AUTHOR:
Oron Jackson[1] (iD)

Prof Matthew Witenstein[2] (iD)

AFFILIATION:
[1]University of Redlands, Redlands, CA USA.

[2]University of Dayton, Dayton, OH USA.

CREATING RESEARCH SPACES FOR UNDERSERVED COMMUNITIES: EXPANDING AND EXTENDING INTERSECTIONALITY IN CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

ABSTRACT

Methods: Intersectionality has extended beyond the tenets of race, gender and class to include queer communities, religious issues, literacy concerns, pedagogical styles, etc. in South Africa, the European Union and beyond. Intersectionality is no longer solely relegated to the needs of African American women germane to the United States.

Aim(s): This paper is also aimed at engaging researchers and practitioners in an intellectual dialog that may contribute to the ever-expanding research on intersectionality to include the United States, European Union, South Africa and other global communities.

Background: Educators are cognisant of the dense demographic shifts and inequities in primary and secondary schools. The call for guidance, resources and policy is critically needed; the disproportionalities consistent in schools have manifested themselves in school disciplinary practices and student achievement. The manuscript encourages discourse and provides a roadmap to examine intersectionality's expansion critically and how that expansion can aid in improving the lives of K-12 public education students on an international scale. Additionally, the manuscript addresses whether intersectionality or its expansion served as a pivotal voice for marginalised communities and structures domestically and abroad.

Keywords: *Gender; intersectionality; black; research; practitioner; expansion of framework; students; women; marginalise.*

1. INTRODUCTION

According to Núñez (2014), scholars and practitioners in the educational community have borrowed, engaged in dialogue with and applied Kimberle Crenshaw's (1989) intersectionality framework to a variety of educational issues. Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality,

embracing the idea that marginalisation of gender (in her analysis, female), race (black) and class (poor) can intersect, overlapping well documented elements of power and privilege in respect to policy challenging the advancement of an intersectionality research and framework (Cho, 2013; Graham *et al.,* 2008). The stage for intersectionality to serve as a launching board to engage issues of gender, race and class at its intersections never quite found traction in the US. The cases of DeGraffenreid vs. General Motors, Moore vs. Hughes Helicopter Inc. and Payne vs. Travenol Laboratories Inc. provided case law revealing a national disregard for the welfare of marginalised black women (Crenshaw, 2018). Instead of these cases becoming the springboard for an intersectional lens from which disenfranchisement could be isolated, the American legal system dug in its heels and perpetuated the already exclusive societal norms. Moreover, under the guise of accountability and fear lodged into the frontal lobe of reticent Americans, there seemed to be backlash and perhaps institutional warfare that would impact these women for subsequent generations in occupational, social and educational settings.

While Crenshaw's initial framing evolved from legal contexts, educationists have utilised it as a framework to more clearly make meaning of students interlocking identities (typically those from marginalised communities) and the cumulative weight that those identities produce when impacting a variety of educational phenomena including academic achievement, retention, disproportional suspension/expulsion rates, etc. (Blake *et al.,* 2011; Blake *et al.,* 2015; Morris, 2016). In fact, the two of us, a practitioner-scholar who serves as a principal of an alternative education complex and an Assistant Professor in a School of Education, have ourselves considerably grappled and processed through conversations about its use and application for shedding light on students' and other educational constituents' interlocking oppressions and possibly even their privileges. Moreover, debating and challenging one another has unearthed tensions, barriers and possible opportunities related to the intersectionality framework. One example to begin this debate is simply the important weight carried by practitioners and researchers when extending intersectionality, as mentioned above, from legal contexts into educational ones with due diligence. We reflected on the fact that contemporary literature on intersectionality in the field of education has greatly expanded (Bowleg, 2013; Hulko, 2009). This is notable because of the ways it has been utilised to frame diverse work in the field and because of its derivation from the group the framework was originally intended for black women (Mehrotra, 2010). Consequently, we wondered and even questioned with concern whether the ways in which Crenshaw's framework was being employed in education supported intersectionality and its original philosophy. As this meaningful dialogical exercise persisted for well over a year (including the exploration of other tensions, challenges and opportunities), it led us to realise that others may benefit from an article that situates a current conversation about intersectionality, mainly as it relates to US educational contexts with some short reflections about it abroad as well. Therefore, the goal of this paper is to unpack those tensions, barriers and opportunities by providing a meaningful path forward for educational practitioners and researchers to responsibly use intersectionality in their work. Three overarching questions emanating from the dialogic exercise are: a) Has intersectionality use in educational contexts dutifully supported the framework's original intentions? b) (How) has intersectionality been expanded in order to support other disenfranchised and marginalised populations in educational contexts? c) As practitioners employ theory to application through an intersectional lens, what might those practices look like?

The manuscript will provide contextual evidence about intersectionality's expansion from a historical, social and educational perspective. In other words, this evidence advances

the readers understanding of how intersectionality came to be, why it has expanded and whether it has addressed its original intent. Greater understanding may provide resources to address the student achievement gaps in respect to students of colour in primary and secondary education sectors in the United States, European Union (EU), South Africa and in other global communities.

2. UNPACKING INTERSECTIONALITY

2.1 One hundred and fifty years of intersectionality

Intersectionality's historical underpinnings can be traced back to the pivotal Women's Suffrage era (late 1800s and early 1900s) in the US. The initial meeting in Seneca Falls, New York, despite its billing and perceived historical context, targeted white middle and upper-class women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony collaborated in constructing the Declaration of Sentiments, patterned after the US Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Sentiments elaborated on the "injuries and usurpations" resulting from male dominance. However, they did not intentionally reflect upon the inequities consistent with women of colour (DuBois, 1999). Instead, it was Sojourner Truth's landmark "Ain't I a Woman" that embarked upon the discourse of marrying race, class and gender. "I have borne thirteen children, and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me!" (Stanton, Anthony & Gage, 1881:116). Although only implied, Truth allows the reader to enter the intersections of an existence marred by servitude, poverty and the expectations to breed. And by concluding with Stanton, Anthony and Gage (1881:116), "What's dat got to do wid womin's rights or nigger's rights?" she initiated a conversation that would take nearly one-hundred and forty years to formally conceptualise and gain acceptance in academic research communities, thanks to the work of Crenshaw.

As the civil rights period (1954–1968) came to a close, black dreams of upward mobility, level playing fields and a world where opportunity was expressed and given, blindly fell victim to both de jure and de facto segregation. The promise of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 became merely rhetoric compiled on pieces of paper. If we are to honour history and empirical facts, it should be acknowledged that the "protections" promised to folks of colour were overshadowed by the many welfare programmes afforded to whites during the New Deal and Fair Deal era escaping the grasps of African Americans aspiring to join the ranks of our middle class. Instead, they adhered to Jim Crow laws and segregation. These practices persisted into the late 1970s when Crenshaw could no longer ignore the inequities that plagued poor, black women. Crenshaw identified the inadequacies of our judicial process to protect the most marginalised populations in our country, particularly black women.

2.2 Understanding intersectionality

Crenshaw (year of publication) centred intersectionality as a framework on African American women. One might argue that they are marginalised and discriminated against in ways that do not judiciously and equitably support them through legal lenses as it relates to racism and sexism. Unlike Caucasian women, black women are saddled by racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 1989). Unfortunately, the combination of their gender and race place them on the lowest rung of America's social strata. Intersectionality, through a legal lens and case law, highlights the "invisibility" of the black woman (Smith, 2013).

Part of our goal is to distil this brief introduction of intersectionality as a means to frame and support equitable opportunities for marginalised black women in legal contexts into considering how it might be extended and applied in educational contexts via research and policy. Like the context for black women, if US society and educational environments are to progress forward in relation to providing equitable support for those with multiple marginalised identities, there is a pressing need to broaden our understanding and possible applications of intersectionality. Consequently, this could lead to a reframing and conceptualisation in ways that maximise its utility in support of many students and stakeholders in educational communities globally.

3. WHAT IS THE DEPTH AND BREADTH OF INTERSECTIONALITY?

3.1 Authors' insights and reflections

Initial discussions between us supported Delgado's assertion that "intersectionality, if applied without constraint, can result in the creation of subcategories ad infinitum" (Davis, 2015:214). These subcategories may include LGBTQ people, those with disabilities and others consistent with primary and secondary schools. Our concerns on Crenshaw's original premise we feared were lost in rhetoric and institutional practices that refused to embrace the intersections consistent with black women. Rather than bolster her framework, we had concerns whether the expansion of such a focused framework would remove the density from the voices of black women.

In order to properly conceptualise intersectionality, one would have to make a very basic assumption that the lived experiences of one group has been more traumatic and problematic than another. There is an abundance of evidence to support the claim that black women, historically, have borne the brunt of racial inequities throughout the world. For example, Wun's (2015) work shared the startling statistic that 90% of all girls expelled in the 2011–2012 school year in New York City were African American. And sadly, black women ages 18–19 are likely to be imprisoned at a rate three time greater than white women, despite only making up less than one third of their population (Wun, 2015).

3.2 Measuring marginalisation

A major contribution to the research communities is their commitment to reviewing literature and acknowledging and confirming the additions and advancement of that theory. Current expansion of intersectionality has largely failed to commit to the same process (Salem, 2018). After acknowledging this error and commencing to reviewing additional literary contributions, the process of extending intersectionality to marginalised communities outside of those consistent with impoverished African-American women had already begun to take place (Bassel & Emejulu, 2014). Most notably, Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1992 &1995) works provided a major springboard to extend the conceptual frameworks to not only an arena outside of the school of law, but to marginalised populations impeded because of their identified class and inability to achieve upward mobility. In choosing to extend the conversation into the educational arena, Ladson-Billings provided a voice to approximately 31 million children from low-income families and another 9.5 million who were products of poor families (Jiang, Granja & Koball, 2017). Because poverty is really an absence of financial resources, it greatly hinders an individual or family structure from adhering to dominant culture-imposed societal norms and expectations, often resulting from a lack of exposure and experience. In fact, the lack of knowledge and resources to effectively navigate through and take advantage of

learning opportunities often leaves multiply marginalised people without the effective tools to combat poverty.

Ladson-Billings' voice brought two very important perspectives forward, challenging the limited constraints of Crenshaw's paradigm. She extended the conceptual walls of Crenshaw's framework that initially addressed the nearly 24 million black women in the US. Today, Ladson-Billings' extension of intersectionality provides an extended framework to support the nearly forty million low income, poor, voiceless children who are often multiply marginalised. Secondly, Ladson-Billings challenged Delgado's (2011:1264) claim that "intersectionality can easily paralyze progressive work and thought because of the realization that whatever unit you choose to work with, someone may come along and point out that you forgot something".
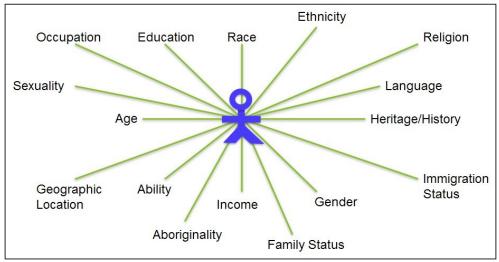

Figure 1. The many facets of identity. Intersectionality: Going Forward Shawn Harris, 2015, www.clydefitchreport.com. Source: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women

Moreover, the attempt by many to isolate which groups or combinations of marginalisation determines the level of injury is ethically and morally wrong. Questions such as the following provide injurious examples: Does disability exceed poverty? Is class more pertinent than language barriers? Should gender be a greater concern than sexuality? Does a poor black woman garner a greater consideration for marginalisation than a first generation, Latino male who is disabled? There truly is no appropriate concrete answer or possible policy resolution or implementation to support these fallible questions. In the last forty years, there has been much legislation identifying the expansion of vehicles leading to how one's lived experiences serve as elements of marginalisation. Several examples include the introduction of the American Disability Act, recent transgender legislation, expansion of religious selections, fluidity in sexual orientation, 1982 Plyler vs. Doe (unconstitutional to deny an illegal alien a free public education), reauthorisation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, increase in globalisation, etc. These acts have expanded and complicated the conversation of injury, injustice, marginalisation, equity and access (Crawford, 1997; Hutchinson, 1982). Our philosophy is that all these voices deserve to be heard and equitably supported; consequently, intersectionality must be expanded to include the needs deserved by the disenfranchised. In

sum, this should include (but is not limited to) all combinations of race, gender, sexuality, age, immigration status, income, ability, occupation, education, etc. when people or groups are relegated to a second class citizenry.

3.3 Crenshaw's blessing to expand

In an op-ed piece, "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait", Crenshaw (2015) acknowledged that the constraints placed on her original framework were simply too narrow. She became perplexed by the "big miss" where African Americans came up on the short end of three monumental cases involving intersections of race and gender. It was here that she realised that by expanding the intersectionality's walls, the variety of channels through which racial and gender oppression were lived amongst mainstream America could assist in illuminating their voices. By expanding the lens, she saw an opportunity to quiet conservative voices who often discredited intersectionality's narrow framework as mere identity politics. By expanding the frame, she could move from an easy target highlighting a single identity (black women) to smothering and holding accountable the institutions that covet practices of institutionalised privilege aimed at discrediting black women through the guise of identity politics. Through the expansion of intersectionality, the term is no longer susceptible to isolation. Going forward, those that assert that intersectionality is merely identity politics will have their work cut attempting to discredit the many platforms in which the expansion of intersectionality has been extended to and through: #MeToo, Black Lives Matter, March for Our Lives, LGBTQ community, Jagmati Sangwan's movement, Naked Protest of Manipur's Mothers, Gulabi Gang movement, etc. (Lebron, 2017; Chaudhuri, 2017; Misri, 2011; White & Rastogi, 2009).

3.4 Expansion of intersectionality abroad

Opportunities for interpreting and supporting the needs of multiply marginalised individuals and groups outside the US through an intersectional lens can provide meaningful comparison and of course, equitable response and care for those needing it. Less than ten million people of African descent reside in Europe; this is less than a third of those inhabiting the US. Given such a low representation, it would be safe to say that Crenshaw's conceptualisation of intersectionality as it pertained to black women would be less of a focal point as these women represent a small percentage of the population. As referenced above concerning the Jagmati Sangwan, Naked Protest of Manipur's Mothers and the Gulabi Gang movements, intersectionality has already expanded beyond the scope of Crenshaw's paradigm. The EU has made attempts to move beyond the narrow constraints of intersectionality to a broader multiple discrimination approach. Unfortunately, the EU legal frameworks, similar to those in the US, have done a poor job of comprehending how multiple points of marginalisation intersect and incorporating policies and practices that address each of these as equally important. Unsurprisingly, there is still significant work to be done. Outside of the EU, South African students began reintroducing intersectionality's theoretical framework back into academic conversations, they too had expanded Crenshaw's "interlocking identities" to sexuality, sexual orientation, disability, etc. (Gouws, 2017).

As the new century commenced, the intersectional cry moved beyond the borders of the United States and European Union. South African voices in support of Crenshaw's application of intersectionality grew louder. "My feminism will be intersectional or it will be bulls***" became the battle cry challenging the passive ontology of South Africa's population of black females from past generations (Dzodan, 2011).

It may be these discussions that bring clarity to the struggling "public" education system in South Africa where "white students still attend schools with disproportionate shares of white students, and most black students still attend virtually all black schools" (Ladd & Fiske, 2006:7). Similar to the United States, there are severe inequalities in terms of student outcomes that hinge on wealth, where students attend school, language and locale. These factors have contributed to discrepancies in at least two and sometimes four grade levels worth of learning (Spaull, 2013). The poor reports on student achievement couple with the persistence of sexual violence experienced by young black South African girls inside and outside of South African schools begs the need to further research and understand the complexity of how race, gender, class and other factors intersect should be of great concern to future research and researchers (Bhana, 2012).

4. OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES WHEN APPLYING INTERSECTIONALITY

4.1 Intersectionality and the African American and LGBTQ communities

It is important to address whether intersectionality or its expansion served as a pivotal voice for marginalised communities and structures. In this section, we give some context as it relates to black women and LGBTQ communities on an international scale began to address this important question (Lee & Brotman, 2013). Unfortunately, for Crenshaw's intended focus of intersectionality, American black women have had mixed results and consequently, have not nearly been liberated and supported in a fully equitable manner. Despite empirical evidence to the contrary, black women are often stereotyped in ways that produce perceptions of angry, hostile people (Childs, 2005). The strength and commitment to displaying fortitude, communicating their emotions and breaking the silence consistent with servitude, black girls are susceptible to undue disciplinary attention (Brown & Giligan, 1993; Wrinkle-Wagner, 2009). When considering educational contexts, young school age African American girls are suspended at "six times the rate of white girls and more than any other group of girls and several groups of boys" (George, 2015:104). Since 1970, the number of incarcerated women has increased from 8 000 inmates to 110 000 (1.275% increase) (Swavola, Riley & Subramanian, 2016). Of those, black women comprised 44% of the above.

Providing another important perspective, roughly 4.1% of American adults identify as LBGTQ (Gates, 2014). Some voices within LGBTQ grassroots, literary and political arenas have engaged in intersectionality conversations. The culmination of these efforts has resulted in emerging research as demonstrated by Parent *et al.*'s (2013) special issue on utilising intersectionality with LGBTQ, gender and race identities. Despite their efforts, homosexuality remains illegal in 75 countries. As of 2016, the following ten countries maintain laws where homosexuality is punishable by death: Iran, Iraq, Mauritania, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalis, Sudan, Uganda and Yemen (Bearak & Cameron, 2016; Smu, 2018). In 2015, the National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey revealed the following:

•   10% of the LGB students were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property

•   34% of the LGB students were bullied on school property

•   28% of the LGB students were bullied online

Using two formidable examples, we have briefly identified some of the ongoing needs and struggles that exist domestically and abroad. Regardless of the success in some of the

marginalised communities, the amount of unfinished work is evident. For this work to succeed and continue with an upward trajectory, researchers and scholar-practitioners must continue to support these marginalised groups with empirical research with meaningful practical implications. Further progress demands that the paradigm and frameworks supporting the integrity of intersectionality is consistent with its expansion.

4.2 Intersectionality and the state of affairs in public schools

Intersectionality's viability and sustainability continues to struggle through societal obstacles. The ongoing challenge of equitably approaching the complexities of the breadth and depth as it pertains to the social complexities of intersectionality is open to much debate and criticism. On the contrary, one area where intersectionality's interdisciplinary approach has proven to be relevant and backed by empirical research is in the arena of public K-12 education. For the first time in the United States, President George Bush echoed that one hundred per cent of America's publicly provided students would be "proficient". The language demanded that all racial, economic, marginalised, etc. significant subgroups be acknowledged. In the world of education, intersectionality has become synonymous with an educational practice embraced by many teachers across the nation. Educators' interdisciplinary approaches to education often work in concert with the creed that all children can and will learn. The "all" accepts the notion that a child's educational success is predicated upon the whole child where their academic achievement relies on the sum of many parts. Before a child can maximise all the school provides, they must be provided with opportunities to eat, sleep, presume safety, feel loved, gain confidence, achieve and problem solve. These basic needs and aspirations can be seen as foundational tools that can be leveraged alongside public education as springboards to college and career opportunities.

Historically, we have failed to incorporate intersectional tools that heavily contribute to developing the "whole child". For example, a young black girl is punished for her lack of introduction to "mainstream sociocultural norms" and acquired behaviours from a "culturally influenced" environment (Weinstein *et al.,* 2003:269–270). Her perceived loud and boisterous communication styles are often misconstrued as hostile and antagonistic rather than a source of strength and insistence on not being "invisible" (Weinstein *et al.,* 2004). Black girls were more likely than Latina and white girls to be sexually harassed through touching, grabbing and pinching having a profound psychological effect on the population. These young girls are being reprimanded for behaviours that are championed and accepted in their very own living (Downey & Pribesh, 2004). After controlling for sociodemographic factors, the findings caused me to pause. African American girls were 60% more likely to be referred to the discipline office and 440% more likely to be referred and suspended when compared to their white peers (Bryan *et al.,* 2012). How scholars and practitioners respond to the needs of these students going forward are critical and intersectionality can help not only interpret challenges encountered by multiply marginalised students but also invoke strategies and policies to support their needs. Collaborative work going forward may be a key to more successful experiences.

5.   CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS

Millions of marginalised students internationally who attend primary and secondary schools lack involvement from their loved ones, reside in impoverished neighbourhoods, are hungry, possess minimal academic foundational skills and endure the daily struggle of implicit

bias. For a variety of co-mingled reasons, school becomes unattractive for many and the achievement gap persists and grows. Utilising the groundwork established in this paper regarding intersectionality and considering enhanced opportunities for it to be utilised in schooling contexts and practices, we have proposed three related opportunities for teachers, administrators and educational stakeholders to support students.

5.1 Culturally relevant instructional practice/curriculum

First and foremost, students must experience a level of academic success to support the work in this area. While they are improving, and achieving academically, students of colour should be introduced to a curriculum grounded in their lived experiences leading to cultural competence (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In other words, their own cultural and communal wealth should be leveraged to best support their academic success. Furthermore, they must be provided with tools that teach and encourage them to "question the question" and be equipped to challenge the status quo and power structures marginalising them.

5.2 Implement culturally relevant disciplinary practices and interventions

Empirical data has revealed the disproportionalities in the administering of school discipline when students of colour are compared to their white peers. To mandate that schools actively look for relevant interventions to improve behaviours, it would be advantageous to eliminate the two tools contributing to the mass increase in referrals, suspensions and expulsions, zero tolerance policies and wilful defiance violations found in the education codes of each state.

5.3 Increase community involvement for African American families

Noticing the disproportionalities in referrals, an African American male parent advisory group was developed in the school of the principal writing this article. Having tough conversations with marginalised groups, providing them with a voice and outlet and teaching them how to navigate through the educational process made a profound difference in increasing parent involvement and reducing discipline amongst that population. There is no doubt that low income parents are often underrepresented when discussing parent involvement (Wallis, 1995). Those who have immersed themselves in the process have often been regarded as receivers of information; they have not been afforded the role as participants and decision makers in school sanctioned events (Lightfoot, 2004). Ironically, for those who have made earnest attempts to engage, they have found that the roles offered to parents were passive in nature. For those who moved from passive engagement to advocating for their children, they observed a distinct level of resistance (Lareau & Horvat, 1999).

Instead of practitioners placing judgements, it is incumbent upon them to understand the "why" and to understand/define parent involvement as it pertains to their schools and communities. Practitioners must ask themselves the following questions: What is known about the uses of parent involvement in well-represented minority communities? Knowing the skill gaps, time constraints and institutional fears of minority parents (e.g. African Americans, Hispanics, English Language Learners, undocumented families), are administrators and practitioners providing meaningful orientation/training components? Or, are they simply blaming parents for skills that they lack?

Consistent with Common Core Standards, students must be asked to "work with peers to promote civil, democratic discussions and decision-making, set clear goals and deadlines,

and establish individual roles as needed" (Cde, 2013) . Perhaps practitioners can employ similar standards in their attempt to bridge the gap between those that know and those who do not.

5.4 Implicit bias training that is followed up through administrator and teacher evaluations

Educators are subject to forming stereotypes that marginalise young African American kids (and other minority kids as well) consistent with danger. Often, this causes educators to exacerbate minor threats due to biases created by a lack of social interaction and an ignorance of cultural norms akin to children of colour (Brown *et al.,* 1991; Canon, Idol & West, 1992; Mandell & Strain, 1978; Myles & Simpson, 1989). Coupled with a lack of classroom management skills, common amongst newer instructors, teachers enter power struggles that tend to escalate behaviours due to inexperience and inadequate training (Emmer, 1994; Kearney, Plax & Sorenson, 1988).

Finally, as we strive to find cohesive solutions that involve all stakeholders (pre-service teachers, experienced teachers and administrators), we propose the following provocative questions that can be framed through an intersectional lens to support the needs of students:

• How does social context influence our perceptions of race, class and gender?

• How might restorative training and processes change the culture of your school?

• As a pre-service teacher, what do you need from your peers and administration to enhance your pedagogical, classroom management and social experiences?

5.5 Need for research community to collaborate

Contemporaries have often declined invitations to engage in the necessary dialogue required to broaden the intersectional paradigm. In order to advance intersectionality, further research revealing empirical data is needed to conceptualise its expansion and extension so that it may be placed in an appropriate framework that can be understood and accepted throughout the research community. It is also key to acknowledge that numerous extensions should be made to best support people with diverse interlocking social identities. Because intersectionality lacks core elements and variables that can be tested and operationalised, it serves as an analytical force that can only be dealt with in a qualitative fashion through dialogue of lived experiences. Because social identities are varied and often intertwine, they cannot rest on race and gender deeming a disenfranchised population as more or less marginalised than the other (Carbin & Edenheim, 2013). Until researchers and practitioners in the educational community acknowledge that there are multiple intersecting identities that lead back to factions of oppression impacting historically marginalised groups, it will be difficult for policy makers, politicians and the research community to honour its importance and utility.

REFERENCES

Bassel, L. & Emejulu, A. 2014. Solidarity under austerity: Intersectionality in France and the United Kingdom. *Politics & Gender*, 10(1): 130. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X13000597

Bearak, M. & Cameron, D. 2016. Here are the 10 countries where homosexuality may be punished by death. *The Washington Post*.

Bhana, D. 2012. "Girls are not free" –In and out of the South African school. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32(2): 352–358. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.06.002

Blake, J.J., Butler, B.R., Lewis, C.W. & Darensbourg, A. 2011. Unmasking the inequitable discipline experiences of urban Black girls: Implications for urban educational stakeholders. *The Urban Review*, 43(1): 90–106. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-009-0148-8

Blake, J.J., Butler, B.R. & Smith, D. 2015. Challenging middle-class notions of femininity: The cause of Black females' disproportionate suspension rates. *Closing the school discipline gap: Research to practice*, 75–88.

Bowleg, L. 2013. Once you've blended the cake, you can't take the parts back to the main ingredients: Black gay and bisexual men's descriptions and experiences of intersectionality. *Sex Roles*, 68(11): 754–767. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0152-4

Brah, A. & Phoenix, A. 2004. Ain't I a woman? Revisiting intersectionality. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 5(3): 75–86.

Braithwaite, R.L., Treadwell, H.M. & Arriola, K.R. 2005. Health disparities and incarcerated women: A population ignored. *American Journal of Public Health*, 95(10): 1679–1681. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2005.065375

Brown, L.M. & Gilligan, C. 1993. Meeting at the crossroads: Women's psychology and girls' development. *Feminism & Psychology*, 3(1): 11–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353593031002

Brown, J., Gable, R.A., Hendrickson, J.M. & Algozzine, B. 1991. Prereferral intervention practices of regular classroom teachers: Implications for regular and special education preparation. *Teacher Education and Special Education*, 14(3): 192–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/088840649101400306

Bryan, J., Day-Vines, N.L., Griffin, D. & Moore-Thomas, C. 2012. The disproportionality dilemma: Patterns of teacher referrals to school counselors for disruptive behavior. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 90(2): 177–190. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1556-6676.2012.00023.x

Bryant, A.L. 1993. Hostile hallways: The AAUW survey on sexual harassment in America's schools. *Journal of School Health*, 63(8): 355–358. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.1993.tb07153.x

Cannon, G.S., Idol, L. & West, J.F. 1992. Educating students with mild handicaps in general classrooms: Essential teaching practices for general and special educators. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 25(5): 300–317. https://doi.org/10.1177/002221949202500509

Carbin, M. & Edenheim, S. 2013. The intersectional turn in feminist theory: A dream of a common language?. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 20(3): 233–248. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506813484723

California Department of Education. 2013. *California common core state standards*. Available at https://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/finalelaccssstandards.pdf [Accessed 22 July 2018].

Chaudhuri, M. 2017. What is new in the new social movements? Rethinking some old categories. In *Social movements* (pp. 167–193). India: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315662084-13

Childs, E.C. 2005. Looking behind the stereotypes of the "angry black woman" an exploration of Black women's responses to interracial relationships. *Gender & Society*, 19(4): 544–561. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205276755

Cho, S. 2013. Post-intersectionality: The curious reception of intersectionality in legal scholarship. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 10(2): 385–404. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000362

Crawford, J. 1997. Best evidence: Research foundations of the bilingual education act. NCBE Report.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1:* article 8.

Crenshaw, K.,2015. Why intersectionality can't wait. *The Washington Post*, 24 September 2015. Web.

Crenshaw, K. 2018. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429499142-5

of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics [1989]. In *Feminist legal theory* (pp. 57–80). London: Routledge.

Crenshaw, K., Ocen, P. & Nanda, J. 2015. Black girls matter: Pushed out, overpoliced, and underprotected. African American Policy Forum.

Davis, A.N. 2015. Intersectionality and international law: recognizing complex identities on the global stage. *Harvard Human Rights Journal,* 28: 205.

Delgado, R. 2010. Rodrigo's reconsideration: Intersectionality and the future of critical race theory. *Iowa Law Review,* 96: 1247.

Downey, D.B. & Pribesh, S. 2004. When race matters: Teachers' evaluations of students' classroom behavior. *Sociology of Education*, 77(4): 267–282. https://doi.org/10.1177/003804070407700401

DuBois, E.C. 1999. *Feminism and suffrage: The emergence of an independent women's movement in America, 1848–1869*. Cornell University Press. https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501711817

Dzodan, F. 2011. My feminism will be intersectional or it will be bullshit. *Tiger Beatdown*, *10*.

Emmer, E.T. 1994. *Classroom management for secondary teachers*. USA: Allyn & Bacon.

Fiske, E. & Ladd, H. 2006. Racial equity in education: How far has South Africa come? *Perspectives in Education*, 24(2): 95–108.

Frazier, P. Steward, J. & Mortensen, H. 2004. Perceived control and adjustment to trauma: A comparison across events. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 23(3): 303–324. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.23.3.303.35452

Gates, G.J. 2014. *LGBT demographics: Comparisons among population-based surveys.* California: UCLA.

George, J.A. 2015. Stereotype and school pushout: Race, gender and discipline disparities. *Arkansas Law Review,* 68: 101–129.

Gouws, A. 2017. Feminist intersectionality and the matrix of domination in South Africa. *Agenda*, 31(1): 19–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2017.1338871

Grabham, E., Cooper, D., Krishnadas, J. & Herman, D. (Eds.). 2008. *Intersectionality and beyond: Law, power and the politics of location*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203890882

Harris, S. 2015. Intersectionality: Going forward. Available at Wee.clydefitchreport.com/2015/01/intersectionality-going-forward/ [Accessed 22 July 2018].

Hulko, W. 2009. The time-and context-contingent nature of intersectionality and interlocking oppressions. *Affilia*, 24(1): 44–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109908326814

Hutchinson, D.J. 1982. More substantive equal protection? A note on Plyler v. Doe. *The Supreme Court Review*, 167–194. https://doi.org/10.1086/scr.1982.3109556

Jiang, Y., Granja, M.R. & Koball, H. 2017. Basic facts about low-income children: Children 6 through 11 Years. Fact Sheet. *National Center for Children in Poverty*.

Kantola, J. & Nousiainen, K. 2009. Institutionalizing intersectionality in Europe: Introducing the theme. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 11(4): 459–477. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616740903237426

Kearney, P., Plax, T.G., Smith, V.R. & Sorensen, G. 1988. Effects of teacher immediacy and strategy type on college student resistance to on-task demands. *Communication Education*, 37(1): 54–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/03634528809378703

Ladson-Billings, G. 1992. Reading between the lines and beyond the pages: A culturally relevant approach to literacy teaching. *Theory into Practice*, 31(4): 312–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849209543558

Ladson-Billings, G. 1995. Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(3): 465–491. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312032003465

Lareau, A. & Horvat, E.M. 1999. Moments of social inclusion and exclusion race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. *Sociology of Education*, 37–53. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673185

Lebron, C.J. 2017. *The making of black lives matter: A brief history of an idea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, E.O.J. & Brotman, S. 2013. Speak out! Structural intersectionality and anti-oppressive practice with LGBTQ refugees in Canada. *Canadian Social Work Review/Revue Canadienne De Service Social*, 157–183.

Lightfoot, D. 2004. Some parents just don't care decoding the meanings of parental involvement in urban schools. *Urban Education*, 39(1): 91–107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085903259290

Mandell, C.J. & Strain, P.S. 1978. An analysis of factors related to the attitudes of regular classroom teachers toward mainstreaming mildly handicapped children. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 3(2): 154–162. https://doi.org/10.1016/0361-476X(78)90022-X

Mehrotra, G. 2010. Toward a continuum of intersectionality theorizing for feminist social work scholarship. *Affilia*, 25(4): 417–430. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109910384190

Miller, J. 2008. *Getting played: African American girls, urban inequality, and gendered violence*. New York: NYU Press.

Misri, D. 2011. "Are you a man?": performing naked protest in India. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 36(3): 603–625. https://doi.org/10.1086/657487

Morris, M. 2016. *Pushout: The criminalization of Black girls in schools*. New York: The New Press.

Myles, B.S. & Simpson, R.L. 1989. Regular educators' modification preferences for mainstreaming mildly handicapped children. *The Journal of Special Education*, 22(4): 479–489. https://doi.org/10.1177/002246698902200408

Núñez, A.M. 2014. Employing multilevel intersectionality in educational research: Latino identities, contexts, and college access. *Educational Researcher*, 43(2): 85–92. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X14522320

Parent, M.C., DeBlaere, C. & Moradi, B. 2013. Approaches to research on intersectionality: Perspectives on gender, LGBT, and racial/ethnic identities. *Sex Roles*, 68(11): 639–645. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0283-2

Radford, G. 1996. *Modern housing for America: Policy struggles in the new deal era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226702216.001.0001

Richie, B. 1996. *Compelled to crime: The gender entrapment of battered black women*. Psychology Press.

Salem, S. 2018. Intersectionality and its discontents: Intersectionality as traveling theory. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(4): 403–418. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506816643999

Singapore Management University. 2018. Why smart firms are out and proud about LGBT expats. Available at https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1397&context=pers [Accessed 22 July 2018].

Smith, S. 2013. Black feminism and intersectionality. *International Socialist Review*, 91(11): 1–16.

Snell, T.L. 1994. *Women in prison: Survey of state prison inmates, 1991*. USA: US Department of Justice.

Spaull, N. 2013. *South Africa's education crisis: The quality of education in South Africa 1994-2011*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Swavola, E., Riley, K. & Subramanian, R. 2016. *Overlooked: Women and jails in an era of reform*. New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice.

Tonnesen, S.C. 2013. Hit it and quit it: Responses to Black girls' victimization in school. *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice*, 28: 1–29.

Wallis, S. 1995. Forced parent involvement. *The Education Digest*, 60(9): 21–25.

Weinstein, C., Curran, M. & Tomlinson-Clarke, S. 2003. Culturally responsive classroom management: Awareness into action. *Theory into Practice*, 42(4): 269–276. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4204_2

Weinstein, C.S., Tomlinson-Clarke, S. & Curran, M. 2004. Toward a conception of culturally responsive classroom management. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55(1): 25–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487103259812

White, A. & Rastogi, S. 2009. Justice by any means necessary: Vigilantism among Indian women. *Feminism & Psychology*, 19(3): 313–327. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353509105622

Winkle-Wagner, R. 2009. *The unchosen me: Race, gender, and identity among Black women in college*. JHU Press.

Wun, C. 2016. Against captivity: Black girls and school discipline policies in the afterlife of slavery. *Educational Policy*, 30(1): 171–196. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904815615439