilities. Williams and Katsiyannis (1998) suggested that the key element of the IDEA Amendments of 1997 was sharing responsibility for educating students with disabilities. The school counseling services enabled Sangmin to express his feelings when he did not have any friends at school, had anger problems, and experienced cyberbullying. Tacksu mentioned school counseling services helped him maintain his mental health, which, in turn, helped him focus on academics. Furrer and Skinner (2003) also argued that a caring environment in school enhances academic performance as students can trust school staff members. The school counseling services thus indirectly increased postsecondary access for Sangmin.

The FAPE safeguards were also mentioned by Julia. The IDEA of 2004 included procedural safeguards to ensure FAPE, one of which was restrictions on disciplinary actions for students with disabilities:

SEC. 615. PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS.

(k) (1) (b) Authority

School personnel under this subsection may remove a child with a disability who violates a code of student conduct from their current placement to an appropriate interim alternative educational setting, another setting, or suspension, for not more than 10 school days (to the extent such alternatives are applied to children without disabilities).

(C) Additional authority

If school personnel seek to order a change in placement that would exceed 10 school days and the behavior that gave rise to the violation of the school code is determined not to be a manifestation of the child's disability pursuant to subparagraph (E), the relevant disciplinary procedures applicable to children without disabilities may be applied to the child in the same manner and for the same duration in which the procedures would be applied to children without disabilities, except as provided in section 1412(a)(1) of this title although it may be provided in an interim alternative educational setting. (U.S. Department of Education, 2006)

According to Julia, Walter's behaviors were not within his control and a list of suspensions would have been detrimental to his college applications. The students used a web-based college application system called the Common Application (also known as Common App), which is used by about one million students and 700 colleges. According to Weissman and NaPier (2015), in the 2006-2007 school year the Common Application required information about school disciplinary records, and other colleges, which did not use the system, also collected information on students' disciplinary histories. About 73% of postsecondary institutions collected disciplinary information, and 89% of those used the records in their admissions decision-making process (Weissman, NaPier, 2015). Thus, Julia's concern about Walter's suspension records was a realistic one, and the FAPE safeguards likely helped him get into college.

The students' academic outcomes were a cumulative reaction to their own experiences coming from their multiple identities, many of which are immutable (e.g., race/ethnicity, the label of autism). The combination of individual-level, family-level, school-level, and education system-level factors reciprocally influenced the students' academic outcomes. Their academic achievements eventually provided opportunities to enhance their pliable traits (e.g., socioeconomic status, social difficulties) through education beyond high school.

Converting struggles to advantages. The data show the interactive way of power transferability through their college essay and religion. The disability category was an unmalleable trait of the participants, but the students intentionally or unintentionally converted their struggles into opportunities. To be specific, the students disclosed their disabilities as well as other difficulties in their college essays to demonstrate their potential; Walter's career goals were inspired by his struggles.

The students in this study reported that the application essay helped them provide evidence of their academic potential. The students chose to disclose their disability labels in their college essays in order to show that they had overcome many struggles. For the students, the personal statements were a way to convince admission committees of their exceptionality. Writing about the process of overcoming a struggle is one of the popular strategies provided by many college essay guides (e.g. Gelb, 2013; Sawyer, 2016). While the students started writing about their struggles by themselves, college counselors played an important role in this process. While Walter received feedback and comments from people he knew, including a college counselor at his high school, Junyoung and Sangmin received feedback from both educators and private college counselors as they revised their essays. Among the three essays, the private services offered much more extensive comments and editing than Walter's acquaintances and high school counselor. However, Hyewon and Tacksu mentioned that the private college counseling services were very expensive. Junyoung explained,

I received college counseling through a private institute that was able to provide me what's about college and help me on college essays, but for those that do not have [the] finances to go there...I hope that the schools can provide those services. (student interview 2, September 13, 2016)

Tacksu had similar thoughts about the college counseling offered at the public school. He wished that the school and IEP team had provided more positive examples of postsecondary options rather than assuming that students like Sangmin would go to community college at best. Tacksu added that seeing such examples would not only help students foster college aspirations but also help parents understand that such goals were attainable.

Another transformation from the struggle to success occurred when Walter chose his major and minor. His social difficulties affected his decisions about his major and minor. While Junyoung and Sangmin chose their majors based on their parents' advice, Walter's aspiration was

based on his early experiences of bullying and pornography addiction. Studies about spiritual formation among students with autism are rare (e.g., Deeley, 2009; Grandin, 2008), and none have explored the type of interactive process that Walter experienced during his adolescence. His current goal is to utilize his experiential knowledge to understand other people who have had similar experiences at the intersection of either autism and religion or autism and pornography addiction (or other issues connected to the sex industry).

Immigration as a choice. Immigration was a choice the families made in pursuit of a better education for their children with autism. Their immigration trajectories show that the nationality can be a malleable trait for the participants to enhance educational conditions for their children. Although they believed that their choice was right for their children's education, the demands entailed by immigration impacted their lives as well.

Seeking better education options. Junyoung and Sangmin's families immigrated to pursue an appropriate education for the children. In Grinker's study (as cited in Kang-Yi, Grinker, & Mandell, 2013), Korean parents of children with disabilities often considered immigrating to Europe or North American for their children's education. As mentioned earlier, special education services for students with high-functioning autism were unavailable in Korea in the mid-1990s. The families said that they could not locate proper services or even obtain a diagnosis (in Sangmin's case) in Korea until the mid-2000s. Cho, Singer, and Brenner (2000) found that obtaining the right resources and services for children with disabilities was very challenging in Korea. Julia also speculated that Korean parents of children with disabilities would want to immigrate because the Korean education system is too competitive; Hyewon pointed out the lack of formal supports for Junyoung in Korea; and both Hyewon and Tacksu mentioned that public perceptions of individuals with disabilities in Korea might not be ideal for

their children and the families. The psychiatrist who gave the diagnosis of autism to Sangmin worked at Seoul National University Hospital, which is the only Korean institution that has a certified clinician using the gold standard diagnostic instruments for autism spectrum disorders (Kang-Yi et al., 2013).

Micro- and macro-sociological circumstances that enabled immigration. The results show how special education and immigration policies intermingled with the development of informational and travel technologies to allow the participants to live in the United States in the hopes of improving their children's education.

Modern Korean special education has its roots in the first special education legislation, 특수교육 진흥법 (The Special Education Promotion Act of 1977; Seo, Oakland, Han, & Hu, 1992). However, even three decades later when the participants were seeking support, the mandatory special education supports were not provided as promised (Shin, 2002). According to the Korean prevalence study of ASD (Kim et al., 2011), two-thirds of children with ASD were in regular schools without a diagnosis or any supports. Studies show that the underidentification of children with ASD in Korea might be attributable to the lack of child psychiatrists or to the academic-focused school atmosphere (Kang-Yi et al., 2013; Kim et al., 2011). As Hyewon mentioned, she was unable to find formal education services for Junyoung in Korean even with the diagnosis of autism. She said that the only way to address his needs was to personally ask the teachers to pay attention to his communicative, social, and behavioral needs. Sangmin's case was different from Junyoung's. Sangmin's family spent ten years before receiving a diagnosis and the appropriate services. The participants' comments indicated that the Korean special education law did not effectively address their individual needs. It was only ten years ago that Korean special education legislation added autism as a separate category (장애인 등에 대한 특수교육법

(Korean Special Education for Individuals with Disabilities and Others Law, 2007). The participants and Jeonghee (the chair of the Korean Parent Support Group) said that they knew several Korean families who had migrated to the United States to help their children with disabilities.

Developments in immigration policies and transportation technologies are another axis that enabled the participants to choose to immigrate (e.g., Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965; 여행 자유화 조치 [The Travel Liberalization Measure] of 1989). The families immigrated to the United States after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which removed discriminatory laws targeted at Asian and Pacific Islanders, such as the Immigration Act of 1924 (Ancheta, 2006) and 여행 자유화 조치 (The Travel Liberalization Measure), and thus allowed the families to pursue the option of immigration (Linver, Brooks-Gunn, & Kohen, 2002). According to a U.S. Census Bureau working paper by Gibson and Jung (2006), between 1960 and 1980, the percentage of Korean immigrants in the U.S. population increased dramatically compared to the total percentage of immigrants in the U.S. population (see Table 6.1). The increase was primarily due to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which has allowed a large influx of Korean immigrants to emigrate (Choi & Johnston, 2007). In addition, the Travel Liberalization Measure of 1989 (Linver, Brooks-Gunn, & Kohen, 2002) was meaningful for the participants because it increased accessibility to other nations for their children. Without this legislation, Sangmin's family would not have been able to explore the special education system in California initially. Further, developments in transportation, information, and communication technologies enabled the parents to compare and explore broader options.

Table 6.1.

The Foreign-Born Korean Population from 1960 to 2000

Year	Total		Korean	
	Population	% change	Population	% change
1960	9,738,091		11,171	
1970	9,619,302	-1.2%	38,711	246.5%
1980	14,079,906	46.4%	289,885	648.8%
1990	19,767,316	40.4%	568,397	96.1%
2000	31,107,889	57.4%	864,125	52.0%
2010	39,916,875	28.3%	1,086,945	25.8%

Note. Data from Gibson, C., & Jung, K. (2006). Historical census statistics on the foreign-born population of the United States: 1850 to 2000 (Working Paper No. 81). Washington, CD; U.S. Census Bureau; 2015 American Community Surveys (ACS) for 2010 data.

Future goals to enhance malleable trait: Parents' roles. The students' future goals were greatly affected by their parents. The Korean-American parents of students with autism had spent considerable time supporting their children throughout their lives. Through the supports and dedication, the parents hoped to increase one of the students' malleable traits, socioeconomic status. To be specific, the students' job preferences were determined based on earning potential, and job security; and the job selection was mean to move up the social ladder. Because those were determining factors for the students' majors/minors in college, the parents had a very strong influence on the students' educational paths.

Their job preference might attribute to parents' roles in educating children with autism. Overall, the parents were dedicated to supporting their children, and that support included choosing a future career. Lee and Carter (2012) suggested that for high-functioning students with autism, parents can provide critical support during the postsecondary transition, and can ultimately assist in getting a meaningful job. Because the parents in this study were the ones who knew the students' trajectories, interests, strengths, and weaknesses, the parents were the best informant for the students' future career.

Cultural values about the adulthood of children may be another reason for the participants' career aspirations. The parents assumed their children would attend postsecondary education for several reasons: the parents valued higher education, they could afford to provide the opportunity, the students excelled academically, and this assumption aligned with Korean parenting culture. Scholars have suggested that the historical influence of Confucianism may have contributed to Korean parenting values, such as the interdependence of families, an emphasis on academics and social mobility, and controlling their children's decisions (Kim, Guo, Koh, & Cain, 2010; Yang, & Shin, 2008). These cultural traits might have facilitated the students' academic success and postsecondary access. Thus, decisions about the students' majors also reflect the parents' hopes for a mobility shift that cannot be attained through other identity markers, such as race.

Collective Efforts across Time and Space: Institutional Responses

The parents were striving to foster an ideal environment for their children to climb the social ladder; these efforts focused on improving malleable outcomes, such as social status and earning potential. At the same time, the aspirations of families like the participants at the intersection of multiple identities created social supports for the children with autism and for the children from Korean heritage. Furthermore, collective efforts to value and cultivate language diversity impacted the Proposition 58 ballot initiative in 2016.

Interagency efforts related to autism in California. The interagency collaboration initially asked the participants to evaluate the appropriateness of their transition planning within IEP meetings because studies have suggested that interagency collaboration can help provide a seamless transition to postsecondary education (Hendricks & Wehman, 2009; Powell, 2002; Schall & Wehman, 2009). Roberts (2010) listed three primary agencies that could help with the

transition: college disability support staff, community mental health personnel, and local developmental disability councils. However, interviews and documents revealed that the participants did not have representatives from any outside agencies in their IEP meetings, and the IEP meetings and ITPs were not meaningful for the participants in terms of preparing for college.

Rather, the families received support from both formal and informal support systems outside schools. Local support systems included either regional centers or schools. The teachers and the state-wide regional center service providers had information about local resources and processes; thus, they were key informants for the participants as the families initially sought support. In addition to the formal support system, Korean communities also provided informal assistance. The involvement of the ethnic community synergized the services that were offered officially. This collaboration was critical to higher education access for the Korean adolescents with autism because their families also need social support. As Tacksu mentioned, the family's economic problems and the troubled relationships between family members influenced Sangmin's academic life. In this regard, the community-based services were integral to the students' success.

State-wide bilingual policy: Proposition 58. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that there are over 350 languages spoken in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Despite the potential benefits of diverse language practices, especially in a large urban area, bilingual or multilingual practices have been limited. For example, in 1998, Proposition 227 implemented an English-only instruction policy (similar to Proposition 203 in Arizona, and Question 2 in Massachusetts). As discussed, the legislation significantly limited bilingual education opportunities and ignored the value of languages other than English (Garcia, 2000; Schirling, Contreras, & Ayala, 2000). Along with this state-wide policy, parents of students with autism and

professionals who served those populations often speculated about possible confusion resulting from using more than one language (Hambly & Fombonne, 2012; Yu, 2013). In 2016, two decades after the passage of Proposition 227, Proposition 58 was approved and repealed the prohibition of non-English instruction at public schools. A summary of the ballot was provided in the Official Voter Information Guide (California Secretary of State, 2016):

Proposition 58. English proficiency. Multilingual education. Initiative statute.
 Summary: Preserves requirement that public schools ensure students obtain English language proficiency. Requires school districts to solicit parent/community input in developing language acquisition programs. Requires instruction to ensure English acquisition as rapidly and effectively as possible. Authorizes school districts to establish dual-language immersion programs for both native and non-native English speakers.
 Fiscal Impact: No notable fiscal effect on school districts or state government.
 What your vote means: Yes. A YES vote on this measure means: Public schools could more easily choose how to teach English learners, whether in English-only, bilingual, or other types of programs; No. A NO vote on this measure means: Public schools would still be required to teach most English learners in English-only programs.

Because I was living in California, I was able to observe that the California Teachers Association advocated for the measure through local media, and that parents, teachers, and researchers welcomed the initiative. Large urban newspapers (e.g., Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle) also officially endorsed the passage of the legislation. In this regard, Proposition 58 is a cumulative agreement about the value of a diverse linguistic environment in California.

I illustrate responses to the intersectionality throughout the second section of this chapter. I discuss utilization of malleable and unmalleable traits to enhance their social locations, and institutional efforts to maximize students' potentials across time and space. The exploration of the intersectional experiences of the Korean-American students with autism in their postsecondary transition to college yields practical insights for educating future students with multiple identities.

Conclusion

In this study, I discuss how the intersectional experiences of Korean-American students with autism shaped their educational trajectories during their transition to college, and I explore their responses to these intersectional experiences. Ableism, racism, and bi-/multi-lingualism are explored within the students' specific temporal and spatial contexts in this globalized era. The participants' immigration choices were influenced by an array of intersectionalities that included factors such as the recent development of autism-related research and policies, the racial/ethnic realities that pervaded the students' everyday lives, and the linguistic stratification embedded in policies and practices. The responses to these intersectional experiences are delineated at both the individual level and the institutional level. Academic achievement and career aspirations were utilized to enhance the malleable identities, such as socioeconomic status. Moreover, local support systems and Proposition 28 were found to be critical elements of postsecondary access for students at the intersection of multiple identities. Thus, it is important to understand how their postsecondary transition had been shaped by certain social and political situation. The implications and limitations of this study are outlined in the following sections.

Implications

Implications for research. Comprehensive understanding of educational trajectories can ultimately facilitate the development of meaningful interventions and services. Thus, although the focus of this study is postsecondary transition, I document the students' experiences from birth because studies have suggested that early interventions for children with autism can improve educational outcomes, such as cognitive functioning and language development (Estes et al., 2015; Koegel, 1995; McEachin et al., 1993; McGovern & Sigman, 2005). However, the research on school outcomes and adults with autism is still not sufficient (Howlin & Moss,

2012). A review of studies of individuals with ASD found that the number of studies decreased dramatically as the age of the participants increased (Mukaetova-Ladinska, Perry, Baron, & Povey, 2012). Due to the rapid increase in autism prevalence in the early 1990s, many students with autism are now navigating life beyond high school (VanBergeijk, Klin, & Volkmar, 2008). Thus, having research that includes older adults and incorporates a lifespan perspective on individuals with autism can improve the potential for developing future services for the growing population of adults with autism. For instance, using data from the National Longitudinal Studies (NLTS 2 or NLTS 2012) could potentially allow researchers to track the educational histories of college students with disabilities. Qualitative studies could also document comprehensive lifelong stories from families, educators, and students.

As discussed in Chapter 2 (Literature Review), there is a scarcity of studies addressing the intersection of race and autism. Prior studies have focused on racial disproportionalities and service disparities, but studies exploring experiences of racism in combination with the experience of being a student with autism are rare (see Chapter 2). While the participating students had not experienced extreme forms of violent racism, the data showed that racism pervaded the everyday lives of the participants in the form of microaggressions or residential segregation. Because race is one of the most visible traits of individuals, race is often used as a basis for bullying those with social difficulties. Even subtle types of microaggressions are harmful to psychological well-being (Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013; Ong, Fuller-Rowell, & Burrow, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). In this regard, understanding the mental health of racial minority students with autism is a worthy topic for future research.

Given the relationship between home language and race/ethnicity, research on bilingual/multilingual education for students with autism should also include race/ethnicity or

nationality in participant descriptions, and there is a lack of research on potential interventions that includes all these variables. According to (Kena et al., 2015), 9.2% of K-12 students were classified as English Language Learners in 2012-2013, and the rates remained steady from 2009 to 2013. However, the proportion of English Language Learners varied greatly by race/ethnicity (Hispanic: 28.7%, Asian: 20.4%, Pacific Islander: 13.7%, American Indian/Alaska Native: 6.9%, Black: 2.1%, two or more races: 2%, White: 1%). Studies about bilingual practices among students with autism have been published recently, beginning in the 2000s (e.g. Hambly & Fombonne, 2014; Ohashi et al., 2012; Petersen, Marinova-Todd, & Mirenda, 2012; Seung, Siddiqi, & Elder, 2006). Because these studies focused on language, they reported language group but not a race; this limitation creates the need for further investigations that include race. Furthermore, the families and educators of students with autism from non-English speaking homes still have a difficult time locating bilingual or multilingual services, therapies, and counseling. Thus, intervention research for those populations will shed light on how to accommodate their needs with regard to the dual axes of bilingualism/multilingualism and autism.

Many other topics emerged in the data that have not been sufficiently addressed in existing research. For instance, Walter talked extensively about his spiritual formation and its impact on his postsecondary decisions. However, studies about the intersection of autism and religion are rare. Only a few studies address the role of religion for families of students with autism (e.g., Jegatheesan, 2010; Skinner, Bailey, Correa, & Rodriguez, 1999; Skinner, Correa, Skinner, & Bailey, 2001), and publications about how individuals with autism construct their identities are scarce (e.g., Deeley, 2009; Grandin, 2008). These limitations highlight important areas that researchers should further examine with regard to intersectionality.

Implications for practice. The students received a lot of practical support from their schools and communities. Multiple agencies were involved in the students' educational trajectories, and thus I provide recommendations for educators, counselors, therapists, accommodation organizers (e.g., for the SAT), doctors, and other service providers.

The families and students appreciated their teachers for being supportive and understanding the students' needs. However, the participants felt that the IEP teams had low expectations for students with autism in terms of postsecondary goals. Their IEP documents showed that their post-high school goals were not updated annually. The participants mentioned that the IEP staff members provided only information about community college, employment, and developmental disability services despite the students' high academic achievement. When families and students with autism have high expectations and students exhibit strong academic capabilities, IEP staff should have high expectations and respect the families' aspirations. Moreover, the IEP documents should be updated regularly, which is important not only during high school but also during the college enrollment period when disability verification requires recent IEP documentation to ensure accommodations in college.

Furthermore, none of the students had the chance to practice self-determination or leadership skills in their IEP meetings. Because their role in the meetings was minimal, the students did not understand the purpose of participating in the meetings. Especially during high school, the students had a hard time keeping up with their classes, so they did not like to miss classes to attend IEP meetings. The students said that it took them hours to make up their class work after the meetings, but they did not say much in the meetings. In this regard, cultivating more meaningful participation may increase the students' ability to prepare for their future on their own; participation can be increased by implementing student-centered IEP meetings, as

other scholars have already suggested (e.g., Hendricks & Wehman, 2009), and scheduling meetings based on the students' academic demands.

Despite legislative mandates for postsecondary transition assessment, the ITPs for the participating students did not sufficiently document their aspirations. Although their ITPs and IEPs included written summaries of goals, interests, and strengths, the goals were vague or had not been updated properly. As a result, it was not practical for the students and their families to discuss the students' postsecondary goals in IEP meetings. In this regard, postsecondary transition assessment should be clear on special education policies (e.g., school-wide supports to evaluate career awareness, administrative efforts to monitor annual transition assessments, authentic assessments based on multiple tools and data).

The data also shed light on the distribution of special education information. Although the parents initially received some information in Korean, certain information—about adolescents with autism, postsecondary life, and ITPs—was rarely provided in their primary language. While the participants wanted their children to attend college, they did not recognize that the IEP meeting could be a place where their children could meaningfully discuss their dream and goals. Due to the changes and lack of information during adolescence and adulthood, the parents and students were stressed during the students' years in secondary school. Thus, information about the transition to postsecondary education, adult services, and parenting strategies in secondary schools in their native tongue would be beneficial to those inhabiting the intersection of language-minority status and autism.

The families used a variety of therapies, counseling, aids, and other services to address their academic, emotional, and physical needs. Often, the families had to dedicate a great deal of time and energy, for example exploring the available resources and filling out forms to receive

these services through the regional centers or schools. Moreover, the services were rarely provided in their primary language. Sangmin received private speech and language therapies in Korean through the school district. However, attaining these services required his parents to search for the services, find an available Korean therapist in the region, research advocacy procedures, and attend support group meetings. For immigrant students who may not speak any English at all, English-only services can be less effective than services provided in their native language.

The results show that private college counseling services helped the students prepare their college applications in a limited time. Walter did not use a private service, but relied on a college counselor at his high school. However, the participants mentioned that private counselors are advantageous for several reasons: they spend more time with individual students to package their application, they possess specialized information, they provide information in the student's primary language, and they are easily assessable after school. Because the college application process requires a lot of time and resources from students, college counseling services at the schools are essential for postsecondary access. Tacksu reported that if the IEP could have provided a glimpse into possible career options for Sangmin, it would have been very beneficial for the family, reducing their stress and giving them more time to navigate the postsecondary transition process. This type of information would be especially important for those first-generation immigrant parents who do not have a thorough understanding of the education system in the United States.

The parents also mentioned that they were somewhat tired of bearing all the demands of caring for their children after years of dedication. For these students, parental involvement was critical to choosing and achieving meaningful careers. However, the caregiving demands

increased after high school because the parents had to gather all the information on services for their children (in contrast to earlier years when formal support was provided by K-12 IEP teams and Regional Centers). Although the coordinators of the Regional Centers regularly check on the students' well-being, the services are often limited for high-functioning students with autism, especially those in college. What these parents desperately needed when their children went to college was an emotional support to help them deal with the ongoing stress.

For college applications, qualitative materials such as personal statements and essays helped the students to speak about themselves and prove their academic capabilities, which were not sufficiently reflected in quantitative measures, such as SAT scores or GPAs. However, preparing an essay was demanding, and required the students to bear the possible risks of unintentional discrimination based on the stories in the essays. To write essays that presented their stories in an effective way in a limited form, Junyoung and Sangmin paid expensive fees for counselors and tutors. Because writing and selecting topics were some of the most difficult academic tasks for the students, college essays proved to be overwhelming during their senior year. Thus, having an alternative admissions process can be beneficial for the students. For instance, postsecondary transition programs that are designed to fit the individual needs of students with autism can provide a smooth transition experience.

Taking college classes during their secondary school years would be useful to students with autism. When Walter and Junyoung first began college coursework, they encountered unanticipated problems. For instance, Junyoung realized that certain accommodations could not be applied in his chemistry labs because an extended time accommodation could be only provided in the disability office building. If he had known this, he would not have registered for four courses, including chemistry, in a semester. As researchers have recommended, providing

opportunities to take college classes during the high school years and having a representative from a college in IEP meetings would increase students' productivity and retention rates in college (Powell, 2002; Wei et al., 2014).

Implication for policy. Discrimination based on race and/or disabilities was reported in this study. Prior research has shown that both those in the minority racial/ethnic groups and those with disabilities are more likely than the general population to be the victims of crimes. Harrell (2016) found that the rate of hate crimes against individuals with disabilities was 2.5 times higher than people without disabilities in 2014. In the same report, the violent victimization rate was highest for individuals of two or more races with disabilities. According to FBI hate crime reports, about 59% of hate crimes were due to race-based bias. Hate crimes are prohibited by policies such as the Violent Crime and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, and the Hate Crime Statistics Act of 1990 requires the tracking of these crimes. While these legislative efforts create social norms of behavior toward differences, the policies should also require the provision of adequate support for the victims' psychological stress. Herek, Gillis, and Cogan (1999) argued that the psychological impact of hate crimes can be different from the impact other crimes because a hate crime is directed at a core aspect of the individual's identity. Thus, systematic support systems for victims and prevention programs should be specified in these policies, especially for those who have psychological difficulties.

A policy that prohibited affirmative action in college admissions (Proposition 209) was another source of inner-and inter-racial conflicts. In addition to the racial stratification embedded in the policy, other conditions, such as disabilities, caused the participants to be concerned about competition within their racial group. Moreover, simply ignoring race in college admissions is not an ideal way to address educational inequity in higher education access. While college

leaders have implemented alternative methods of increasing diversity (e.g., university outreach for minority schools, targeted minority recruitment programs), these efforts have not been able to achieve the diversity level that existed before the initiative (Kidder & Gándara, 2015). Thus, rather than superficially addressing race-neutral equity, policies should be implemented in a way that addresses the historical injustices faced by certain minority groups.

Changes in immigration policies in the late 1990s allowed the families to immigrate in order to improve the education of their children with autism. The participating parents were all permanent residents. Walter's parents obtained green cards through the 245 (i) provision, which permits the adjustment of status for certain individuals who cannot maintain lawful status. The law allowed Walter's family to work legally and prepare their children to go to college. This may imply that granting legal residency to illegal immigrants would enhance the educational and economic conditions of the families and ultimately contribute to the growth of U.S. society. The parents of Junyoung and Sangmin received green cards through employment-based immigration petitions. While the process was different for each family, the demands it entailed impacted the relationships between family members, and the students had to witness their parents' conflicts when they were in middle school. As the parents reported, the immigration process, as well as economic constraints, influenced their children's friendships. Thus, federal immigration policy frameworks should consider the educational impacts on the offspring of immigrant workers.

Policies related to bilingual practices at home and school were discussed, specifically Proposition 227 (1998) and Proposition 58 (2016). Proposition 227 required public schools to deliver their instruction exclusively in English (Schirling et al., 2000). In 2016, Proposition 58 repealed most of the regulations within Proposition 227 and allowed schools to choose from a variety of language instruction options, such as dual-language immersion programs. Schools

must now prepare for a new era of bilingual/multilingual programs. One of the problems of Proposition 227 was parent waivers, which created an additional barrier to students receiving bilingual education. Thus, any procedural guidelines for language options and information should be easily accessible to parents who are confused about the impact of bilingualism/multilingualism on their children, especially parents of students with communicative difficulties.

Limitations

The limitations of this study can be two-fold: preconceptions of researchers and the simplification of complexities. As all researchers do, I have certain preconceptions and a unique social location. Individuals' stories are always reorganized by researchers' perspectives and social positions, and this reorganization occurs in each step of the study process. Thus, I provided reflexivity statements and described my awareness of my own positions and preconceptions. The reflexive process will help readers understand the influence of my axiological, ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions on this study.

Another limitation was the simplification of complexities. As Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) argued, representing the complexities of educational situations in writing can be challenging. To illustrate the complexities of intersectionality, I had to list the experiences in a linear format. The process of simplification did not allow me to discuss the confluences of all dimensions, such as autism, race/ethnicity, language status, immigrant status, socioeconomic status, and others. However, adopting a multi-level model of intersectionality helped me to analyze the combination of experiences in four arenas: organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential. The use of figures (e.g., Figures 5.1 and 5.2) also helped me to visualize the situational complexities.

Although the purpose of this study was not generalization but peculiarization, some readers may consider the small sample (three families) a limitation of this study. Certainly the three participating families do not represent all Korean-American families of children with autism. However, the primary purpose of this study is to illustrate how the participants' intersectional experiences were shaped by specific historical, spatial, and temporal contexts. Stake (1978) argued that an individual case can be generalized to similar cases as people often generalize from their experiences. Stake and Trumbull (1982) later explained that this type of naturalistic generalization could reduce transitional distortions, which occur in the shift from experiential language to formal language. Thus, the primary goal of Chapter 4 was to make naturalistic generalizations. Researchers provide naturalistic generalizations of vicarious experiences; thus, readers intuitively generalize meaning through case studies. In this regard, the story of a particular person in a certain time and place facilitates the description of the experience. Moreover, Tacksu mentioned that if he had known of any children like Sangmin during his son's senior year, the family would have been less stressed and have maintained high expectations about postsecondary education. Furthermore, I used several strategies, such as prolonged data collection, member checking, and triangulation, to increase the trustworthiness of the data gathered from the small sample.

Every type of methodology has unique features that create both strengths and limitations. Because the issue of generalization can be framed another way, this case study contributes to producing a different type of knowledge. The ultimate goal of this study was to enhance postsecondary access for students with autism from diverse backgrounds. Thus, this case study primarily sought to produce experiential knowledge.

Closing Vignette

IEP를 통해 개별적인 필요를 채워주려고 하는 제도덕에 학교교육을 제대로 마칠 수 있었기 때문에 그런 면에서는 대학교를 가는 데 바탕이 됐다고 봅니다. 좀 더 바라자면 IEP에서 좀 향후에 가능성에 대해서도 케이스나 자료를 줬으면 한국분들이 많이 바뀌었겠죠? IEP는 갈테니까. 상민이가 당장 힘들 때는 IEP에서 스피치 서비스 얘기하기 바빴지 향후 생각을 할 수가 없었어요. 근데 IEP에서 아이들 장애정도에 따라 미래에 대한 케이스를 제시해주면 도움이 되었겠죠. 특히나 주류사회있지 않고 소수쪽에 있고 더군다나 이민 1세대가 누군가를 데려왔으면은 사회는 물론이고 학교제도 이런 것도 아무것도 모르잖아요. 그냥 IEP만 의지하고 있는 거니까.

Individualized support through the IEP provided fundamental support to complete K-12 education. In that regard, special education helped Sangmin go to college. I wish the IEP could also address future possibilities, such as providing cases or information. I think Korean families might have different experiences if they were provided with this kind of information because they at least attend IEP meetings. When Sangmin was young and had immediate issues, I could only talk about urgent issues like speech services, and couldn't think about his future. But if IEPs could provide case examples based on his degree of disabilities, that would be helpful. Especially for minorities—the first immigrant generation does not know anything about society and the school system; they just rely on IEPs. (T. Yun, parent interview 2, February 17, 2017)

All of the parent participants said that college admission was one of the biggest accomplishments and rewards for their years of effort, and they appreciated the American special education system for supporting their children's education. The postsecondary transition process can be different for minority students with autism than for either minority students without autism or students with autism who are not members of a minority group. Moreover, individual students experience the transition differently because within-school variations also affect students' access to higher education (Teranishi, Allen, & Solrzano, 2004). However, this case study provides a glimpse into an educational journey that the students hoped would enhance their social mobility in this stratified society. Thus, the intersectional experiences of these Korean-American students with autism can have implications for teaching diverse student populations, even those who have not historically experienced diversity and equity in the same ways that these participants have.

Moreover, listening to the lived experience itself will work as a catalyst to provide social justice practice to our students from non-dominant communities in this society. In this regard, I believe this study will produce useful knowledge for educating diverse learners with autism during the transition from high school to postsecondary education.

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Appendix B

Student Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
 Research Participant Information and Consent Form for Students

Title of the Study: Intersectionality in Transition to Postsecondary Education for Diverse Learners with Autism

Principal Investigator: Andrea Ruppap, PhD (Email: ruppap@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Hyejung Kim, MA (Phone: 608-698-8371, Email: hkim388@wisc.edu)

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a research study about postsecondary education enrollment for Korean American students with autism. The purpose of this research is to understand the postsecondary education enrollment process. Your experiences can provide valuable insight and information regarding the postsecondary transition process for diverse learners with autism.

After you sign this consent form, you will have four one-hour interviews with Hyejung Kim. This study will take place in from January 2016 to May 2017. All interviews will be audio recorded and will be accessed only by approved researchers of this study. No recordings will be made public for any reason. If you agree to allow us to record interviews, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form. Your educational documents, such as Individualized Education Program documents (IEPs), university/college admission packet, and disability verification document will be requested to be reviewed. Providing the documents is completely voluntary. Your documents will be only reviewed by approved research staff. All identifiable information from the documents will be removed before they are stored.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you say yes now, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your withdrawal from the study will no effect on any services or treatment you are currently receiving.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS AND RISKS TO ME?

There are no direct benefits for participating in this research. However, the results of this study may contribute to further understanding of diverse students with autism in their transition to postsecondary education.

The interview questions may elicit the disclosure of sensitive or highly personal information. All information shared at this interview should be kept confidential and should not be disclosed to others. All identifying information will not be used in any publications. However, there is a chance that someone may identify you by reading the descriptions of your environments.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?

The data obtained in this study will be de-identified by using pseudonyms and removing identifiable information. The results of this dissertation study will be used in publications and presentations, but none of the identifiable information will be used. The audio recordings and documents will be stored in secured places with locks. The electronic files of data will be stored on a secure network server accessed only by approved research personnel. All audio recordings of the interviews will be erased permanently upon completion of data analysis on 12/31/2020.

If you participate in this study, your comments may be directly quoted without using your name. If you agree to allow us to quote you in publications, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after you leave today you should contact Hyejung Kim at (608) 698-8371 or hkim388@wisc.edu.

If you are not satisfied with response of research team, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at (608) 263-2320.

Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Name of Participant (please print): _____

Signature

Date

_____ I give my permission to be audio recorded.

_____ I give my permission to be quoted directly in publications without using my name.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Research Participant Information and Consent Form for Families
연구 참여 정보 및 동의서 (학생)

Title of the Study: Intersectionality in Transition to Postsecondary Education for Diverse Learners with Autism

Principal Investigator: Andrea Ruppard, PhD (Email: ruppard@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Hyejung Kim, MA (Phone: 608-698-8371, Email: hkim388@wisc.edu)

연구 목적 및 참여 정보

귀하는 자폐를 가진 한인 학생들이 대학에 가는 과정에 관한 연구 참여 요청을 받으셨습니다. 본 연구의 목적은 대학에 입학하는 과정에 대해 이해하는 데 있습니다. 가족으로서의 귀하의 경험은 자폐를 가진 다양한 학생들이 대학에 가는 과정에 대해 소중한 정보와 이해를 제공하여 줄 것입니다.

이 연구 동의서에 서명을 하신 후, 귀하는 김혜정과 한시간여에 걸친 네번의 인터뷰를 하게 될 것입니다. 이 연구는 2016년 1월부터 2017년 5월에 걸쳐 진행될 것입니다. 모든 인터뷰는 녹음될 것이며, 이 녹음은 이 연구에 참가하기로 승인된 연구자들만 접근가능할 것입니다. 어떠한 경우에도 이 녹음은 타인에게 공개되지 않을 것입니다. 만약 녹음에 동의하신다면, 이 동의서 하단부에 서명해주시길 부탁드립니다. 교육관련 자료들, 예를 들어 Individualized Education Program documents (IEPs), university/college admission packet, disability verification document을 연구목적으로 사용하도록 요청될 것입니다. 이 자료들을 제공하는 것은 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 이 서류들은 오직 승인된 연구자들만 검토할 것 입니다. 모든 신원이 식별가능한 정보들은 저장되기 전 삭제될 것입니다.

본 연구 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 만약 귀하가 지금 연구 참여의사를 보였더라도, 언제든지 참여의사를 철회하실 수 있습니다. 연구 참여 철회는 귀하가 현재 받고 있는 어떠한 서비스나 치료에 영향을 미치지 않을 것 입니다.

연구 참여로 인한 혜택 및 위험 요소가 있나요?

본 연구 참여는 어떠한 직접적인 혜택도 제공하지 않습니다. 그러나 이 연구 결과는 향후 자폐를 가진 다양한 학생들의 대학진학에 관한 이해를 돕게 될 것 입니다.

이 인터뷰는 민감하고 사적인 질문들을 포함하고 있습니다. 인터뷰에서 제공된 모든 정보들은 비밀이 보장될 것이며, 어떠한 개인정보도 타인에게 제공되지 않을 것입니다. 더불어 모든 신원이 식별 가능한 정보들은 어떠한 출판에도 쓰이지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 귀하의 상황에 관한 설명을 읽음으로써 타인이 귀하를 알게될 가능성은 있습니다.

IRB Approval Date: 5/3/2016
 Date IRB Approval Expires: 5/2/2017
 FWA00005399 ED/SBS IRB
 University of Wisconsin – Madison

개인정보들은 어떻게 보호되나요?

필명사용과 개인정보는 삭제되며 모든 정보들은 개인 식별이 가능하지 않게 될 것입니다. 이 박사논문 연구 결과는 향후 출판과 발표 등에 쓰이게 될 것이지만, 신원이 식별가능한 정보는 어떠한 경우에도 쓰이지 않을 것입니다. 녹음파일과 서류들은 자물쇠로 잠겨진 안전한 장소에 보관될 것입니다. 모든 전자 파일들은 오직 승인된 연구자들만 접근할 수 있는 보안 서버에 저장될 것입니다. 모든 녹음된 정보들은 데이터 분석이 모두 끝난 시점인 2020년 12월 31일 완전히 지워질 것입니다.

만약 이 연구에 참여하신다면, 당신의 인터뷰들은 당신의 이름을 제외하고 직접 인용될 수 있습니다. 만약 여기에 동의하신다면, 이 동의서 밑에 서명 부탁드립니다.

연구 참여에 관한 질문이 있다면 누구에게 연락해야 하나요?

귀하는 본 연구에 관해 어떠한 질문이든 하셔도 좋습니다. 만약 오늘 이후 연구에 질문이 있으시다면, 김혜정에게 직접 연락하십시오. (608) 698-8371 또는 hkim388@wisc.edu.

만약 연구팀의 답변에 만족하지 못하셨거나, 더 질문이 있으시거나, 연구 참여자로서의 당신의 권리에 관해 궁금하신 점이 있으시다면, 교육 연구 및 사회과학 IRB 사무실로 연락주시기 바랍니다. Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at (608) 263-2320

이 동의서에 서명하시면 귀하가 이 동의서를 다 읽었고, 연구 참여에 관해 질문할 기회가 있었으며, 이 연구에 자발적으로 참여하기로 동의한 것으로 간주됩니다. 귀하는 추후 서명하신 동의서 복사본을 연구자로부터 받게 되실 것입니다.

참여자 이름 Name of Participant (please print): _____

서명 Signature

날짜 Date

본인은 인터뷰 녹음에 동의합니다.

_____ I give my permission to be audio recorded.

본인은 본인의 이름을 제외한 인터뷰 내용의 직접 인용에 동의합니다.

_____ I give my permission to be quoted directly in publications without using my name.

Appendix C

Parent Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Research Participant Information and Consent Form for Families

Title of the Study: Intersectionality in Transition to Postsecondary Education for Diverse Learners with Autism

Principal Investigator: Andrea Ruppap, PhD (Email: ruppap@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Hyejung Kim, MA (Phone: 608-698-8371, Email: hkim388@wisc.edu)

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a research study about postsecondary education enrollment for Korean American students with autism. The purpose of this research is to understand the postsecondary education enrollment process. Your experiences can provide valuable insight and information regarding the postsecondary transition process for diverse learners with autism.

After you sign this consent form, you will have two one-hour interviews with Hyejung Kim. This study will take place in from January 2016 to May 2017. All interviews will be audio recorded and will be accessed only by approved researchers of this study. No recordings will be made public for any reason. If you agree to allow us to record interviews, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you say yes now, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your withdrawal from the study will no effect on any services or treatment you are currently receiving.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS AND RISKS TO ME?

There are no direct benefits for participating in this research. However, the results of this study may contribute to further understanding of diverse students with autism in their transition to postsecondary education.

The interview questions may elicit the disclosure of sensitive or highly personal information. All information shared at this interview should be kept confidential and should not be disclosed to others. All identifying information will not be used in any publications. However, there is a chance that someone may identify you by reading the descriptions of your environments.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?

The data obtained in this study will be de-identified by using pseudonyms and removing identifiable information. The results of this dissertation study will be used in publications and presentations, but none of the identifiable information will be used. The audio recordings and documents will be stored in secured places with locks. The electronic files of data will be stored on a secure network server accessed only by approved research personnel. All audio recordings of the interviews will be erased permanently upon completion of data analysis on 12/31/2020.

If you participate in this study, your comments may be directly quoted without using your name. If you agree to allow us to quote you in publications, please initial the statement at the bottom of this form.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after you leave today you should contact Hyejung Kim at (608) 698-8371 or hkim388@wisc.edu.

If you are not satisfied with response of research team, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at (608) 263-2320.

Your signature indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. You will receive a copy of this form for your records.

Name of Participant (please print): _____

Signature

Date

_____ I give my permission to be audio recorded.

_____ I give my permission to be quoted directly in publications without using my name.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Research Participant Information and Consent Form for Families
연구 참여 정보 및 동의서 (가족)

Title of the Study: Intersectionality in Transition to Postsecondary Education for Diverse Learners with Autism

Principal Investigator: Andrea Ruppard, PhD (Email: ruppard@wisc.edu)

Student Researcher: Hyejung Kim, MA (Phone: 608-698-8371, Email: hkim388@wisc.edu)

연구 목적 및 참여 정보

귀하는 자폐를 가진 한인 학생들이 대학에 가는 과정에 관한 연구 참여 요청을 받으셨습니다. 본 연구의 목적은 대학에 입학하는 과정에 관해 이해하는 데 있습니다. 가족으로서의 귀하의 경험은 자폐를 가진 다양한 학생들이 대학에 가는 과정에 관해 소중한 정보와 이해를 제공하여 줄 것입니다.

이 연구 동의서에 서명을 하신 후, 귀하는 김혜정과 한시간여에 걸친 두번의 인터뷰를 하게 될 것입니다. 이 연구는 2016년 1월부터 2017년 5월에 걸쳐 진행될 것입니다. 모든 인터뷰는 녹음될 것이며, 이 녹음은 이 연구에 참가하기로 승인된 연구자들만 접근가능할 것입니다. 어떠한 경우에도 이 녹음은 타인에게 공개되지 않을 것입니다. 만약 녹음에 동의하신다면, 이 동의서 하단부에 서명해주시길 부탁드립니다.

본 연구 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 만약 귀하가 지금 연구 참여의사를 보였더라도, 언제든지 참여의사를 철회하실 수 있습니다. 연구 참여 철회는 귀하가 현재 받고 있는 어떠한 서비스나 치료에 영향을 미치지 않을 것 입니다.

연구 참여로 인한 혜택 및 위험 요소가 있나요?

본 연구 참여는 어떠한 직접적인 혜택도 제공하지 않습니다. 그러나 이 연구 결과는 향후 자폐를 가진 다양한 학생들의 대학진학에 관한 이해를 돕게 될 것 입니다.

이 인터뷰는 민감하고 사적인 질문들을 포함하고 있습니다. 인터뷰에서 제공된 모든 정보들은 비밀이 보장될 것이며, 어떠한 개인정보도 타인에게 제공되지 않을 것입니다. 더불어 모든 신원이 식별 가능한정보들은 어떠한 출판에도 씌이지 않을 것입니다. 그러나 귀하의 상황에 관한 설명을 읽음으로써 타인이 귀하를 알게될 가능성은 있습니다.

개인정보들은 어떻게 보호되나요?

필명사용과 개인정보는 삭제되며 모든 정보들은 개인 식별이 가능하지 않게 될 것입니다. 이 박사논문 연구 결과는 향후 출판과 발표 등에 쓰이게 될 것이지만, 신원이 식별가능한 정보는 어떠한 경우에도 쓰이지 않을 것입니다. 녹음파일과 서류들은 자물쇠로 잠겨진 안전한 장소에 보관될 것입니다. 모든 전자 파일들은 오직 승인된 연구자들만 접근할 수 있는 보안 서버에 저장될 것입니다. 모든 녹음된 정보들은 데이터 분석이 모두 끝난 시점인 2020년 12월 31일 완전히 지워질 것입니다.

만약 이 연구에 참여하신다면, 당신의 인터뷰들은 당신의 이름을 제외하고 직접 인용될 수 있습니다. 만약 여기에 동의하신다면, 이 동의서 밑에 서명 부탁드립니다.

연구 참여에 관한 질문이 있다면 누구에게 연락해야 하나요?

귀하는 본 연구에 관해 어떠한 질문이든 하셔도 좋습니다. 만약 오늘 이후 연구에 질문이 있으시다면, 김혜정에게 직접 연락하십시오. (608) 698-8371 또는 hkim388@wisc.edu.

만약 연구팀의 답변에 만족하지 못하셨거나, 더 질문이 있으시거나, 연구 참여자로서의 당신의 권리에 관해 궁금하신 점이 있으시다면, 교육 연구 및 사회과학 IRB 사무실로 연락주시기 바랍니다. Education Research and Social & Behavioral Science IRB Office at (608) 263-2320

이 동의서에 서명하시면 귀하가 이 동의서를 다 읽었고, 연구 참여에 관해 질문할 기회가 있었으며, 이 연구에 자발적으로 참여하기로 동의한 것으로 간주됩니다. 귀하는 추후 서명하신 동의서 복사본을 연구자로부터 받게 되실 것입니다.

참여자 이름 Name of Participant (please print): _____

서명 Signature

날짜 Date

본인은 인터뷰 녹음에 동의합니다.

_____ I give my permission to be audio recorded.

본인은 본인의 이름을 제외한 인터뷰 내용의 직접 인용에 동의합니다.

_____ I give my permission to be quoted directly in publications without using my name.

Appendix D

Demographic Survey for Students

Thank you so much for your interests in this important study. If possible, please take a few moments to complete this survey questions below.

Name:

Date:

- a. Demographic
 - a. What is your age?
 - b. What is your race?
 - c. What is your gender?
 - d. What is your religion?
 - e. How many family members do you have?

- b. Special Education
 - a. Did you receive special education services under autism category in your high school?
 - b. If not, did you receive special education services under a different category?
 - c. When did you receive the autism diagnosis?
 - d. Do you have any other conditions?

- c. Language
 - a. What language is usually used at your home?
 - b. Which language do you feel more comfortable with? (understanding, speaking, reading, writing)

- d. Immigration
 - a. Did you immigrate to the US?
 - i. If the answer is yes, when did you come to the US?
 - b. Did either of your parents immigrate to the US?
 - i. If the answer is yes, when did your mother come to the US?
 - ii. If the answer is yes, when did your father come to the US?

- e. Trajectory
 - a. When did you graduate from high school? (MM/YYYY)
 - b. When did you enroll in this university/college? (MM/YYYY)

- f. College
 - a. What is the name of your college?
 - b. What is your major?

Thank you for your input.

Appendix E

Demographic Survey for Parents

1. 귀하의 연령은 어떻게 되십니까?
2. 귀하의 인종은 무엇인가요?
3. 귀하의 성별은 무엇입니까?
4. 귀하의 종교는 무엇입니까?
5. 최종학력은 어떻게 되십니까? 배우자?
6. 귀하의 직업은 무엇입니까? 배우자?
7. 일주일에 몇 시간 일하십니까? 배우자?
8. 가족의 경제적 수준에 대해 대략 말씀해주시겠습니까? Low, Middle, High
9. 가족관계는 어떻게 되십니까?

Appendix F

Student Interview Protocol I

Participant:

Date/time:

Location:

Materials: consent form, university/college maps, pencil, paper, audio recorders

[Greetings] Your involvement in this study is voluntary. You can stop answering anytime. Before we begin, I would like to read this consent form with you. [Reading consent form, signing the form] I'm going to record this interview so I can go over it later, would that be okay? [Providing pencil and paper if the students prefer writing and making lists]

Recording starts.

1. IEP meetings
 - a. Have you talked about your future career in your IEP meetings? Could you tell me a little bit more about the meeting?
 - b. Is this university/college enrollment a way to achieve your goal? Self-advocacy, self-determination
 - c. How did other people respond to your goal?
 - d. How often did you have the IEP meetings? [Inspecting documents together]
 - e. What did you do in those meetings? Self-advocacy, self-determination
 - f. Who else was in the IEP meetings? [Inspecting documents]
 - g. What did those people do in those meetings? Student support
 - h. Did they work together? Interagency collaboration

2. Transition planning Transition program
 - a. Tell me about your timeline to prepare for the college entrance.**
 - b. Tell me about your coursework to get into the college.**
 - c. Tell me about your college entrance exams, like the ACT or SAT.**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. When did you first take the exams, such as ACT or SAT? OR PSAT/NMSQT?
 - ii. How many times did you take them?
 - iii. How did you prepare for it?
 - iv. Did you talk about this in your IEP meetings?
 - v. Have you been provided any accommodation for the test? Who arranged it? Was it helpful or challenging?
 - vi. What document did you submit to get the accommodation confirmation letter?
 - d. Tell me about the process of searching for a college.**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. What was the most important criteria to choose university/college?
 - ii. Tell me about your college visits.

- iii. Tell me who helped the process.
3. Course taking [Looking at the transcripts]
- a. **Tell me about your classes that you have taken in your high school.**
(follow-up questions)
 - i. How did you choose your classes?
 - ii. Tell me about was our favorite class?
 - iii. Tell me about the most difficult class you have taken.
 - iv. Tell me about the room where the class was held.
 - v. Tell me about your working experiences in high school.
4. Social life **race, autism**
- a. Tell me about your relationship with the teachers/staffs.
 - b. Tell me about your relationship with your parents while you were in high school.
 - c. Tell me about you relationship with your friends in high school.
 - d. When was the most exciting/difficult moment when you were in high school?
5. College life: physical transition in college **Self-care, living skills, social skills**
- a. **Could you tell me about the classes you are taking?** [If necessary, looking at the college maps and asking more specific questions]
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. How did you schedule your classes? Could you share your timetable with me?
 - ii. During the transition between classes, what do you do, such as talking with your classmates, thinking about assignments or other things to do, or listening to the music?
 - iii. How do you like your schedule?
 - b. **Tell me about your residential place.**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. Where do you live?
 - ii. How do you commute?
 - c. **Could you tell me about your relationship with classmates/professors/parents /others?**
6. Independent living **Self-care, living skills, social skills**
- d. **Could you tell me about your assignments?**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. How do you manage your academic schedule?
 - ii. How do you plan for your upcoming assignments and other duties?
 - e. **Tell me about your meals.**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. How do you go to grocery shopping? Transportation
 - f. **Tell me about how you manage your finances.**
(Follow-up questions)
 - i. How do you pay for your living cost?
 - ii. How do you pay your educational expenses? Do you receive any support?

- g. **How has college been different than high school for you?** (classes, preparing meals, doing laundry, cleaning, shopping)
7. Accommodations in postsecondary institutions **autism, accommodation**
- h. **Tell me about accommodations you currently receive, if any.**
(Follow-up questions)
- i. What has been your most helpful accommodation?
 - ii. What accommodation do you feel that the accommodations can be more effective?
- i. **If you disclose your disability, tell me a little bit about the process.**
(Follow-up questions)
- i. How do you feel about disclosing your disability? To your friends/faculties/staffs?
 - ii. How did you disclose your disability?
 - iii. Where did you learn about the disclosure process?
8. Additional questions about college life, **race, and autism**
- j. **What do you like the most in your university/college life? What is the most difficult thing to do?**
9. Career goals
- k. **Why did you apply for this university/college?**
- l. **Why did you choose your program and the courses?**
- m. **Tell me about you career goals.** Career awareness
(Follow-up questions)
- i. When did you start having the goals?
 - ii. Tell me about how you achieve your goals.
 - iii. If you do not have any goal yet, how will you search for the career that you hopefully to have?
10. Policy: **local policy, race, autism, language, immigration**
- a. [IDEA vs. ADA] Could you tell me about disability disclosure in college?
 - b. [California Proposition 209] After researching about admission policies in your school, your university/college doesn't have a racial quota system. Tell me about your opinion about this policy.
 - c. [Postsecondary institutions' diversity policy] experiences about assistance during admission. Interagency collaboration
 - d. [GPA] (i.e. AP courses, GPA)
 - e. [California Proposition 227, if the student's language spoken at home in other than English] (if the student participant speak other than English) **How did your language other than English help you study/enroll in the college?**
 - f. [California Proposition 187, if the student and their parents have immigration history] **Tell me about your/your parents' immigration experience.**

11. Lastly, do you have any recommendation or suggestion for high school students who want to attend your university/college? OR If you can go back to your high school, what would you prepare more or less?

Thank you so much for sharing your stories. Would you mind sharing your university/college application packet, IEP documents, and a disability verification document with me? I will de-identify all the personal information from your documents after making a copy. [Greetings, recording ends]

Appendix G

Parent Interview Protocol I

Symptom recognition to adult life

Participant:

Date/time:

Location:

Materials: consent form, pencil, paper, audio recorders

Sensitizing concepts:

[Greetings] Your involvement in this study is voluntary. You can stop answering anytime. Before we begin, I would like to read this consent form with you. [Reading consent form, signing the form] I'm going to record this interview so I can go over it later, would that be okay?

이 연구에의 귀하의 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 귀하는 언제든지 답을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 시작하기 전에, 이 연구 참여 동의서를 귀하와 함께 읽으려고 합니다.

[동의서 읽기, 동의서 서명] 다음 번에 이 인터뷰를 검토하기 위해서 이 인터뷰를 녹음하려고 합니다, 괜찮으시겠습니까?

Recording starts.

녹음 시작.

1. Autism: **Could you tell me about your child's early childhood? 아이의 어린시절에**

관하여 말씀해주시겠어요? (If necessary, ask specific questions below)

- a. When did you first notice your child's disability, problem, or condition? How old was your child at that time?
언제 처음 아이가 장애나 어려움이 있다는 걸 아셨나요? 그 때 아이는 몇 살이었나요?
- b. Who first recognized that disability, problem, or condition?
누가 처음 그걸 알았나요?
- c. When/how did you receive the first autism diagnosis?
언제/어떻게 자폐 진단을 받았나요?
- d. How old was your child started getting Early Intervention Services or Special Education Services?
아이는 몇 살부터 조기중재서비스나 특수교육 서비스를 받았나요?
- e. What is your child's strengths/difficulties?
아이의 장점/단점은 무엇인가요?
- f. Does s/he have other disability, problems, or conditions, such as physical problems?

아이가 겪고 있는 건강문제 등 다른 어려움이 있나요?

2. IEP/Transition Planning: **Tell me about IEP/transition planning meetings. IEP 나**

전환기 계획 미팅에 관해 말씀해주세요. (If necessary, ask specific questions below)

a. Did any of the family members go to the IEP meetings?

가족분들은 IEP 미팅에 참석하셨나요?

b. Have you talk about goals after high school in the IEP meetings?

IEP 미팅에서 고등학교 졸업 후의 목표에 대해서 얘기 나누었었나요?

i. If the answer is yes, who did you meet to set the goals?

만약 그랬다면, 누구와 만나서 목표를 설정했나요?

ii. When did you first talk about the goals?

이 목표에 관해 처음 얘기 나누기 시작한 게 언제인가요?

iii. What were the goals?

그 목표들은 무엇이었나요?

iv. What were the plan to achieve the goals?

그 목표들을 이루기 위한 계획들은 무엇이었나요?

c. How much did you involve in the IEP meetings, especially for the transition?

IEP 미팅에 얼마나 관여하셨나요?

i. How do you feel about your/other caregiver's involvement in IEP meetings?

귀하나/다른 가족의 IEP 참여에 관해 어떻게 생각하시나요? 더 참여하고 싶으셨나요, 충분하셨나요, 아니면 덜 참여하고 싶으셨나요?

ii. How useful has the goals and the plan? Challenging and appropriate?

목표와 계획들은 유용했나요? 도전적이고 적절했나요?

iii. Did you/teachers expect that your child would go to college?

귀하는/선생님들은 아이가 대학에 갈 거라고 예상 또는 기대했나요?

iv. Who was the most influential person in terms of selecting the college and major?

대학이나 전공을 선택하는 데 가장 영향을 끼친 사람은 누구인가요?

v. Where did you or your child obtain information about the college and major? What was the most useful information?

귀하나 귀하의 자녀는 대학이나 전공에 관한 정보를 어디에서 얻었나요? 어떤 정보가 가장 유용했나요?

vi. Where did you or your child obtain information about college preparation? What was the most useful information?

귀하나 귀하의 자녀는 대학준비에 관한 정보를 어디에서 얻었나요?

어떤 정보가 가장 유용했나요?

- d. Transition Period: If your child did not go to the college right after high school graduation, what did s/he do during the period?

만약 자녀분이 고등학교를 졸업 후 바로 대학에 진학하지 않았다면 그 기간동안 아이는 무엇을 했나요?

3. Adult Life: **Tell me about your expectation about your child's future. 아이의 미래에 관해 귀하는 어떻게 생각하시나요?** (If necessary, ask specific questions below)

- a. Do you expect that your child will eventually live independently?

귀하는 귀하의 자녀가 독립적으로 살게 될 거라고 생각하시나요?

- b. What do you expect about your child's future career? Why?

귀하는 귀하의 자녀가 어떤 직업을 가지게 될 것이라고 생각하시나요? 왜 그런가요?

What information do you have about your child's future after college? Where did you obtain the information?

자녀의 대학이후의 삶에 관하여 어떤 정보를 가지고 계신가요? 어디서 그 정보를 얻으셨나요?

Thank you so much for your time. The interview is finished, but I would like to meet with you one more time to check my understanding of the interviews. [Greetings, recording ends]

시간 내주셔서 감사드립니다. 인터뷰는 끝났지만, 한 번 더 뵙고 제가 인터뷰를 제대로 이해했는지 확인하고자 합니다. [인사, 녹음 종료]

Appendix H
Student Interview II

Walter Kim

Date/time:

Location:

[Greetings] Today, I have several follow-up questions from the last meeting, and also questions about last semester. Again, you can stop this interview anytime, and I'm going to record our conversation, would that be okay?

Recording starts.

1. Follow-up questions
 - a. You were classified as a highly gifted student. How did you feel about that? How did your school address your needs as a gifted student?
 - b. Why did you choose psychology as a minor?
 - c. Why did you like the Leadership Development class?
 - d. What was your academic motivation? Your mother mentioned that academic achievement might prevent your peers from teasing you. Do you agree with that? If you have other reasons, could you tell me about that?
 - e. Could you tell me about your experiences at the Korean school during weekends?

2. How was your fall semester?
(e.g. classes, assignments, accommodations, commuting, relationship with your classmates/professors/other people, finances, the most enjoyable/difficult moment, work study)

3. Future goal
 - a. What are your strengths and weakness?
 - b. What are your interests?
 - c. Where did you get career-related advice and resources?
 - d. What is your future goal? (e.g. career, family, free time, independent life)
 - e. What is your plan to achieve the goal?

4. School/City
 - a. After researching about admission policies in your school, your university doesn't have a racial quota system. Tell me about your opinion about this policy.
 - b. How do you feel about City B and your university?

5. Recommendations for future students

- a. Survival strategies in college?
- b. Advices for choosing a major and future career paths.

Thank you so much for your time. It's our last interview, but I would like to meet with you one more time to check my interpretation of the interviews. [Greetings, recording ends]

Junyoung Lim

Date/time:

Location:

[Greetings] Today, I have several follow-up questions from the last meeting, and also questions about last semester. Again, you can stop this interview anytime, and I'm going to record our conversation, would that be okay?

Recording starts.

1. Summer Session

- a. How was your summer break?
- b. Could you tell me about the classes you took during this summer?
- c. How do you commute?
- d. Tell me about your relationship with your current classmates/professors?
- e. Could you tell me about your assignments? Were they challenging enough?
- f. Tell me about how you manage your finances?
- g. Tell me about accommodations you currently receive.
- h. Did you disclose your disability to professors/peers?
- i. How do you feel about disclosure?
- j. What do you like the most during this summer? What is the most difficult thing to do?
- k. How do you think about your career goals after completing your college?
- l. After researching about admission policies in your school, your university/college doesn't have a racial quota system. Tell me about your opinion about this policy.

2. Additional Question: Religion

3. Follow-up Questions

- a. Do you remember the time when you return to the US (in YEAR), and took ESL classes? Were the classes solely taught in English? What do you feel about that classes? If you have an option to be taught in both Korean and English, do you think that would be helpful?
- b. You have transferred to another elementary school one year after your arriving in the US. Could you tell me a little bit about the transition? Did you like the new schools and people?
- c. Could you tell me a bit about your experiences at your middle school?
Academic/social life?
- d. It seems like you developed your English skills rapidly in a short amount of time. Could you share how you learned English? How about other subjects, such as Math, History, and Science?

- e. While I was reviewing your IEPs, I found that your schools and teachers provided comprehensive records and plans for your life after high school. What do you like the most about their preparation? Can you offer any advice for the teachers and future students regarding getting into college?
- f. You've received therapies/accommodations, such as "check for understanding, instructions/directions repeated/rephrased, present on the task at a time, use of assignment notebook or planner, access to a computer on campus, extended time on in-class assignments/tests, a copy of class notes (IEP)" What has been your most effective accommodation/the least helpful one? OR (therapies) were they effective?
- g. In your college application, you listed that you had LD and ADHD, but I remember that you mentioned about autism in your essays as well. Is there any reason why?
- h. You mentioned that you had served as a tech staff and a library assistant. How did you obtain those experiences? Could you say a bit more about that experience? Also for Orchestra and Chess Club?

Thank you so much for your time. It's our last interview, but I would like to meet with you one more time to check my interpretation of the interviews. [Greetings, recording ends]

Sangmin Yun

Date/time:

Location:

[Greetings] Today, I have several follow-up questions from the last meeting, and also questions about last semester. Again, you can stop this interview anytime, and I'm going to record our conversation, would that be okay?

Recording starts.

1. Academic
 - a. You have excellent academic records. What was your academic motivation?
 - b. It seems like you developed your English skills rapidly. Could you share how you learn English? How about other subjects?
2. Background
 - a. Do you think immigration was a right choice for you? Why?
 - b. Have you ever felt uncomfortableness because you are an immigrant or you are a Korean/Asian?
 - c. What are the benefits of speaking in Korean for you?
 - d. I heard that your younger sister is very proud of you. How is your relationship with her?
 - e. How is your relationship with your parents?
3. Elementary school
 - a. You were in a Korean-English dual language program. How did you like the program? Was it helpful?
4. Middle school & high school
 - a. The most exciting moment?
 - b. The most difficult moment?
 - c. The most useful accommodation?
 - d. How did IEP help you prepare your college application or exams?
5. Gap year program
 - a. What did you learn?
 - b. How was your relationship with your peers?
 - c. How was your relationship with other people over there?
 - d. Could you share one example of your favorite experience there?
 - e. What was the most challenging experience?

6. Future goal
 - a. What are your strengths and weakness?
 - b. What are your interests?
 - c. Where did you get career-related advice and resources?
 - d. What is your future career goal?
 - e. What is your expectation for your future family, such as your spouse and children?
 - f. What would you like to do in your free time?
 - g. What is your plan to achieve the goal?

Thank you so much for your time. It's our last interview, but I would like to meet with you one more time to check my interpretation of the interviews. [Greetings, recording ends]

Appendix I

Parent Interview II

Julia Park

참가자:

일시:

[인사] 이 연구에의 귀하의 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 전에 동의서에 서명해주신 대로 귀하는 언제든지 답을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 지금 이 인터뷰는 녹음이 되고 있습니다. 괜찮으시겠습니까?

1. 이민

- a. 미국에 이민오셔서 미국 특수교육을 받았던 것이 아드님에게 좋은 선택이었다고 생각하시나요? 월터가 대학가는 데에도 좋은 선택이었다고 생각하시나요?
- b. 다른 가족분들은 이민오셔서 더 나은 삶을 살게 되었다고 생각하시나요? 어려웠던 점은? 가장 행복했던 순간은?
- c. 캘리포니아에 오시고 나서 비자나 영주권이 없는 상태에서도 한국에 돌아가시지 않으셨는데요. 불안하거나 불편하지는 않으셨어요? 한국에 못 가는 등 생활에 불편함이라거나? 미국에 계속 사셨던 이유가 무엇이였을까요?
- d. Koreatown은 한국사람이며 다인종이 많은 지역인데 왜 이곳에 정착하셨나요? 한인이나 인종분포가 결정이 계기가 되었을까요? 계속 살면서 좋은 점은? 힘든 점이나 싫었던 점은?

2. 교육, 학교

- a. 월터가 한국말로 기본 의사소통은 되는데, 한국어를 왜 가르치셨나요? 아이의 언어에 대해서 학교나 의사에게 조언을 받은 것이 있었나요?

- b. 월터 IEP 다시 신청할 때 도와주신 Dr. A 가 백인이어서 처음에 연락하기 주저하셨다고 하셨었잖아요. 왜 그러셨는지 설명해주실 수 있을까요?
- c. 월터가 12학년 때 F 받았던 것에 대해서 졸업하기 전 학문에 흥미를 잃은 상태 (senioritis)라고 했었고, 어머니도 교회에 너무 헌신했던 것이나 소설 The Call of the Wild 도 이유가 아닐까 말씀하셨었는데요, 조금 더 자세히 설명해 주실 수 있을까요?
- d. 고등학교 IEP나 전환계획팀에게 고마운 점은? 조언을 준다면?

3. 대학이후

- a. 자녀 독립 준비는 어떻게 하고 계신가요??
- b. 아이의 미래 직업에 대해 경제적 독립성에 가치를 두고 계신 것 같은데, 이유가 있을까요? (아이의 어려움 때문이라면) 가족의 이민이라던가 사회적, 경제적 지위와도 관련이 있을까요?
- c. 대학에 고마운 점은? 대학에서 지원을 해주었으면 싶은 아쉬운 점이 있다면?

인터뷰에 시간 내주셔서 진심으로 감사드립니다.

Hyewon Lim

참가자:

일시:

[인사] 이 연구에의 귀하의 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 전에 동의서에 서명해주신 대로 귀하는 언제든지 답을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 지금 이 인터뷰는 녹음이 되고 있습니다. 괜찮으시겠습니까?

1. 이민

- a. 미국에 이민오셔서 미국 특수교육을 받았던 것이 아드님에게 좋은 선택이었다고 생각하시나요? 그 선택이 아이가 대학가는 데 도움이 되었다고 생각하시나요?
- b. 다른 가족분들은 이민오셔서 더 나은 삶을 살게 되었다고 생각하시나요? 어려웠던 점은? 가장 행복했던 순간은?
- c. City C에 정착하시는데 학군과 안전성이 영향을 미쳤다고 하셨는데, 인종분포는 어땠나요? 고려대상이었나요?

2. 언어

- a. 만약 어렸을 때 의사가 두 언어에 모두 노출되는 환경이 그리 나쁘지 않다라고 조언을 해주었다면 가족에게 어떤 영향이 있었을까요?
- b. 한 언어만 집중하라는 조언에도 불구하고 준영이는 두 언어를 능숙하게 하는데요, 어떻게 그렇게 키우실 수 있었나요?
- c. 만약 준영같은 아이를 가진 한국가정이 가정에서의 언어 사용에 관해 조언을 구해온다면 뭐라고 알려주시고 싶으세요?

3. 중고등 학교

- a. 준영이가 고등학교 때학교에 college counselor가 있었나요? FAFSA 나장학금에 대해 미리 알려주었나요?
- b. 그렇다면 학교에서 주로 어떤 선생님과 대학 이야기를 나누었나요?
- c. 준영이의 학업 성취가 뛰어난데요, 동기가 무엇이었다고 생각하세요?

- d. 준영이가 중학교 때 놀림을 당했던 것 같은데, 그 때 상황에 대해 말씀해주시겠어요? 아이가 어떻게 그런 상황을 극복했었나요?
4. 미래
- a. 자녀 독립 준비는 어떻게 하고 계신가요??
 - b. 아이의 미래 직업에 대해 안정성에 가치를 두고 계신 것 같은데, 이유가 있을까요? (아이의 어려움 때문이라면) 가족의 이민이라던가 사회적, 경제적 지위와도 관련이 있을까요?
5. 조언
- a. 학교 IEP에서 대학에 관해 전반적인 서비스를 제공해주었다면 준영나 가족분들에게 이점이 있었을까요? 고등학교 IEP나 전환계획팀에게 고마운 점은? 조언을 준다면?
 - b. 자녀를 대학에 진학시키고자 하는 가정이 있다면 어떤 조언을 해주시겠어요?
 - c. 대학에 고마운 점은? 대학에서 지원을 해주었으면 싶은 아쉬운 점이 있다면?

인터뷰에 시간 내주셔서 진심으로 감사드립니다.

Tacksu Yun

참가자:

일시:

[인사] 이 연구에의 귀하의 참여는 전적으로 자의에 의해서입니다. 전에 동의서에 서명해주신 대로 귀하는 언제든지 답을 하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 지금 이 인터뷰는 녹음이 되고 있습니다. 괜찮으시겠습니까?

1. Follow-up questions

- a. 한국에서 처음에 각성장애로 진단을 받으셨다고 했는데, 2008 IEP assessment에는 발달장애라고 짐작하고 있었다라고 나오더라고요. 조금 자세히 설명해주실 수 있을까요? (나이, 진단명)

2. 이민

- a. 처음 북미의 특수교육에 대해서는 어떤 경로로 알게 되셨나요?
- b. 한국에 계셨을 때 이민을 정도의 사회적 경제적 자본이 있으셨나요?
- c. 앞으로도 City A에 계속 살 예정이신가요?
- d. 미국에 이민오셔서 미국 특수교육을 받았던 것이 아드님에게 좋은 선택이었다고 생각하시나요? 아이가 미국에 온 것이 대학을 가는 데 도움이 되었을까요? 특수교육은 어떤 점에서 대학에 가는 데 도움이 되었을까요?
- e. 현재 비자나 영주권 상태? 신분 때문에 불편하셨던 점은 있으셨나요?
- f. 다른 가족분들은 이민오셔서 더 나은 삶을 살게 되었다고 생각하시나요? 어려웠던 점은? 가장 행복했던 순간은?

3. 언어

- a. 아이가 한국어를 하는 것이 아이나 가족에게 어떤 이점이 있다고 생각하시나요?

- b. 미국에서 아이의 한국어 사용이나 가족 내에서의 언어에 대해 어떤 조언을 받은 것이 있었을까요?
 - c. 학교의 이중언어 프로그램이 아이의 처음 학업시작 뿐 아니라 어떤 다른 이점이 있다고 생각하시나요? 어떤 한계점이 있다고 생각하시나요?
4. 가족-남매
- a. 7살 차이 여동생이 있다고 하셨는데, 여동생과의 관계는 어떤가요? 오빠가 pharmacy 프로그램에 입학한 것이 동생에게 긍정적인 영향을 미쳤나요? 동생이 힘들어 하는 점이 있다면?
5. 고등학교
- a. 고등학교에 college counselor가 있었나요? FAFSA 등에 대해 알려주었나요?
 - b. 고등학교 IEP나 전환계획팀에게 고마운 점은?
6. Gap year program
- a. 상민은 지금 어떻게 지내고 있나요?
 - b. 그 프로그램에서 어떤 점들을 배우고 있나요?
 - c. 아이가 그 곳에서 지내는 것이 가족에게 어떤 영향이 있었을까요?
7. 대학
- a. 아이의 학교에는 racial quota가 없는 것으로 알고 있습니다. 이것이 아이의 입학에 도움이 되었을까요?
 - b. 대학에 가면 일대일aid나 카운슬링 기타 서비스를 제공받는 과정이나 서비스 자체가 고등학교 때와는 다를텐데, 학교에서 제공하는 서비스에 대해 알고 계신 것이 있으신가요?
 - c. 대학의 성적방식은 고등학교 때와는 많이 다를텐데 (과제 날짜라던가, 기준이라던가, accommodation이 적용되는 한계라던가) 그런 점에 대해서는 어떤 준비를 하고 계세요?
 - d. 자녀 독립 준비는 어떻게 하고 계신가요??
8. 아이에게 가장 고마운 점은?

인터뷰에 시간 내주셔서 진심으로 감사드립니다.

Appendix J

Individualized Education Program (IEP) Document Review Form for Transition Planning

Participant:

IEP meeting date/time:

IEP meeting participants:

Sensitizing Concepts	Checklist	Yes	No
Transition services (age)	If the student is age 16 or older, are transition services in place? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Student involvement (self-determination)	Is there evidence that the student was invited to the IEP meeting where transition services were discussed? Comment: Is there evidence that the student contributed to the development of transition planning? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
IEP team (Interagency collaboration)	Were all of the required individuals invited to the meeting? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Did the school/district provide any community agency information? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is there evidence that a representative of any participating agency was invited to the IEP meeting? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If the previous answer was yes, did the parents (or the student who has reached the age of majority) give consent to the invitation of a representative from an outside agency? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Postsecondary goals	Is there evidence that the agency representatives contributed to the development of transition planning? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Are there appropriate measurable postsecondary goals in the areas of training, education, employment, and, independent living skills? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is the postsecondary goal postsecondary education? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Are the postsecondary goals updated annually? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is there evidence that the postsecondary goal was based on age appropriate transition assessment(s)? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Are there transition services in the IEP that will reasonably enable the student to meet his/her postsecondary goals? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Do the transition services include courses of study that will reasonably enable the student to meet his/her postsecondary goals? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Are there annual IEP goals related to the student's transition services needs? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Family involvement	Is there any indication that the parents have been advised that rights transfer to the student? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is there evidence that the parents contributed to the development of transition planning? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
General education inclusion	Is the student take academic courses in general education classrooms? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
College entrance exam	Has the student planned any college entrance exam? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
College visiting	Has the student visited in any college? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work experience	Has the student engaged in any paid/unpaid work experience? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Has the student participated in any employment preparation programming? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Training	Is there evidence that the student has received functional/independent skill training? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is there evidence that the student has received social skill training? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Is there evidence that the student has received self-determination skill training? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assistive technology	Is there evidence that the student has used any assistive technology devices and services? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If the previous answer is yes, is the devices and services utilizable in postsecondary institutions? Comment:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note: The areas and questions were adopted from I-13 checklist by National Secondary Transition Technical Assistance Center (NSTTAC)

Comments:

Appendix O

Codebook

Code	Sub-code
Autism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behavior • Bilingualism • Communicative Difficulty • Diagnosis • Disclosure • Eligibility • HFA/AS • Social Difficulty • Therapy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Aid ○ Counseling ○ Early Intervention ○ Family Therapy ○ Private Therapy ○ School Therapy ○ Support Group
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life • Parenting <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Strategy ○ Stress • SES <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Economic ○ Network
Free Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computer • Music • Sport
Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future Free Time • Goal • Independence • Relationship • Work
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ADHD • Anger • Depression • Eczema • Hemorrhoid • Insurance • Medication • Migraine • OCD
Immigration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty • Documentation • Policy

Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion • Strength • Difficulty <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ English ○ Social skills ○ Pornography addiction ○ Writing
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religion • Strength • Academic • Bilingual practice • Proposition 227, 58
People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended Family • Relationship <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extended Family ▪ Parent-child ▪ Sibling ▪ Spouse ○ Friendship ○ Educator
Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Church • DOR • Regional Center
Race/Ethnicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Cultural difference ○ Services/perspectives in Korea ○ Korean community in the US • Proposition 209
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism • College <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Accommodation arrangement ○ Gap year program ○ Major/minor ○ Tuition • K-12 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ GPA ○ ESL program ○ Accommodation ○ IEP ○ School leadership ○ School district ○ ITP

Note. Codes are listed in alphabetical order, SES = socioeconomic status, HFA = High Function Autism, AS = Asperger's Syndrome, ADHD = attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, OCD = obsessive compulsive disorder, DOR = California Department of Rehabilitation, GPA = grade point average, ESL = English as a Second Language, IEP = individualized education program, ITP = individual transition plan.