

*Anastasia Liasidou **

Institute of Education, St Mary's University, Twickenham, London, UK

Anastasia.Liasidou@stmarys.ac.uk

Andros Gregoriou

Liverpool Business School

Faculty of Business and Law

A.Gregoriou@ljmu.ac.uk

ABSTRACT:

This systematic literature review synthesizes empirical analyses and applications of intersectionality in discussing disability in education. Even though intersectional methodologies have gained increased attention during the last decade, disability has rarely featured in these multi-axial analyses. The systematic review explores intersections of disability with other axes of identity and social disadvantage concerning perceptions and understandings of disability in education, experiences of ex/inclusion and educational dis/advantage. The review addresses the following questions: What intersectional dimensions of disability experience are explored? In what ways do students with disabilities experience intersectional forms of discrimination and oppression? What intersectionality-based education policy and practice implications are discussed in these articles? The review's findings provide empirically tested insights into how the experience of disability is interwoven with and compounded by other markers of difference, while discussing implications for developing intersectionality-based policies and education research.

Keywords: Intersectionality; Disability; Education; Special Educational Needs; inclusion

A systematic literature review of intersectionality and disability in education

Introduction

Disability has been historically conceptualized and presented as a homogenized experience shaped against individual pathology and mono-dimensional, normative and reductionist understandings of disabled students' identities (Shifrer and Frederick 2019). This experience could be purportedly captured through objective methods of exploring how disabled students experience difficulties in learning and social relations and how schools and teachers could appropriately respond to these difficulties. The quest for inclusion has thus been informed by 'a technical standpoint to effect change' (Artiles 2020, 289) without interrogating how the experience of disability is implicated in social injustices and power inequities at the intersections of various axes of social disadvantage and stigmatized identities (Artiles 2020; Artiles and Kozleski 2016; Shifrer and Frederick 2019).

Even though inclusive education is premised on the values of equity and social justice, inclusive education research has primarily focused on disability as a quintessential ontology and not as a dimension of disabled students' intersectional identities that are morphed from the amalgamation of their racial/ethnic, gendered, sexual, classed and so on characteristics and biographical experiences (Bešić et al. 2020). The narrow focus on disability can be attributed to the hegemonic role of 'disability essentialism' that promotes unidimensional and deficit-oriented perspectives on the 'lived' experience of disability that has been historically disassociated from other sources of social disadvantage and their intersections (Frederick and Shifrer 2019; Goethals, De Schauwer, and Van Hove 2015). The 'canon of special education' and its discursive underpinnings and materialisations have failed, according to Hernández-Saca, Kahn, and Cannon (2018, 306), 'to take advantage of the intersectionality framework given that they do not recognise social identity markers or culturally responsive or sustaining pedagogy as relevant to teaching, literacy, and learning and the nature of dis/ability'.

The concept of intersectionality was introduced by Crenshaw (1991) to investigate how social identities are constituted at the crossroads of different forms of social disadvantage, power inequities, oppression, and discrimination. Crenshaw exemplified the intertwined and non-hierarchical gendered, raced, classed and sexuality dimensions of oppression and prejudice that were not captured by existing legal frameworks that viewed race and gender

as distinct parameters. Intersectional methodologies offer new analytical tools to examine how the vectors of power asymmetries and various axes of difference intersect with the experience of disability to create simultaneous and overlapping forms of (under)privilege and (dis)advantage.

An intersectional paradigm (re)frames disability as a politicized marker of difference analogous to gendered, sexual, racial, and other ontological and biographical markers of difference. This conceptual parallelism foregrounds the inherently social and political character of the disability experience and its social justice foundations, that have long been silenced in sociological analyses and research agendas aimed at challenging power inequities on the grounds of disability (Frederick and Shifrer 2019). The endurance of individual pathology epistemological and ontological framing of disability is partly the result and the reason for the significant absence of disability from intersectional research (Artiles 2013; Frederick and Shifrer 2019; Goethals, De Schauwer, and Van Hove 2015; Nichols and Stahl 2019), as well as other disciplinary fields that excluded disability from their analytical foci. Oliver and Singal (2017), for example, point to the lack of studies that focus on immigrant students with disabilities due to the hegemony of ableist discourses, that have been exclusively concerned with exploring the experiences of ‘abled-bodied’ immigrants.

In a similar vein, Miller (2023) and Miller and Kurth (2022, 1362) highlight how disabled girls of colour are ‘left out of educational research’, even though their unique experiences of schooling at the crossroads of their multiple minoritized statuses can inform the process of socially just educational reforms. Intersectionality has also been conspicuously absent from disability studies (Frederick and Shifrer 2019) despite its significance in galvanising the process of socially just ‘political and social change’ (Etherington and Baker 2018, 69).

Our systematic literature review synthesizes the findings of qualitative and quantitative empirical studies published in the last ten years that explore intersections of disability with other vectors of identity and social disadvantage concerning perceptions and understandings of disability in education. Experiences of ex/inclusion and educational disadvantage, as well as other processes and aspects of schooling that affect how disabled students are constructed, perceived and treated in schools. The review corpus included studies published in peer-reviewed journals in English between 2013–2023 and adopted an intra-categorical intersectional frame that focused on disability.

Given that it has been largely absent from intersectional analytical frameworks, disability is placed at the epicentre of the analytical process to develop a nuanced understanding of how disability and experiences of ‘disablism’ are ‘racialized, gendered, and classed’ along with how ‘racial, gender and class difference have been pathologised and conceived of as a “disability”’ (James and Wu 2006, 8). Rendering disability, the ‘dominant identity marker’ of analysis at the crossroads of different minoritized social identities can challenge reductionist understandings of disability solely framed against its ‘impairment effects’ while silencing the complex interplay between ‘impairment effects’, ‘disablism’ and ‘social conditions’ (Thomas 2013, 14). Disability-focused intersectional analyses can shed light on how the power/knowledge couplet operates through conceptualisations of impairment and disability and how both concepts ‘are thoroughly intermeshed with the social conditions that bring them both into being and give them meaning’ (Thomas 2007, 153).

Search strings included the terms disability, intersection, schools, and education in their title, abstract or keywords. The search was limited to studies conducted in schools and other educational settings, such as special schools or related to educational phenomena. (e.g. inclusion). The populations of interest were primary, middle, and high school students or students attending postsecondary programs on a high school campus, as well as other staff and stakeholders, including parents of students with disabilities.

The following research questions guided the systematic literature review:

- What intersectional dimensions of disability experience are explored?
- How do students with disabilities experience discrimination and exclusion based on their intersectional social identities?
- What intersectionality-based education policy and practice implications are discussed in these articles?

Method

A systematic literature review aims to provide a transparent and rigorous secondary-level analysis (secondary research) by identifying, selecting, and critically evaluating a corpus of empirical studies to address specific research questions (Newman et al. 2020). A systematic review process also involves critically evaluating and synthesising findings to inform policy, practice and potentially future research (Haddaway and Pullin 2014; Munn et al. 2018). Even though it is erroneous to assume that there is a singular type of review that can serve ‘all purposes and audiences’ (Hammersly, 2020, 36), the first step to a review process is to establish criteria against which to decide what this corpus of studies will include in terms of their content, publication date and methodological approach.

The application of systematic reviews in education has been criticized because they exclusively included randomised controlled trial intervention studies (Nichols and Stahl 2019) despite a -limited number of controlled trials in education (Hammersley 2020). Hence, it is essential to incorporate diverse methodological approaches, including qualitative systemic reviews (Butler, Hall, and Copnell 2016). Even though qualitative systematic reviews are still embryonic, they have increasingly become more prominent in education (Hammersley 2020) and other disciplines such as health care and nursing (Butler, Hall, and Copnell 2016; Toye et al. 2014). Incorporating diverse methodologies in systematic reviews is even more imperative when researchers are also interested in the methodological approaches adopted to empirically investigate a topic (Nichols and Stahl 2019). This pluralistic methodological interest is particularly relevant to systematic reviews that focus on intersectionality, considering that there is a scarcity of quantitative studies that adopt an intersectional perspective and even in these cases, the analyses are not explicitly and adequately informed by and framed against an intersectional analytical lens (Bowleg 2012; Else-Quest and Hyde 2016).

Generally, researchers adopt qualitative methodologies to investigate intersectionality applications due to the challenges associated with the integration of the tenets of intersectionality in quantitative research. This is coupled with the ability of qualitative methods to capture the intricacies of social reality (Garcia and Zajicek 2022, 279). Notwithstanding these considerations, intersectional researchers have progressively recognised the value of quantitative intersectional research agendas (Shifrer 2023), not

only because of their methodological contribution to developing novel research designs underpinned by intersectionality, (e.g. Hankivsky et al. 2014; Hankivsky and Cormier 2011) but also because they can provide an ‘empirical testing’ of intersectional theories (e.g. Strid, Walby, and Armstrong 2013, 558).

Despite the disciplinary chasm in the methodologies described for systematic reviews of qualitative and quantitative articles, as well as the lack of clarity in defining a convergent approach (Goagoses and Koglin 2020), we opted for a ‘multi-arm review’ (Haddaway and Pullin 2014) or a mixed methods approach (Noyes et al. 2019) due the limited number of qualitative studies on disability, education and intersectionality identified during the first round of the review process. There are three different ways of adopting a mixed approach methodology. In our case, we adopted a ‘data-based convergent synthesis design’ and, more specifically, a ‘qualitised transformation method’ (Noyes et al. 2019, 9), according to which

The methodological differences between qualitative and quantitative studies are minimised as both are viewed as producing findings that can be readily synthesised into one another because they address the same research purpose and questions. Transformation involves either turning qualitative data into quantitative (quantitising) or quantitative findings are turned into qualitative (qualitising) to facilitate their integration (ibid, 9).

For critically appraising the quality of the peer-reviewed articles included in our review, we used the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (2022), which is a tool for evaluating the strengths and limitations of any research methodology and has been extensively used in health and social care-related qualitative reviews (Butler, Hall, and Copnell 2016; Long, French, and Brooks 2020). Appraising the quality of selected studies is a contested terrain in many disciplines. This is especially the case for qualitative studies whose quality is difficult to determine and agree upon due to the nature of the data collected, which is contingent on and subject to interpretation (Hammersley 2020; Long, French, and Brooks 2020). It is not a coincidence that quantitative studies included detailed explanations of potential threats to their internal and external validity (e.g. Bešić, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2020b; Graham et al. 2023; King et al. 2018; Mendoza et al. 2020; Shifrer 2023), while this was not the case with qualitative studies.

Even though there has been criticism levelled against the lack of objectivity in systematic reviews (Haddaway and Pullin 2014; Morse 1997), their inability to identify bias in primary studies included in the reviews (Fox 2017) and their limited role in education policymaking (Greenhalgh and Malterud 2017), systematic reviews have informed policymaking processes in a range of disciplinary fields, including ‘education, social welfare, addiction services, and international development’ amongst others. (Fox and Bero 2014, 262).

Data selection

Despite the lack of clarity and consensus on which search systems and bibliographic databases are more suitable for systematic reviews, our choice was based on the perceived ease of use and comparative strengths of available search engines and databases ‘to search for and identify all available relevant research in a procedurally unbiased manner’ that warrants the ‘review’s outcome, validity and explanatory power’ (Gusenbauer and

Haddaway 2020, 181). The data selected for this study was obtained in two phases. The first phase included using the PRIMO search engine, which provides library resources in one easy-to-use interface. The search process yielded a small number of relevant articles, so we extended the review timeline from five to ten years. We also used the SCOPUS database, which the PRIMO search engine does not cover, providing extensive and comprehensive content coverage through a single database (Pranckutė 2021). The superiority of SCOPUS in yielding the highest number of relevant articles is also evidenced in Bates et al.'s. (2017) study, that compared online search engines with databases and Library and Information Science Abstracts (LISA) to document their relative effectiveness, efficiency and precision in identifying all available relevant research.

We started the review process by choosing keywords after selecting databases and capitalizing on their relative strengths. To ensure the literature extracted from databases was more comprehensive, we used the following strings: 'Disability' and 'Intersection' and 'School OR Education' from 2013–2023. After this, we further restricted our search to peer-reviewed articles in English. Then we searched the strings under the title, abstract and keywords in SCOPUS and keywords under 'all fields' in PRIMO (given that the option of the title, abstract, and keywords was unavailable), which gave us the result of 195 and 607 articles, respectively. We extracted the dataset with bibliographic information, titles, and abstracts of all documents. The combined database search followed a snowball approach by reviewing the references of selected studies that yielded 40 relevant articles (Wohlin et al. 2022). To increase the review effectiveness, we adopted a birds-eye view approach (Russell et al. 2010), screened all the records based on titles and abstracts and selected based on our focus of enquiry, which, after screening 70 full-texts of eligible articles yielded results of 14 and 9 documents, respectively. After removing 7 duplicates, the search yielded 17 articles in addition to 8 articles, which resulted from the snowball approach, which increased the number of articles to 25 (See Table 1).

Using two search engines and, by implication, two independent search procedures (Wohlin et al. 2022) ensured the 'intra-rated' reliability of the selection process, as several duplicates of eligible articles reflected consistency in the selection process. Regarding this process's 'inter-rated' reliability, two coders were involved in the screening and data

Figure 1

A table of the articles reviewed, including author(s) and years of publication, purpose/aims, methodological frameworks adopted, participants, grade levels and educational setting of the article.

| | Author(s) and year of publication | Purpose/aims | Methodological Framework | Participants | Grade level and educational setting |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Wallace et al 2019 | To examine the subjectivities and lived experiences of | Interviews and three focus group interviews | 16 Rwandan girls with disabilities, | Nine-year Basic Education School |

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| | | girls with disabilities marginalised on the grounds of their gender, class and disability | | | |
| 2 | Cahill, 2021 | To examine how special educational needs (SEN) and social class can become intertwined in post-primary school choice in Ireland. | Ethnographic study Observation, individual semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. | Students (n = 30), parents (n = 8) and teachers (n = 8). | a DEIS post-primary school |
| 3 | Waitoller et al 2019 | To examine how Black and Latinx parents of students with disabilities negotiated and experienced charter school's neoliberal practices, which disciplined, managed, and regulated students' social differences | Interviews observations School artefacts and website information | 24 Black and Latinx parents of students with disabilities | Charter schools of K-12 students with disabilities |
| 4 | Preece and Lessner Lištiaková, 2021 | To explore the families living with autism in rural coastal areas of England with respect to their daily lives and their interaction with education services | Semi-structured interviews | Grandparents and young people of children from 21 families living with autism | Schools and special schools |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | |
| 5 | Stutzman & Lowenhaupt, 2022 | To explore how teachers and administrators perceive their roles and the needs of students with disabilities whose first language is not English. (USA) (intersection of special education and Els) | Interviews | Administrators (n4), ESL teachers (n 3), general education teachers (n6), special educational needs teachers (n 4) | a suburban school district |
| 6 | McGee, M.G., 2014. | To examine the extent to which disability status, alone and in combination with other social identities, is associated with differential levels of exposure to peer victimization. | Survey Bivariate analyses | eleventh graders completing the 2008 Oregon Healthy Teen survey (N = 7,091) | High school |
| 7 | Oliver & Singal, 2017 | To explore how migrant families' interactions with schools were shaped by intersections of disability, | Exploratory visits to the school and semi-structure interviews | 10 teachers and parents of children with special educational needs | Special school in the east of England |

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|--|--|-------------------------|
| | | migration, social class and gender. | | | |
| 8 | Singh et al, 2021 | To examine the distribution of students among different school types based on either their special education needs or their (forced) migration background | Interviews | Seven parents of disabled children from a refugee background as well as educational experts and school authorities | Different school types |
| 9 | Padia & Traxler, 2021 | To examine how race, ableism, and documentation status intersect and shape the acknowledgement of which bodies – with which papers – are rendered deserving | Interviews with students researcher memos and fieldnotes, and researcher reflections | Two students | High school |
| 10 | Bešić et al. 2020a | To assess general public's attitudes towards the inclusion of Austrian girls with disabilities as well as of refugee girls with and without disabilities into a mainstream primary school | Questionnaires | 1377 participants (general public) | Primary school |
| 11 | Bešić et al 2020 b | To examine general public's | Vignette survey | | Inclusion in mainstream |

| | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| | | attitudes towards inclusion differ depending on disability type (physical disability vs. behavioural disorders), refugee status (Austrian vs. refugee child) and gender, | questionnaires | 2307 participants (general public) | primary schools. |
| 1 2 | Tefera and. Fischman, 2020 | To examine citation rates and responses to citations for racial disproportionality in special education | Interviews | 11 district and school leaders, 8 teachers, 5 staff, and 6 students | two elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school |
| 1 3 | Tefera et al. 2023 | To examine the aftermath of citations for racial disparities in special education and discipline. | Mixed methods Descriptive analysis Interviews Observations Documentary analysis | 30 educators, including district and building leaders (n = 11), teachers (n = 8), staff (n = 5), and high school students (n = 6) | Two suburban school districts |
| 1 4 | Collins et al. 2023 | to examine the school climate experiences of Black boys with and without emotional and behavioural disorders to inform the creation of safe | Survey state-wide data collection. | Black boys with and without emotional and behavioral disorders (N=16,031). | middle schools in a Southeastern state in the United States |

| | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| | | school environments | | | |
| 15 | Kangas, 2018 | To examine educational policy and practice for ELs with disabilities, who represent the minority social categories of L1 background and (dis)ability | Qualitative comparative case study Observations Interviews Meetings, conversations, and artifacts | 10 focal teachers who were instructing at least one EL with a disability. 23 key school professionals | K-5 elementary school with a large population of students with disabilities. |
| 16 | Chatzithochari and Butler-Rees 2023 | To examine disabled young people's experiences of stigma in the school at the intersection of disability and social class | Qualitative longitudinal study Interviews | 35 interviews students in the final year of compulsory secondary schooling (Year 11, 15-16years) | mainstream English secondary schools |
| 17 | Gillborn 2015 | To explore how racism intersects with other aspects of oppression (especially class and gender) in the processes mediating the meaning of dis/ability in schools. | Interviews | 77 Black middle-class parents and their children | state-maintained schools in England |
| 18 | Mendoza et al 2020 | To examine the intersections of race, gender, and disability in explaining the risk for juvenile justice contact | A cohort longitudinal design The sample was drawn from three state and two national databases. | 928,940 students enrolled in the seventh grade. | Public schools |
| 19 | Miller and Kurth, 2022 | To examine the | Interviews | Six disabled girls | middle and high |

| | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|--|--|------------------------------|
| | | intersectional educational trajectories of disabled girls of colour | Classroom observations Focus groups. School artefacts | of color, ages 11 to 21years old 5 teachers | school in the United States. |
| 20 | Shifrer 2023 | To examine differences in ninth-grade math course placement at the intersection of adolescents' learning disability status, race, and socioeconomic status (SES). | Survey | 15,000 U.S. ninth graders | High Schools |
| 21 | King et al. 2018 | To examine the intersections of disabilities and students' LGBQ status and the risk of experiencing peer victimization and suicidal ideation | Survey | 11,364 students ages 14-18 (2015 Youth Survey) | high schools |
| 22 | Graham et al. (2023) | To examine disproportionality in school for students with disability, Indigenous students and those living in out-of-home care | Large dataset analysis of enrolment and student disciplinary absence | Students in Queensland state schools (Short suspensions, long suspensions, exclusions and enrolments cancellations for calendar years 2012-2020) | State schools |
| 23 | Hernández-Saca & Kahn 2019 | To interrogate the intersectional | Case study approach | Two students with disabilities | Secondary schools |

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------|--|---|---|---|
| | | experiences of two students with disabilities. | qualitative interdisciplinary data collection and analysis methods | | |
| 2 4 | Adams & Roach 2023 | To examine how the perceptions of school climate, specifically school relationships, differ for Black girls with and without an individualized education plan (IEP) as compared to their peers | Survey | 23,903 high school students | high school students in a Georgia school district |
| 2 5 | Miller 2023 | to examine how textual, spatial, and technological supports and opportunities are afforded or constrained from the perspectives and experiences of back girls with disabilities | Interviews Classroom observations Focus groups. School artefacts | Six disabled girls of color, ages 11 to 21years old 5 teachers (interviews+ observations) 4 teachers (observations) | middle and high school in the United States. |

extraction process. The second coder was an experienced researcher from a different disciplinary field, who was involved in the screening and data extraction process after being briefed on the research focus and aims. The existence of review team members with diverse expertise has been proven to enhance the quality of the review work (e.g. Rethlefsen et al. 2015). The process involved searching for keywords identified in the search terms.

Given the limited database, there were very few disagreements in the selection process. Even though a consensus was reached after discussion that can allegedly minimise biased and inconsistent coding (Ashton 2000 cited in Belur et al. 2021), the final decision was based on our discretion and subjectivity, an endemic problem of systematic reviews undermining their objectivity and replicability (Belur et al. 2021; Morse 1997). For instance, there was a disagreement about whether an article exploring the general public's views on including refugee girls with disabilities could be part of the review process, given that the participants were members of the public who did not have a direct link with education and educational settings (Bešić et al. 2020a). After discussion, we decided that the article should be included because it explores how refugee students with or without disabilities are perceived and positioned in society and how these intersectional perceptions and positionings influence their inclusion or exclusion prospects in education. Two other qualitative studies were not included in the review (Hernández-Saca and Cannon 2019; Haegele, Yessick, and Zhu 2018) because of their retrospective analyses of disabled adults' experiences of how the intersections of their disabilities with other minoritised statuses shaped their schooling experiences. Another study focused on transition services to prepare students with disabilities for post-secondary education (Hogan 2023) was also excluded because the scope of analysis was outside the remit of primary and secondary education. Even though two studies reported on the same data (Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022), none were excluded as they had a slightly different research focus and their empirical analyses were framed against different theoretical perspectives explicitly referred to or underpinned by intersectionality.

These discussions enabled us to 'share the mental schema' that warrants consistency and accuracy of coding, even though this is not always possible in systematic reviews, mainly when, as in our case, coders differ in terms of their disciplinary background, subject-specific knowledge base and personal views as well as by the ways our decision-making process was skewed by the 'learning' and 'fatigue' effects. This phenomenon is exacerbated when the focus of analysis is a complex social science topic, such as in our case, intersectionality and disability in education, explored through a multi-perspectival theoretical lens and a qualitative approach (Belur et al. 2021, 841–842).

The research questions drove inclusion and exclusion criteria that provided the 'mental schema' for the screening and data extraction. Three exclusion criteria were adopted in this review: (1) The article utilized an intersectional analytical framework but did not focus on disability as the predominant marker of difference. (2) The article was limited to a theoretical analysis of the intersection of disability with other markers of difference. (3) The article did not focus on education and its primary and secondary phases (there were many analyses focused on post-school, higher and further education that were excluded

from the review). Selecting suitable articles was a two-pronged process; First, we eliminated articles that did not fall within the remit of education or were not directly linked to our research focus. Second, the remaining articles' abstracts were screened to determine eligibility against inclusion and exclusion criteria and a full text was obtained to finalise the screening process. 25 articles met our selection criteria and were included in the review.

(see Figure 1).

The selection process was followed by a coding procedure that provided detailed information about the study, its relevance and the quality of its research approach while evaluating its findings and synthesising relevant information to address the research questions (Newman et al. 2020). The analytical process was not a formalized and pre-determined procedure. Instead, it was an iterative process of disentangling, elucidating, and explaining complex phenomena to enhance understanding of the findings and their implications for policy and professional practice (Hammersley 2020).

The findings of the different studies were juxtaposed, interrelated, and interconnected to identify emerging themes, points of data convergence and divergence and to explore novel analytical dimensions that can contribute to the development of new theoretical, policy and practice-based perspectives. The synthesising process resembles the qualitative data analysis (thematic analysis) approach undertaken in primary qualitative research studies (Newman et al. 2020; Thomas and Harden 2008), a process that has been dubbed as 'a hermeneutic task' rather than a standardized process of analysis (Hammersley 2020).

The credibility of the meta-synthesis of qualitative reviews has been questioned due to how qualitative reviews are based on both original data and interpretations of this data, thereby undermining analytical rigor. This problem can be mitigated when the synthesizing process is firmly embedded in and informed by its empirical context (e.g. research participants' narrated experiences), while adhering to a three-staged approach that consists of three consecutive yet reciprocally related and iterative stages of analysis. The first step was to code the text while examining data for meaning and content across articles. This was followed by developing descriptive themes to make sense of, categorize and analyse data. This stage was preceded by the generation of analytical themes, which is the higher stage of the synthesizing process aimed at identifying points of convergence and divergence amongst themes while developing overarching conceptual constructs and themes that can lead to more abstract and sophisticated theorizations of the phenomenon under investigation (Butler, Hall, and Copnell 2016).

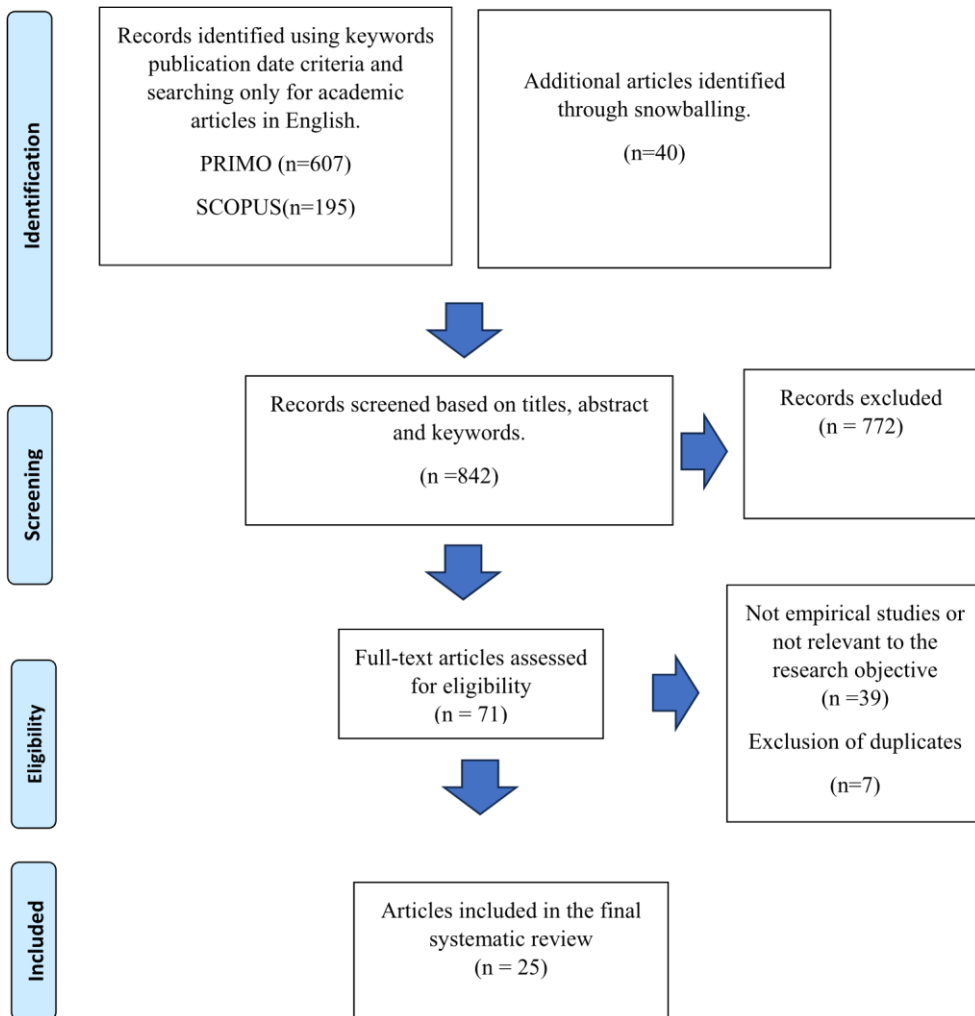


Figure 1. the Prisma statement.

Results/discussion

Intersections of disability with classed, raced, gendered and coloured experiences of 'disablism'

Seventeen qualitative and eight quantitative empirical studies were identified that utilised an intersectional prism to explore how disabilities intersect with other axes of difference to create overlapping forms of social and educational disadvantage for students designated as having special educational needs and/or disabilities. The intersectional research paradigm brings to the fore the nexus of disability, power and identity that constructs and projects 'negative ontologies' (Campbell 2005) that are subject to intersecting educational inequalities and oppressive regimes. Even though these intersections were explored in some articles without explicit and elaborated reference to intersectional theories and their application in education (e.g. Cahill 2021; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022), these articles were not excluded from the review. This was because they consistently used the words 'intersection' and 'intersectionality' in their analysis and provided empirical insights into

how the experience of disability intersects with other minoritized identities in primary and secondary education. The strategic decision to include articles that explicitly referred to the notion of ‘intersectionality’ aligns with Nichols’ and Stahl’s (2019, 1258) stance that ‘the explicit signalling of intersectionality makes a claim that it should be investigated’. Language reflects and shapes ways of thinking and acting, and it is through language that intersectionality unleashes its theoretical and analytical potential, to uncover compounded inequities experienced by people who occupy more than one minority status.

Depending on the focus of the articles, intersectional insights were, in some cases, supplemented with a range of critical theoretical perspectives to shed more light on the structures of power that are played out and contribute to the cumulative and overlapping forms of oppression and disadvantage experienced by disabled students (Adams and Roach 2023; Collins et al. 2023; Gillborn 2015; Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019; Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022; Padía and Traxler 2021; Tefera & Fischman, 2020; Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge 2019).

The qualitative studies under review predominantly used interviews, observations, and educational artefacts (e.g. photovoices, cartography) to explore the perspectives and experiences of students, education professionals, the public, and parents of disabled children on how disabilities intersect with other markers of difference and social disadvantage. Interview narratives provided fine-grained insights into how the educational experiences and prospects of disabled students were shaped at the intersections of their disabilities with other minoritised statuses and sources of disadvantage/underprivilege (e.g. Miller 2023; Oliver and Singal 2017; Preece and Lessner Lištiaková 2021; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022; Tefera & Fischman, 2020). In contrast, the quantitative studies under review used data from extensive databases such as the US ninth graders from the High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (Shifrer 2023) and suspensions in Queensland State Schools 2016–2020 (Graham et al. 2023) to explore intersections of disability with multiple social locations.

Centring disability at the core of multiaxial analytical frameworks informed by intersectional theories, the articles under review elucidate the socially and culturally constructed and mediated experience of disability. This experience is shaped against students’ racial, social class, language and so on social characteristics and their interactions with hierarchical social relations and macro socio-political dynamics linked to ‘ableism’, ‘racism’, ‘white supremacy’, ‘patriarchy’, ‘sexism’, ‘classism’, ‘discourses of masculinity’, ‘heteronormative discourse’ and other social norms and prejudiced discourses.

Intersections of disability were explored in relation to migration, class and gender (Oliver and Singal 2017), disability and forced immigration (Singh et al. 2021), disability, immigration, language, race and citizenship/documentation status (Padía and Traxler 2021), disability and refugee status (Bešić, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2020b; Bešić et al. 2020a) disproportionality in identification and discipline of students of color with disabilities, intersections with socio-economic status, geography, race and language (Tefera et al. 2023; Tefera & Fischman, 2020), disproportionality in suspensions of students with disabilities. Indigenous students and students living in out-of-home care (Graham et al. 2023), disability (emotional and behavioural disorders), gender, race/colour, biased discipline practices and peer victimization (Collins et al. 2023) coupled with suicidal ideation (King et al. 2018), disability (autism) and rural and coastal living

(Preece and Lessner Lištiaková 2021), special educational needs and English language learning (Kangas 2018; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022), disability, gender and social class (Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge 2019), disability, gender and colour (Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022) coupled with language use and sexuality (Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019), disability, gender and race and disciplinary justice contact (Gillborn 2015; Mendoza et al. 2020), disability, race and capitalism (Waitoller, Nguyen, and Super 2019), disability, social class and educational experiences of stigma (Chatzitheochari & Butler-Rees 2023), special educational needs, social class and post-primary educational placements (Cahill 2021), learning difficulties, race, social class and disproportionality in maths course placements (Shifrer 2023), disability (individual educational plans), gender and colour (Adams and Roach 2023)

Intersectional dimensions of disabled students' oppression and educational disadvantage

The plural and divergent students' minoritised identities emanating from diverse combinations of identity makers and biographical experiences document the sheer complexity and uniqueness of their 'lived' experiences of oppression. Students' multifaceted and divergent subject positions are further compounded by varied contextual and school-based dynamics that interact with and shape their social identities and context-sensitive 'lived' experiences of oppression and stigma-induced social interactions and attitudes. These experiences cannot be exposed unless we develop an informed understanding of the racial, classed, and gendered dimensions of disability experience and how these dimensions coalesce to create intersectional forms of oppression and discrimination and increase a student's likelihood of being pathologized and assigned a disability label.

Intersections of disability and immigration status coupled with associated markers of difference such as race, citizenship and language were discussed in three studies that brought to the fore idiosyncratic dimensions of the intersectional forms of oppression and educational disadvantage experienced by students living at these intersections (Oliver and Singal 2017; Padía and Traxler 2021; Singh et al. 2021). Axes of difference that reinforce experiences of oppression included students' refugee and asylum statuses in addition to their migrant status (Singh et al. 2021) as well as a 'non-state conferred citizenship' that overrides the disabling effects of the combination of disability and immigration statuses (Padía and Traxler 2021). For example, Padía and Traxler (2021) study highlights how high school immigrant students with disabilities without nation-state-conferred citizenship experience state violence through schooling that aggravates the experiences of oppression linked to their migrant status and impairs their educational and, subsequently, social mobility prospects. Paradoxically, as pointed out in the Oliver and Singal (2017) study, the migrant status of disabled children seems to confer both privilege and underprivilege in their host country due to the more pronounced forms of inequality experienced in their countries of origin without, however, obscuring the compounded and context-specific forms of educational and social disadvantage experienced by migrant-disabled students in their host country.

Even though the paradoxical coexistence of privilege/underprivilege link to a social identity marker was not evident about other minoritised statuses, the intersectional

analytical lens provides evidence of how disabled students experience various degrees of privilege/underprivilege depending on the combination of their minoritized identities. Specific identity markers and their intersections positioned within and framed against specific socio-cultural and educational contexts mitigated or exacerbated the risk of experiencing oppression and discriminatory practices, thereby providing insights into the socio-culturally mediated and context-sensitive nature of disability experience. The contextually grounded and intersecting web of macro and micro dynamics impacting the 'lived' experience of disability across different educational contexts is, among other things, manifested in how specific identities are minoritised in some contexts and not in others. For example, exploring the experiences of black female disabled students differs across contexts; colour is not depicted as a contributory factor to the intersectional subordination experienced by black female students in an African context such as Rwanda (Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge 2019), while colour is a crucial axis of intersectional oppression experienced by disabled female students of colour in a Western-centric educational context such as the USA (Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022).

Other identity markers that exacerbated experiences of oppression included gender (female) and colour (black) (Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022), disability, ethnicity, language, sexuality, experiences of colonial mental health hegemony, bullying (Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019) and disabled students' residence in rural or coastal localities that converged to compound their social and educational marginalisation. (Preece and Lessner Lištiaková 2021). Three other studies (Kangas 2018; Oliver and Singal 2017; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022) explore how students' disability and migration nexus of oppression is further compounded when English is not their first language and they do not receive, for example, the dual services (bilingual special education services) they are legally entitled to. Migrant students' minoritized language status is also something that increases their risk of being identified as having special education needs and disabilities due to a firmly entrenched preoccupation that disability-related needs overshadow students' second language needs. The conflation of students' special education and language needs is accountable for the over-representation of students for whom English is not their first language in special education categories due to the lack of resources and culturally responsive instruction, as well as due to a firmly entrenched preoccupation with the assumption that disability-related needs override children's second language needs. (Kangas 2018; Oliver and Singal 2017; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022). Disproportionality in disability identification and disparities in discipline is also the result of educational professionals' perceptions of disability (and its disability-related labels), race and gender, and associated biases (e.g. racism) that impact disciplinary decisions. Special educational needs assessment and identification procedures, (e.g. Collins et al. 2023; Gillborn 2015; Mendoza et al.; Tefera et al. 2023) as well as juvenile justice contact (Mendoza et al. 2020).

Social class power differentials and their impact on students' disability-related experiences, often mediated by neoliberal ideologies, were the analytical focus of three studies that concentrated on the disability and social class nexus and their complex interactions in conferring privilege/underprivilege (Cahill 2021; Tefera et al. 2023; Waitoller, Nguyen, and Super 2019). The disability and social class dyad were also explored alongside stigma to delineate how social class and type of disability determined disabled students' likelihood of experiencing stigma (Chatzitheochari & Butler-Rees,

2023) and its material ramifications in terms of the quality of the learning support they received. The analytical edge was extended by incorporating students' colour, race, and spatial stratification to explain how these intersections are responsible for multiplied marginalised students' overrepresentation in disability identification, segregation, and disciplinary action procedures (Gillborn 2015; Mendoza et al. 2020; Tefera et al. 2023).

Contrary to the common belief that qualitative intersectional analysis can provide more nuanced analytical insights into the complexities of social life, intersectional analyses are not linear; multiple minority statuses do not only act cumulatively and incrementally, but their interaction is complex and unpredictable, and certain minority statuses might have a more pronounced impact on students' experiences of educational inequalities. Bešić et al. (2020a) quantitative analysis of disability, gender, and refugee status provides evidence to suggest that attitudes towards the inclusion of certain groups of students at the intersections of disability, gender and refugee status are contingent on how different markers of difference are combined to construct and portray students' identities. For instance, it is empirically documented that a boy's refugee status carries less stigma than a disability label linked to behavioural difficulties (Bešić et al. 2020a). The same applies to refugee girls whose 'behavioral disorders' label results in more negative attitudes than their 'physical disability' label, irrespective of their refugee status (Bešić, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2020b). Given the intertwined nature of these intersections, the 'disability effect' could not be distinctly defined regarding how these students are perceived and positioned, without considering the entanglement of their disability status with other markers of difference (refugee status and gender).

The 'disability effect' is noticeably missing from the empirically documented factors that contribute to the poor maths outcomes of 9th-grade students with learning disabilities in Shifrer's (2023) analysis. Their poor outcomes are the result of the cumulative disadvantage linked to students' minoritised racial and socio-economic status, rather than to disability-related inequities in transition to high school. Similarly, the disability effect seems to be overridden by gender characteristics in Adams and Roach (2023) study whereby Black girls with disability-related IEPs ranked their experiences of school climate the lowest across all the three subscales, namely Cultural acceptance, Adult Social Support and Peer Social Support. While black Girls without IEPs were ranked the lowest in two of the three subscales, followed by Black boys with IEPs who were among the lowest on only one subscale (Peer Social Support) These findings point to the imperative of problematizing monolithic understandings of the 'lived' experience of disability based on the experiences of middle-class White Children with disabilities. The homogenisation of disability experience silences how disabled students' identities are marked by other minoritised statuses, that occasionally obliterate the 'disability effect' element, exacerbate and compound the forms of social and educational disadvantage experienced by this group of students (Bešić, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2020b; Shifrer 2023).

Educational professionals' biased disciplinary decisions that could lead to juvenile justice contact are also contingent on the variegated intersections of students' disability, gender, and racial characteristics. Interestingly, even though female students are in general less likely to experience juvenile justice contact, female students designated as having Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD) are more likely to encounter juvenile justice than their male counterparts. This is due to their perceived transgression of societal gender norms and expectations for behavioural etiquette (Mendoza et al. 2020). The same

stigma-induced disproportionality applies to black boys with EBD (Collins et al. 2023) and disabled sexual minority males (McGee 2014), who experience higher levels of peer victimisation in comparison with other groups of disabled students. Greater levels of peer victimisation can also lead to higher levels of suicidal ideation for disabled students who identify as nonheterosexual (King et al. 2018). Disproportionality in suspensions is also higher for disabled Indigenous students living in out-of-home care, whereby disability- especially Socio-Emotional disability – is the common underlying factor, that increases the risk and frequency of suspensions across different combinations of minority statuses (Graham et al. 2023).

These intersectional analytical insights explain how disabled students' schooling experiences are mediated by and morphed against a complex, context-sensitive and interactive web of power differentials stemming from the multiplicity and combinations of their social and disability identities, the subordinated and stigmatised subject positions associated with them. Even though students' disability status and the 'disability effects' associated with it are a significant source of educational disadvantage- especially concerning the substandard level of support they received and the negative social responses they experienced these adverse conditions are exacerbated by students' class-based, racial, linguistic, and spatial and social characteristics along with their complex interactions with educational processes, organisational structures and ideological regimes. Discourses of 'disability as [negatively perceived] difference' are thus intensified by stereotypical constructions of students' racial/ ethnic, linguistic, gendered, and other characteristics that are responsible for disabled students' intersectional subordination. Hence, even though disability constitutes a shared minoritized status that results in the marginalization and limited accessibility to resources and social spaces, these experiences are further compounded by the intersectional effects of other marginal identities that are thought to deviate from raced, gendered, classed and other 'norms' (e.g. Collins et al. 2023; Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019; Miller and Kurth 2022; Waitoller, Nguyen, and Super 2019).

Intersectionality-based education policy and practice implications

The papers under review lend empirical support to the imperative of exploring and problematizing how students with disabilities and their multiple stigmatized identities are portrayed and positioned in schools and how these framings have an impact on their educational experiences, access, and success in education (e.g. Miller 2023; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022; Tefera & Fischman, 2020). All studies are explicit about how injustices based on disability and its intersections with race, language, social class, 'spatial' othering, stigma, and bigotry jeopardise the educational experiences of students with disabilities or contribute to the constitution of their 'disability identities' and the negative connotations associated with them.

The findings highlight the need to target the structural and ideological antecedents and power asymmetries of these educational injustices and human rights violations (e.g. discourses of normality, biased disability identification processes and disciplinary practices, segregation within the community, and negative social responses). This equity-oriented educational pursuit requires schools to develop the capacity to meet the needs and promote the rights of disabled children at critical intersections to tease out, lessen the

matrix of power and stigma-induced attitudes endemic in both schools and communities that create barriers to their learning, socio-emotional development and equitable and non-discriminatory participation in education (e.g. Bešić, Paleczek, and Gasteiger-Klicpera 2020b; Carey, Yee, and DeMatthews 2018; Chatzitheochari & Butler-Rees, 2023; Collins et al. 2023, McGee 2014; Kangas 2018; Mendoza et al. 2020; Tefera et al. 2023; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022; Tefera and Fischman, 2020).

To this end, educational professionals and policymakers should develop an informed understanding of the role and value of intersectionality in understanding and mitigating the vectors of power that plague the lives and educational trajectories of disabled students at the intersections of various markers of difference and minoritised identities. It is necessary, for example, to disentangle the frequent blurring of language problems with learning problems and to create school and community networks to support migrant students with disabilities (Kangas 2018; Oliver and Singal 2017; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022). This can be achieved by ensuring that school curricula and pedagogies, assessment procedures and co-teaching practices, as well as teacher training and educational leadership programs incorporate insights from bilingual special education research and scholarship to develop educational professionals' knowledge and expertise to distinguish disability-related and language needs and to address students' compounded needs at the critical intersections of disability and minoritised languages linked to racial, classed and immigrant and refugee student identities (Kangas 2018; Stutzman and Lowenhaupt 2022; Tefera et al. 2023). Intersectional thinking should also be firmly embedded in multi-tiered systems of support (MTSS), data-driven decision-making processes to dismantle inequitable, oppressive school cultures, practices to provide safe and equitable spaces for multiplied marginalised disabled students (Collins et al. 2023; Graham et al. 2023) and in other targeted school-based interventions to address peer victimisation and to foster more inclusive school communities (Adams and Roach 2023; King et al. 2018).

The analytical edge also highlights the role of schools, professionals in problematising and dismantling the multiplicity of 'discourses of difference' and professional biases and exclusionary matrices that converge to construct inferior and abnormal student identities at critical, albeit often neglected intersections (e.g. Collins et al. 2023; Gillborn 2015; Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019; Mendoza et al.; Tefera et al. 2023). Students with disabilities with minoritised race/colour language, sexual identities, impoverished spatial, material backgrounds experience varying degrees, facets of oppression, discrimination due to social and educational constructions of different kinds of 'normality' that give rise to and are the outcome teachers' bigoted attitudes and discriminatory regimes. This interactive web is also responsible for racial disproportionality in special education that results from deeply ingrained ideologies of racism, white supremacy and their reification through educational processes and discriminatory regimes (Collins et al. 2023; Tefera et al. 2023; Tefera & Fischman, 2020).

In parallel, some studies bring to the fore the critical dimensions of intersectional thinking by highlighting the necessity of developing multiply marginalised disabled students' 'critical consciousness' to create active forms of resistance, by interrogating, dismantling power imbalances and discriminatory regimes that lead to their intersectional oppression and subordination (Carey, Yee, and DeMatthews 2018; Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge 2019). For instance, Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge (2019) document

how female disabled students are conscious of the existence of gendered structures of power imbalances among young people with disabilities and articulate their determination to mobilise forms of resistance to masculine domination. This can be achieved by developing policies and other system-wide initiatives focusing on girls with disabilities to empower them to experience their schooling positively (Adams and Roach 2023; Wallace et al., 2019).

Further, the analysis underscores the role of the communities within which schools are located and how community-based discourses of normality, spatial and social othering are reproduced in schools. The intersectional vectors of power that were implicated in the exclusionary and stigmatising practices directed to disabled students located at minoritised social locations, their educational, social ramifications highlight the value of forging constructive links with the community to enhance the availability and accessibility of educational, specialist and support services, amongst others, and to ameliorate social disadvantage within communities that oppress disabled students and contribute to their poly-victimisation (e.g. Padía and Traxler 2021; Tefera et al. 2023). For example, Tefera et al. (2023) analysis explicates how racial segregation within the community is replicated in schools through the rhetoric of inclusive education and the right of each child to attend their neighbourhood schools (residential areas of white families versus residential areas of black families).

In addition to the importance attributed to the pragmatic and critical dimensions of intersectionality-based policies and interventions, the analytical edge highlights the imperative of creating trauma-sensitive schools that recognise and respond to how students at the intersections of disability and other minoritised statuses have experienced traumatising conditions. Culturally responsive and inclusive pedagogies should be enacted in parallel with trauma-informed approaches to address how students' needs proliferate and are confounded by increasing intersectionality. 'Forced immigration' and 'living in out-of-home care', for instance, can have traumatizing effects on affected children with or without disabilities, an empirically validated causal link that needs to inform the development of a trauma-informed approach in combination with inclusive and culturally responsive practice (Graham et al. 2023; Singh et al. 2021). This approach recognises and responds to how students at the intersections of disability, power inequities and human rights violations have experienced traumatising conditions that might have created, exacerbated, and compounded their disabilities. These analyses illustrate the entwined nature of disability, intersectionality, trauma and document how disabled students experience the traumatizing effects of racism, sexism, classism, and other sources of social disadvantage linked to the plurality of their biographical identities and the varying social locations of privilege/underprivilege associated with them. Educational, social, and other related policy developments, as well as anti-discrimination legislation, should thus be underpinned by an intersectional and trauma-informed paradigm to address the simultaneous discrimination, trauma and oppression that is experienced by disabled students who are defined as members of more than one minority group.

Conclusions and future research

Studies adopting an intersectional lens in education can delineate how disabled students, who are located at the intersection of more than one minoritized status, experience

educational injustices. As rightly suggested by Mueller, Forber-Pratt, and Sriken (2019, 709): ‘Ignoring the systematic and intertwined roles of ableism and intersectionality further perpetuates the status quo of oppression’. These empirical insights can inform the development and implementation of policies and practices that meet disabled students’ multiple needs while informing the processes and outcomes of equity-oriented educational reforms (Carey, Yee, and DeMatthews 2018; Hernandez-Saca et al. 2018).

The systematic review has provided empirically validated insights into how disability intersections have been explored and theorised in the context of education. The educational experiences and learning opportunities of disabled students are shaped across multiple intersections, which have varied degrees of causal effects on the ‘lived’ experience of disability as different forms of oppression and discrimination are reciprocally reinforcing. Thereby pointing to the need to be concurrently dealt with in both theoretical and practical terms. These considerations should be firmly embedded in policies, professional practices, and culturally relevant intersectionality-responsive teacher training programs that acknowledge and address the nexus of disability and intersectionality and their impact on how disabled students experience schooling. Intersectionality in policy safeguards disabled students’ human rights by recognising that their needs are contingent on the multiplicity of their ‘identities’ that cut across varied markers of difference (Bowen et al. 2019).

An intersectional paradigm constitutes an indispensable element of ‘good quality policy’ to address the ‘mutually shaping’ effects of multiple inequalities across various socio-temporal locations of power (Strid, Walby, and Armstrong 2013). Such an acknowledgement highlights the necessity of promoting an intersectionality-based policy analysis framework (IBPA) to understand the educational and social trajectories of disabled students, that are entangled with and emanate from classed, raced, and other sources of social and educational disadvantage (Bowen et al. 2019; Liasidou 2013, 2016, 2022; Williamson and Qureshi 2015).

An IBPA-based policy analysis framework has emancipatory and transformative potential by exposing the limitations of existing policies and mobilizing the development of intersectional legislative, anti-discrimination and policy approaches (Clark, 2012; Hankivsky et al. 2014). In order to address the simultaneous and overlapping forms of oppression experienced by ‘multiply marginalized students’ with disabilities (Elder and Migliarini 2020, 1856). This transformative process also involves developing an informed understanding of the political nature of disability experience, that requires sociopolitical interventions and a critical evaluation and consideration of the priorities of education systems and their ‘commitment to ending racism, heterosexism, homophobia and prejudice against disabled people’ (Goodley 2011, xi).

Without losing sight of how the broader societal context within which schools are embedded can undermine school efforts to empower students and redress gross inequalities and discrimination, an intersectionality-based approach highlights the mediating role that schools can play in alleviating broader social inequalities, discrimination, and social exclusion. However, this equity-oriented quest has challenges, given how ableism also intersects with neoliberal education governance, as some studies explicitly signalled (e.g. Collins et al. 2023; Waitoller, Nguyen, and Super 2019). ‘Neoliberal-ableism’ is responsible for creating a matrix of power that emanates from and is premised on the expectation that students should approximate abled-bodied, white, and

middle-class norms that undergird constructions of the ‘ideal student’ conjured up as a productive, entrepreneurial, and autonomous subject who can add positive value to schools’ market-oriented pursuits.

Despite the emancipatory potential of intersectional theoretical frameworks and research agendas to facilitate the process of equity-oriented change, disabled students’ ‘have been largely missing from these empirical studies. Even though the views and experiences of parents and other educational stakeholders were extensively captured, there were only eight empirical studies that included direct reports from disabled students (Cahill 2021; Chatzitheohari & Bultreer-Rees, 2023; Collins et al. 2023; Hernández-Saca and Kahn 2019; Miller 2023; Miller and Kurth 2022; Preece and Lessner Lištiaková 2021; Wallace, Karangwa, and Bayisenge 2019). The absence of students’ voices can be attributed to the ethical challenges inherent in empirical studies that include children, especially when investigating sensitive and potentially trauma-induced topics (e.g. Singh et al. 2021). Capturing students’ voices can provide valuable empirical insights into how their schooling experiences are moulded from their intersectional subordination and the vectors of power that are implicated in the construction of privileged/underprivileged educational identities to address ‘the divide that often manifests between the professional and lived experience’ (Hernández-Saca, Kahn, and Cannon 2018, 305). In doing so, ‘we can better affect transformational change in schools as well as support individual students’ (ibid, 290).

Further research on disability and intersectionality in education should also focus on exploring under-researched dimensions of disability experience, such as the intersections of disability with sexual orientation and religious associations that can play an equally significant role in affecting disabled students’ experiences in education. These identity markers influence how disabled students with these minoritized identities (e.g. wearing a religious symbol or/and transcending heteronormative norms and discourses of masculinity) are either valued or devalued by their peers and educational professionals (Carey, Yee, and DeMatthews 2018).

In parallel, intersectional studies are necessary for understanding non-disabled children’s biases related to the intersections of disability and race as well as other markers of difference. Empirical studies have hitherto focused on using interviews, observations, and questionnaires to explore non-disabled children’s awareness and attitudes towards disability or race without considering the interwoven nature of ability and whiteness. These dichotomous analytical insights silence, according to Beneke (2021, 98), ‘how young children build and act on conceptualisations of disability and race through interactions in early childhood institutions in which disability and race have been constructed and mobilized intersectionally, compounding oppression for disabled Children of Color...’

These nuanced empirical insights attest to the imperative of educating educational professionals to develop an empirically validated understanding of ‘the intersectional complexity inherent in individuals’ lives’ (Carey, Yee, and DeMatthews 2018, 112) as an antidote to reductionist and deficit-oriented understandings of students’ biological and biographical characteristics. Research on intersectionality should be seen as a means of evidence-based policymaking and raising awareness (Dacaki, et al. 2013, 16). Intersectionality constitutes an awareness-raising theoretical, political, and pedagogical tool to advance plural understandings of disabled students’ ‘intersectional complexity’.

This complexity should be more vigorously explored in research agendas in education to develop an empirically grounded understanding of the intersectional forms of oppression and social disadvantage- linked to oppressive and discriminatory social and educational milieu- that can create, compound, and exacerbate disabilities and special educational needs (Liasidou 2022). These research agendas can be expanded upon and diversified through interdisciplinary collaborations with researchers from different social science backgrounds to empirically investigate under-researched areas of disability and intersecting marginalities (Preece and Lessner Lištiaková 2021).

References

- Adams, J., and A. Roach. 2023. "School Climate from the Perspective of Black Girls with and without Disabilities: Preliminary Findings from an Intersectional Examination of the Impact of Relationships." *School Psychology Review* 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2023.2240224>.
- Artiles, A. J. 2013. "Untangling the Racialization of Disabilities: An Intersectionality Critique Across Disability Models." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 10 (2): 329–347. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000271>.
- Artiles, A. J. 2020. "Inclusive Education in the 21st Century Disruptive Interventions." *The Educational Forum* 84 (4): 289–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2020.1831821>.
- Artiles, A. J., and E. B. Kozleski. 2016. "Inclusive Education's Promises and Trajectories: Critical Notes about Future Research on a Venerable Idea." *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 24 (43): 43. <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.24.1919>.
- Bates, J., P. Best, J. McQuilkin, and B. Taylor. 2017. "Will Web Search Engines Replace Bibliographic Databases in the Systematic Identification of Research?" *The Journal of Academic Librarianship* 43 (1): 8–17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acalib.2016.11.003>.
- Belur, J., L. Tompson, A. Thornton, and M. Simon. 2021. "Interrater Reliability in Systematic Review Methodology: Exploring Variation in Coder Decision-Making." *Sociological Methods & Research* 50 (2): 837–865. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124118799372>.
- Beneke, M., R. 2021. "Investigating Young Children's Conceptualizations of Disability and Race: An Intersectional, Multiplane Critique." *Educational Researcher* 50 (2): 97–104. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X21992029>.
- Bešić, E., L. Paleczek, and B. Gasteiger-Klicpera. 2020b. "Don't Forget about us: Attitudes towards the Inclusion of Refugee Children with (out) Disabilities." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 24 (2): 202–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1455113>.
- Bešić, E., L. Paleczek, P. Rossmann, M. Krammer, and B. Gasteiger-Klicpera. 2020a. "Attitudes towards Inclusion of Refugee Girls with and without Disabilities in Austrian Primary Schools." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 24 (5): 463–478. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1467976>.
- Bowen, E. A., N. S. Murshid, A. Brylinski-Jackson, S. G. Gabel, L. Butler, F. Critelli, and J. Carello. 2019. "Moving toward Trauma-Informed and Human Rights-Based Social Policy: The Role of the Helping Professions." In *Trauma and Human Rights*, 55–74. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bowleg, L. 2012. "The Problem with the Phrase Women and Minorities: Intersectionality—an Important Theoretical Framework for Public Health." *American Journal of Public Health* 102 (7): 1267–1273. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.300750>.
- Butler, A., H. Hall, and B. Copnell. 2016. "A Guide to Writing a Qualitative Systematic Review Protocol to Enhance Evidence-Based Practice in Nursing and Health Care." *Worldviews on Evidence-Based Nursing* 13 (3): 241–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/wvn.12134>.
- Cahill, K. 2021. "Intersections of Social Class and Special Educational Needs in a DEIS Post-Primary School: School Choice and Identity." *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2021.1968519>.

- Campbell, F. K. 2006. "Legislating Disability: Negative Ontologies and the Government of Legal Identities." In *Foucault and the Government of Disability*, edited by Tremain Shelley, 108–132. University of Michigan Press.
- Carey, R. L., L. S. Yee, and D. DeMatthews. 2018. "Power, Penalty, and Critical Praxis: Employing Intersectionality in Educator Practices to Achieve School Equity." *The Educational Forum* 82 (1): 111–130. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131725.2018.1381793>.
- Chatzitheochari, S., and A. Butler-Rees. 2023. "Disability, Social Class and Stigma: An Intersectional Analysis of Disabled Young People's School Experiences." *Sociology* 57 (5): 1156–1174. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385221133710>.
- Clark, N. 2012. Perseverance, Determination and Resistance: An Indigenous Intersectional-based Policy Analysis of Violence in the Lives of Indigenous Girls. *An Intersectionality based policy analysis framework*, 133–159.
- Collins, T. A., T. P. La Salle, J. Rocha Neves, J. A. Foster, and M. N. Scott. 2023. "No Safe Space: School Climate Experiences of Black Boys with and without Emotional and Behavioral Disorders." *School Psychology Review* 52 (3): 250–263. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2021.2021783>.
- Crenshaw, K. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Identity Politics, Intersectionality, and Violence against Women." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
- Critical Appraisal Skills Programme. "CASP qualitative checklist". https://casp-uk.net/images/checklist/documents/CASP-Qualitative-Studies-Checklist/CASP-Qualitative-Checklist-2018_fillable_form.pdf.
- Dacaki, K, et al. 2013. "Discrimination Generated by the Intersection of Gender and Disability, EPRS: European Parliamentary Research Service". <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1333037/discrimination-generated-by-the-intersection-of-gender-and-disability/1937254/>.
- Elder, B., and V. Migliarini. 2020. "Decolonizing Inclusive Education: A Collection of Practical Inclusive CDS- and DisCrit-Informed Teaching Practices Implemented in the Global South." *Disability and the Global South* 7 (1): 1852–1872.
- Else-Quest, N. M., and J. S. Hyde. 2016. "Intersectionality in Quantitative Psychological Research: I. Theoretical and Epistemological Issues." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 40 (2): 155–170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316629797>.
- Etherington, C., and L. Baker. 2018. "From "Buzzword" to Best Practice: Applying Intersectionality to Children Exposed to Intimate Partner Violence." *Trauma, Violence & Abuse* 19 (1): 58–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838016631128>.
- Fox, D. M. 2017. "Evidence and Health Policy: Using and Regulating Systematic Reviews." *American Journal of Public Health* 107 (1): 88–92. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303485>.
- Fox, D. M., and L. Bero. 2014. "Systematic Reviews: Perhaps "the Answer to Policy Makers' Prayers"?" *Environmental Health Perspectives* 122 (10): A262–A263. <https://doi.org/10.1289/ehp.1408599>.
- Frederick, A., and D. Shifrer. 2019. "Race and Disability: From Analogy to Intersectionality." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 5 (2): 200–214. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649218783480>.
- Garcia, T. C., and A. Zajicek. 2022. "Incorporating Intersectionality in Public Policy: A Systematic Literature Review." *Humanity & Society* 46 (2): 271–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0160597620988591>.
- Gillborn, D. 2015. "Intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and the Primacy of Racism: Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Education." *Qualitative Inquiry* 21 (3): 277–287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414557827>.
- Goagoses, N., and U. Koglin. 2020. "The Role of Social Goals in Academic Success: Recounting the Process of Conducting a Systematic Review." In *Systematic Reviews in Educational Research*, edited by Zawacki-Richter, O., Kerres, M., Bedenlier, S., Bond, M., and Buntins, K., 145–161. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27602-7_9.

- Goethals, T., E. De Schauwer, and G. Van Hove. 2015. "Weaving Intersectionality into Disability Studies Research: Inclusion, Reflexivity and anti-Essentialism." *Journal for Diversity and Gender Studies* 2 (1–2): 75–94. <https://doi.org/10.11116/jdivegendstud.2.1-2.0075>.
- Goodley, D. 2011. *Disability Studies: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Graham, L. J., C. Killingly, M. Alexander, and S. Wiggans. 2023. "Suspensions in QLD State Schools, 2016–2020: Overrepresentation, Intersectionality and Disproportionate Risk." *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-023-00652-6>.
- Greenhalgh, T., and K. Malterud. 2017. "Systematic Reviews for Policymaking: Muddling through." *American Journal of Public Health* 107 (1): 97–99. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303557>.
- Gusenbauer, M., and N. R. Haddaway. 2020. "Which Academic Search Systems Are Suitable for Systematic Reviews or Meta-Analyses? Evaluating Retrieval Qualities of Google Scholar, PubMed, and 26 Other Resources." *Research Synthesis Methods* 11 (2): 181–217. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jrsm.1378>.
- Haddaway, N. R., and A. S. Pullin. 2014. "The Policy Role of Systematic Reviews: Past, Present and Future." *Springer Science Reviews* 2 (1–2): 179–183. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40362-014-0023-1>.
- Haegle, J. A., A. Yessick, and X. Zhu. 2018. "Females with Visual Impairments in Physical Education: Exploring the Intersection between Disability and Gender Identities." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 89 (3): 298–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02701367.2018.1484067>.
- Hammersley, M. 2020. "Reflections on the Methodological Approach of Systematic Reviews." In *Systematic Reviews in Educational Research*, edited by Zawacki-Richter, O., Kerres, M., Bedenlier, S., Bond, M., Buntins, K, 23–29. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27602-7_2.
- Hankivsky, O., and R. Cormier. 2011. "Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models Author(s): Source." *Political Research Quarterly* (64) (1): 217–229. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41058335>. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912910376385>.
- Hankivsky, Olena, Daniel Grace, Gemma Hunting, Melissa Giesbrecht, Alycia Fridkin, Sarah Rudrum, Olivier Ferlatte, and Natalie Clark. 2014. "An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework: Critical Reflections on a Methodology for Advancing Equity." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 13 (1): 119. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-014-0119-x>.
- Hernández-Saca, D., and M. A. Cannon. 2019. "Interrogating Disability Epistemologies: Towards Collective Dis/Ability Intersectional Emotional, Affective and Spiritual Autoethnographies for Healing." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 32 (3): 243–262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1576944>.
- Hernández-Saca, D. I., and L. G. Kahn. 2019. "The Problem Isn't Yourself Overcoming, It's Other People Overcoming You:" a Decolonizing Mental Health DSE Curricular Cripstemology Reading of Daniel and Luna's Intersectional Dis/Ability Experiences." *Educational Studies* 55 (4): 436–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2019.1629925>.
- Hernández-Saca, D. I., L. G. Kahn, and M. A. Cannon. 2018. "Intersectionality Dis/Ability Research: How Dis/Ability Research in Education Engages Intersectionality to Uncover the Multidimensional Construction of Dis/Abled Experiences." *Review of Research in Education* 42 (1): 286–311. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X18762439>.
- Hogan, J. A. 2023. Having a Disability and Identifying as LGBTQ+: Are Educational Professionals Prepared for this Intersectional Experience?. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, 1–22.
- James, J. C., and C. Wu. 2006. "Editors' Introduction: Race, Ethnicity, Disability, and Literature: Intersections and Interventions." *MELUS: Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States* 31 (3): 3–13. <https://doi.org/10.1093/melus/31.3.3>.
- Kangas, S. E. 2018. "Breaking One Law to Uphold Another: How Schools Provide Services to English Learners with Disabilities." *TESOL Quarterly* 52 (4): 877–910. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.431>.

- King, M. T., G. J. Merrin, D. L. Espelage, N. J. Grant, and K. L. Bub. 2018. "Suicidality and Intersectionality among Students Identifying as Nonheterosexual and with a Disability." *Exceptional Children* 84 (2): 141–158. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014402917736261>.
- Liasidou, A. 2013. "Intersectional Understandings of Disability and Implications for a Social Justice Reform Agenda in Education Policy and Practice." *Disability & Society* 28 (3): 299–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2012.710012>.
- Liasidou, A. 2022. "Inclusive Education as a Trauma-Responsive Practice; Research-Based Considerations and Implications." *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2022.2107720>.
- Long, H. A., D. P. French, and J. M. Brooks. 2020. "Optimising the Value of the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) Tool for Quality Appraisal in Qualitative Evidence Synthesis." *Research Methods in Medicine & Health Sciences* 1 (1): 31–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2632084320947559>.
- McGee, M. G. 2014. "Lost in the Margins? intersections between Disability and Other Nondominant Statuses with Regard to Peer Victimization." *Journal of School Violence* 13 (4): 396–421. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2014.894914>.
- Mendoza, M., J. J. Blake, M. P. Marchbanks, and K. Ragan. 2020. "Race, Gender, and Disability and the Risk for Juvenile Justice Contact." *The Journal of Special Education* 53 (4): 226–235. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022466919845113>.
- Miller, A. L. 2023. "Disabled Girls of Color Excavate Exclusionary Literacy Practices and Generate Promising Sociospatial-Textual Solutions." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 36 (2): 247–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2020.1828649>.
- Miller, A. L., and J. A. Kurth. 2022. "Photovoice Research with Disabled Girls of Color: Exposing How Schools (Re)Produce Inequities through School Geographies and Learning Tools." *Disability & Society* 37 (8): 1362–1390. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2021.1881883>.
- Morse, J. M. 1997. "Perfectly Healthy, but Dead": the Myth of Inter-Rater Reliability." *Qualitative Health Research* 7 (4): 445–447. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973239700700401>.
- Mueller, C. O., A. J. Forber-Pratt, and J. Sriken. 2019. "Disability: Missing from the Conversation of Violence." *Journal of Social Issues* 75 (3): 707–725. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12339>.
- Munn, Z., M. D. Peters, C. Stern, C. Tufanaru, A. McArthur, and E. Aromataris. 2018. "Systematic Review or Scoping Review? Guidance for Authors When Choosing between a Systematic or Scoping Review Approach." *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 18 (1): 143. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-018-0611-x>.
- Newman, M., D. Gough, O. Zawacki-Richter, M. Kerres, S. Bedenlier, and M. Bond. 2020. "Systematic Reviews in Educational Research: Methodology, Perspectives and Application." In *Systematic Reviews in Educational Research: Methodology, Perspectives and Application*, edited by Buntins K, 3–22. Wiesbaden, German: Springer VS.
- Nichols, S., and G. Stahl. 2019. "Intersectionality in Higher Education Research: A Systematic Literature Review." *Higher Education Research & Development* 38 (6): 1255–1268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2019.1638348>.
- Noyes, J., A. Booth, G. Moore, K. Flemming, Ö. Tunçalp, and E. Shakibazadeh. 2019. "Synthesising Quantitative and Qualitative Evidence to Inform Guidelines on Complex Interventions: Clarifying the Purposes, Designs and Outlining Some Methods." *BMJ Global Health* 4 (Suppl 1): e000893. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2018-000893>.
- Oliver, C., and N. Singal. 2017. "Migration, Disability and Education: Reflections from a Special School in the East of England." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 38 (8): 1217–1229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2016.1273757>.
- Padía, L. B., and R. E. Traxler. 2021. "Traerás Tus Documentos (You Will Bring Your Documents): Navigating the Intersections of Disability and Citizenship Status in Special Education." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 24 (5): 687–702. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2021.1918410>.
- Pranckutė, R. 2021. "Web of Science (WoS) and Scopus: The Titans of Bibliographic Information in Today's Academic World." *Publications* 9 (1): 12. <https://doi.org/10.3390/publications9010012>.

- Preece, D., and I. Lessner Lištiaková. 2021. "There Isn't Really Anything around Here...": Autism, Education and the Experience of Families Living in Rural Coastal England." *Education Sciences* 11 (8): 397. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci11080397>.
- Rethlefsen, M. L., A. M. Farrell, L. C. O. Trzasko, and T. J. Brigham. 2015. "Librarian co-Authors Correlated with Higher Quality Reported Search Strategies in General Internal Medicine Systematic Reviews." *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 68 (6): 617–626. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclinepi.2014.11.025>.
- Russell, R., M. Chung, E. M. Balk, S. Atkinson, E. L. Giovannucci, S. Ip, G. Raman, et al. 2010. "Issues and Challenges in Conducting Systematic Reviews to Support Development of Nutrient Reference Values: Workshop Summary." *Nutrition Research Series* 2. Rockville (MD): Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality (US); 2009 Mar. (Technical Reviews, No. 17.2.) Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK44081/>
- Shifrer, D. 2023. "US Ninth Graders' Math Course Placement at the Intersection of Learning Disability Status, Race, and Socioeconomic Status." *AERA Open* 9 (1): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584231186612>.
- Shifrer, D., and A. Frederick. 2019. "Disability at the Intersections." *Sociology Compass* 13 (10): e12733. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12733>.
- Singh, S., C. Pellech, A. Gutschik, M. Proyer, and I. O'Rourke. 2021. "Intersectional Aspects of Education at the Nexus of Disability and Forced Migration: Perspectives of Parents, Educational Experts, and School Authorities in Greater Vienna." *Education Sciences* 11 (8): 423. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci11080423>.
- Strid, S., S. Walby, and J. Armstrong. 2013. "Intersectionality and Multiple Inequalities: Visibility in British Policy on Violence against Women." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 20 (4): 558–581. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sp/jxt019>.
- Stutzman, B., and R. Lowenhaupt. 2022. "At the Intersection: Examining Teacher and Administrator Perceptions of ELs and Special Education." *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education* 69 (3): 1047–1064. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1034912X.2020.1749240>.
- Tefera, A. A., A. J. Artilles, C. Kramarczuk Voulgarides, A. Aylward, and S. Alvarado. 2023. "The Aftermath of Disproportionality Citations: Situating Disability-Race Intersections in Historical, Spatial, and Sociocultural Contexts." *American Educational Research Journal* 60 (2): 367–404. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312221147007>.
- Tefera, A. A., and G. E. Fischman. 2020. "How and Why Context Matters in the Study of Racial Disproportionality in Special Education: Toward a Critical Disability Education Policy Approach." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 53 (4): 433–448. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2020.1791284>.
- Thomas, C. 2007. *Sociologies of Disability and Illness: Contested Ideas in Disability Studies and Medical Sociology*. London: Macmillan International Higher.
- Thomas, C. 2013. "Disability and Impairment." In *Disabling Barriers-Enabling Environments*, edited by Swain J., French, S., Barnes, C. and Thomas, 9–16. London: Sage.
- Thomas, J., and A. Harden. 2008. "Methods for the Thematic Synthesis of Qualitative Research in Systematic Reviews." *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 8 (1): 45. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-8-45>.
- Toye, F., K. Seers, N. Allcock, M. Briggs, E. Carr, and K. Barker. 2014. "Meta-Ethnography 25 Years on: Challenges and Insights for Synthesising a Large Number of Qualitative Studies." *BMC Medical Research Methodology* 14 (1): 80. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2288-14-80>.
- Waitoller, F. R., N. Nguyen, and G. Super. 2019. "The Irony of Rigor: 'No-Excuses' Charter Schools at the Intersections of Race and Disability." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 32 (3): 282–298. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1576939>.
- Wallace, D., E. Karangwa, and J. Bayisenge. 2019. "Boys Don't Rule Us': exploring Rwandan Girls with Disabilities' Resistance to Masculine Dominance in School." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 23 (3): 297–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1433725>.

- Williamson, L. F., and A. Z. Qureshi. 2015. "Trauma Informed Care and Disability: The Complexity of Pervasive Experiences." *International Journal of Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation* 3 (2): 1–3.
- Wohlin, C., M. Kalinowski, K. R. Felizardo, and E. Mendes. 2022. "Successful Combination of Database Search and Snowballing for Identification of Primary Studies in Systematic Literature Studies." *Information and Software Technology* 147: 106908. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infsof.2022.106908>.