

INTERSECTIONALITY: *FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE*

An Annotated Bibliography* compiled for the “*Intersectionality from Theory to Practice: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*” Workshop

Simon Fraser University
April 17-18, 2008

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INTERSECTIONALITY: THEORY AND PRINCIPLES

Acker, J. (1999). Rewriting class, race, and gender: Problems in feminist rethinking. In Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber and Beth B. Hess (Eds.), *Revisioning Gender* (p. 44-69). London: Sage Publications.

The author examines the concept of “class” with a view to outlining not only the “invisible” elements of gender, race and ethnicity within traditional constructs of class or social class conflict, but also to propose a more fluid understanding of the concept. Class relations, it is argued, are already embedded within societal processes which themselves create and recreate gender and race relations. Class, therefore, is understood as a series of interconnected processes, rather than as an abstract construct to be analyzed or examined within predefined boundaries of inquiry. This more fluid interpretation of “class” recognizes the ongoing formation of economic relations which are both gender and racially formed, rooted both in family and communities but also within the global organization of capital. Underlying the author’s fluid concept of class, is an understanding of “capitalism” as a constantly mutating or evolving entity, changing forms, but always under the premise of a certain, general logic – exploitation and accumulation of wealth. But as the mutation changes, so too do the classes, and therefore also the forms of gender and racial oppression.

Anderson, J. M. (2000). Gender, 'race', poverty, health and discourses of health reform in the context of globalization: A postcolonial feminist perspective in policy research. *Nursing Inquiry*, 7, pp. 220-229.

Gender, 'race', poverty, health and discourses of health reform in the context of globalization: a postcolonial feminist perspective in policy research In this paper, I draw on extant literature and my empirical work to discuss the impact of globalization and healthcare reform on the lives of women — those from

* Note: Where possible, the authors’ original abstracts have been presented throughout this bibliography, as have a representative sample of the three major strands of intersectional thought (North American, British, Scandinavian)

countries of the South as well as of the North. First, I review briefly the economic hardships identified in different sectors of the population that have been attributed to how globalization is now working. Second, I examine what these global processes mean for health, with particular focus on *poverty, gender, racialization* and health. Third, I reflect on how nurse scientists might develop research agendas in the 21st century that would foster social transformation and social justice for all people. The position taken here is not an indictment of globalization. Rather, I argue that globalization is a fact in all of our lives. There are positive aspects of globalization. There are also negative aspects which we must collectively address, given that the issues identified can have deleterious consequences for the world's poor, women in particular. I suggest that, to construct knowledge for practice and praxis, research agendas of the future should be inclusive of subaltern voices. I argue that drawing on a postcolonial feminist epistemology might help us to define such agendas, and express the multilayered sociopolitical contexts of health and illness in advocacy with policy-makers.

Boellstorff, T. (2007). *Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology. The Annual Review of Anthropology, 36, pp. 17–35.*

This review examines anthropological research on sexuality published in English since 1993, focusing on work addressing lesbian women, gay men, and transgendered persons, as well as on the use of history, linguistics, and geography in such research. Reviewing the emergence of regional literatures, it investigates how questions of globalization and the nation have moved to the forefront of anthropological research on questions of sexuality. The essay asks how questions of intersectionality, inclusion, and difference have shaped the emergence of a queer anthropology or critical anthropology of sexuality, with special reference to the relationship between sexuality and gender.

Bredström, A. (2006). *Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist HIV/AIDS Research? European Journal of Women's Studies, 13:3, pp. 229-243.*

The aim of this article is to engage critically with feminist HIV/AIDS research from an 'intersectional' perspective. Focusing in particular on the work of Tamsin Wilton (1997) and Janet Holland et al. (1998), the article examines how 'race', ethnicity and class are theorized and conceptualized in this literature. Through a scrutiny of their empirical analyses, the article points to the pitfalls of a descriptive approach to 'differences' and problematizes Wilton's and Holland et al.'s theoretical focus on gender and sexuality. The benefit of including a critical perspective on 'race' and ethnicity and other axes of domination is illustrated further using some empirical examples from the Swedish HIV/AIDS policy context. The article concludes by arguing that an intersectional perspective poses a challenge to feminist HIV/AIDS research that needs to be addressed in order to produce an effective sexual health policy.

Brewer, R. M. (1993). Theorizing race, class and gender: The new scholarship of Black feminist intellectuals and Black women's labour. In S. M. James & A. P. A. Busia (Eds.), *Theorizing black feminisms: The visionary pragmatism for Black women*, (pp. 13-30). London: Routledge.

The purpose in this article is to explicate some of the recent theorizing on race, class and gender by Black feminist thinkers in the academy. This theorizing is further explored in an analysis of Black women's labor and African-American class formation. The labor transformation of Black women is explicated in terms of economic restructuring and capital mobility, racial formation and gender inequality. It is a process linking Black women in the Northeast and Midwest to the South and Southwest, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. It is not the tie of poverty to prosperity, but the tie of subordinate status to subordinate status crosscut by internal class differences in all these regions. Most important, only in theorizing the complexity of the intersections of race, class and gender can we adequately prepare to struggle for social change in the African-American community.

Buitelaar, M. (2006). 'I Am the Ultimate Challenge: Accounts of Intersectionality in the Life-Story of a Well-Known Daughter of Moroccan Migrant Workers in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:3, pp. 259-276.

This article aims to demonstrate that the concept of the 'dialogical self' is an identity theory that provides useful tools for studying intersectionality. In terms of the dialogical self, the formation of identity is a process of orchestrating voices within the self that speak from different I-positions. Such voices are embedded in field-specific repertoires of practices, characters, discourses and power relations specific to the various groups to which individuals simultaneously belong. By telling one's life-story, the individual intones these voices and combines them in new ways, thus reshaping them as they use them. The article applies the theoretical concept of the dialogical self to the analysis of the life-story of a relatively well-known female Dutch politician of Moroccan background whose explanation of why she wears a headscarf allows her to combine the religious and political voices in her story with her more hesitant female voice. The words, images and self-evaluations used in her self-narratives demonstrate the ways in which her religious, ethnic and gender identifications are formed and are in dialogue.

Burgess-Proctor, A. (2006). Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology. *Feminist Criminology*, 1:1, pp. 27-47.

More than 30 years after the first scholarship of its kind was produced, feminist studies of crime are more commonplace than ever before. Two recent milestone events—the 20th anniversary of the American Society of Criminology's Division on Women and Crime and the creation of this journal, the official publication of

the division—provide the perfect opportunity to reflect on what lies ahead for feminist criminology. In this article, the author argues that the future of feminist criminology lies in our willingness to embrace a theoretical framework that recognizes multiple, intersecting inequalities. Specifically, the author maintains that to advance an understanding of gender, crime, and justice that achieves universal relevance and is free from the shortcomings of past ways of thinking, feminist criminologists must examine linkages between inequality and crime using an intersectional theoretical framework that is informed by multiracial feminism.

Cole, E.R. (2008). Coalitions as a Model for Intersectionality: From Practice to Theory. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 443-453.

This conceptual paper uses the concept of coalition to theorize an alternative to categorical approaches to intersectionality based on review of an archive of oral history interviews with feminist activists who engage in coalitional work. Two complementary themes were identified: the challenge of defining similarity in order to draw members of diverse groups together, and the need to address power differentials in order to maintain a working alliance. Activists' narratives suggest intersectionality is not only a tool for understanding difference, but also a way to illuminate less obvious similarities. This shift requires that we think about social categories in terms of stratification brought about through practices of individuals, institutions and cultures rather than only as characteristics of individuals. Implications of these themes for research practices are discussed.

Daly, J. (Ed.). (1996). *Ethical intersections: health research, methods, and researcher responsibility*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

This collection of essays on ethics, responsibility, and health research provides an overview of emerging ethical considerations and debates from the perspectives of health researchers. In compiling this volume, Jeanne Daly, a sociologist in the School of Sociology and Anthropology at La Trobe University, set out to document and demonstrate the important social discourse and the careful research ethic of practicing health researchers doing “good, scientific, and ethical research” (p. 245). The purpose of these essays is to facilitate debate between researchers, clinical practitioners, health care consumers, and research ethics committees. As such, Daly has organized the volume into sections with contributions from researchers in the field writing about ethics and the researcher, research and experimental designs, social science health research, community health research (including Aboriginal health and women’s health), and clinical practice.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9:1, pp. 67-85.

Since its inception, the concept of 'intersectionality' — the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination — has been heralded as one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship. Despite its popularity, there has been considerable confusion concerning what the concept actually means and how it can or should be applied in feminist inquiry. In this article, I look at the phenomenon of intersectionality's spectacular success within contemporary feminist scholarship, as well as the uncertainties and confusion which it has generated. Drawing upon insights from the sociology of science, I shall show how and why intersectionality could become a feminist success story. I shall argue that, paradoxically, it is precisely the concept's alleged weaknesses — its ambiguity and open-endedness — that were the secrets to its success and, more generally, make it a good feminist theory.

Dion Stout, M.D., Kipling, G. D. & Stout, R. (2001). *Aboriginal Women's Health Research Synthesis Project Final Report*. Prepared for the Centre of Excellence for Women's Health Research Synthesis Group, Retrieved November 7, 2005 at: www.cwhn.ca/resources/synthesis/synthesis-en.pdf

This report outlines the key findings of the Centres of Excellence for Women's Health (CEWH) Research Synthesis Group initiative to closely examine Aboriginal women's health in Canada and establish key areas for future research in this area. Through a review of previous CEWH initiatives, the Synthesis Group identified that future work in the area of Aboriginal women's health needed to be attentive to a number of key concerns: research methodologies must be clearly articulated and respectful of multiple intersectionalities; particular focus must be paid to under-represented groups; and research initiatives must reflect Aboriginal linguistic and cultural diversity. This report is organized into five sections. In these sections, the authors provide a brief background discussion of the Aboriginal Women's Health Research Synthesis Project, as well as a profile of Aboriginal women and issues relevant to Aboriginal women's health in Canada. They also discuss key themes and insights from previous Aboriginal women's health initiatives and address important considerations for doing research with Aboriginal women. Finally, the report sets out recommendations to promote indigenization and engagement with Aboriginal women in the research process, and to address gaps and weaknesses in Aboriginal Women's health.

Fonow, M.M. & Cook, J.A. (2005). *Feminist Methodology: New Applications in the Academy and Public Policy*. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30:4, pp. 2211-2230.

This article by Mary Margaret Fonow, professor of Women's Studies, Arizona State University, and Judith A Cook, professor in of Psychiatry at University of Illinois at Chicago, examines new trends and innovations in feminist research that build upon earlier work concerned with the epistemological foundations of knowledge. Fonow and Cook argue that while this remains a central concern for feminist research, significant advances have been made that serve to move feminist scholarship from the margins and have produced a "of a much richer

array of resources that are needed to produce and distribute feminist knowledge” while maintaining the liberating and emancipatory goals of feminist research. They provide a table of 37 methods utilised in feminist research and then provide 5 examples of areas where responses to previous dilemmas and innovation is taking place: The epistemic and ontological turn to the body; Reflexivity; Crisis in representation; Social action and policy; and Quantitative methods. The authors suggest an array of reasons for innovation, particularly: a substantial increase in infrastructure and support for feminist research; the engagement of feminist scholars with research across disciplines, perspectives and epistemologies; and continued attention to the intersection of gender with other categories of difference.

García Bedolla, L. (2007). Intersections of Inequality: Understanding Marginalization and Privilege in the Post-Civil Rights Era. *Gender & Society*, 3:2, pp. 232-248.

The post-civil rights era has left an important dilemma in U.S. politics. Despite the fact that the United States has become more integrated across racial and gendered lines since the 1960s, inequality, particularly economic inequality, has grown. Although much of that inequality continues to fall along racial, gender, and class lines, the opportunities afforded by the “rights revolution” have also created an important heterogeneity of privilege within marginal groups. As social scientists, how best can we identify the sources and results of this inequality? More specifically, how can we better understand the crosscutting political effects of both marginalization and privilege within and among groups in U.S. society? I contend that intersections theory may be a useful place to begin, and that the idea of intersectionality could provide a fruitful framework with which to understand issues of inequality in the post-civil rights era. Such a framework would help address some of the theoretical problems that sometimes arise within empirical work on marginal groups in political science and, ideally, allow scholars to understand better how experiences of marginalization and privilege affect the shape and character of American political life.

George, S. (2001). Why Intersectionality Works. *Women in Action*. No.2

The author outlines how, specifically within the context and work of the Division on the Advancement of Women (DAW), has worked within the Framework set out by the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR), to promote intersectionality as a means of tackling *systems of discrimination*. George shows how, especially given the nature of current geo-political inequalities between North and South, it is critical to take into account gender in particular, but also colonization, history, geopolitics, race, ethnicity, or class as a means of understanding how a particular political map has been drawn up, and recognizing each of the above categories as avenues of power, within which discrimination is played out, to varying degrees. On the issue of human trafficking from the South to the North, for example, it would be important to know if or why women from particular nationalities make up the majority of sex trade workers in the North.

This intersectional approach appears not to be accepted by some within the WCAR, however, because it does not provide neat categories for tackling discrimination, clearly labeling who the “victim” is. It is hoped, however, that with alliance building across the different caucuses within the framework, wider support for this more holistic approach to upholding human rights for all, will be achieved.

Goldman, M. & Hatch, M.C. (Eds.). (2000). *Women and Health*. San Diego: Academic Press.

In *Women and Health*, editors Marlene Goldman from the Department of Epidemiology at Harvard School of Public Health, and Maureen Hatch from the Department of Community and Preventive Medicine, Division of Epidemiology, Mt. Sinai School of Medicine, have compiled an extremely comprehensive collection of essays for medical and scientific readers, as well as health care consumers. The rationale for this volume of essays was to provide a “synthesis of the latest research results on a comprehensive range of diseases and conditions that affect women” (p. xix) in order to highlight the importance of understanding the roles of sex and gender in health research and practice, and to help improve the quality of women’s lives. As such, the contributing authors address a broad range of gender-related issues relevant to the behavioral, societal, and biological determinants of health and well being for women and girls across their lifespan, without limiting topics to conditions that are solely unique to women’s health. The editors have organized the volume into five broadly-defined parts, each containing a number of more specific sub-sections that include essays on Women’s Health, The Role of Women in Health Care and Research, Reproductive Health, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, International Women’s Health, Women at Work, Social Determinants of Health, Autoimmune Disorders, Cardiovascular Disease and Cardiovascular Risk in Women, Cancer, Mental Disorders, Poorly Understood Conditions, and Aging.

Green, M. (2002). *Defining Women's Health: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue. Background Draft*. Retrieved April 15, 2002, from: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/womenstudy/events/proposal.htm>

This essay reflects an initial attempt by a historian on the planning committee, Monica Green, to articulate a rough history of recent developments in the field of “women's health” as a way of framing the questions that gave rise to this colloquium. Green has taught a survey course on “The History of Women in Science and Medicine” (covering the Western medical tradition from Greco-Roman Antiquity to the present day) for over 15 years. She recognized what a historically unprecedented shift had occurred in the resources—both intellectual and material—invested in women's health since the 1980s. However, precisely because these developments have occurred so recently, there is as yet no general historical narrative available that brings together the many parts of this global story. This essay highlights some of the tensions and contradictions that

seem to have arisen in this new field. It is presented as a "working document" on which colloquium participants can build.

Hancock, A.M. (2007). When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5:1, pp. 63-79.

In recognizing the power of intersectionality over the past 20 years, as a critical tool aimed at the shortcomings of identity-based theories, the author posits that much of the scholarly literature on the subject has remained only marginal to the study of political science. Specifically, Hancock opens a discussion to advocate new avenues for empirical or quantitative research within politics, seeing intersectionality not only as a powerful normative theoretical argument but also as an approach to conducting empirical research that "emphasizes the interaction of categories of difference"(63). Intersectionality as *approach*, in contrast with *unitary* and *multiple* research approaches, recognizes that categories matter equally but does not determine *a priori* the relationship between these competing/complementing categories. Furthermore it recognizes that these categories are not static but that a dynamic interaction between individual and institutional factors is at play. As such, only by using a fuzzy-set logic, and allowing for intra-category distinctions *and* inter-category similarities to be examined in confluence, can a more holistic empirical study be possible. Hancock also identifies four contexts within which traditions of difference tend to play themselves out, namely hegemonic, structural, disciplinary and interpersonal. She argues that designing policy responses with components in all four of these areas would have greater success than more narrowly targeted policy interventions (74). In this manner, intersectionality, by opening avenues for more focused analysis, would fundamentally reshape the way in which political science research is carried out.

Hankivsky, O. with Blackwood, E., Hunt, R., Pigg, S., Morrow, M., Reid, C. & Patton, C. (2005). Gender, diversity and evidence-based decision making. Discussion Paper. Vancouver: Institute for Critical Studies in Gender and Health, Simon Fraser University.

In this article, we examine the current state of knowledge regarding gender, diversity, and evidence-based decision-making, and identify innovative theoretical and methodological avenues of inquiry to improve its inclusiveness, efficacy, and cost-efficiency. We discuss some of the epistemological assumptions about evidence gathering that create gaps in knowledge generation for culturally and ethnically diverse peoples, and other vulnerable populations. Our primary aim is to draw on intersectional theorizing, to highlight important questions about the social organization of knowledge translation, and identify some of the challenges of evaluating the quality of evidence and integrating different forms of evidence in research and policy.

Hankivsky, O. & Christoffersen, A. (2008). Intersectionality and the Determinants of Health: A Canadian Perspective. *Critical Public Health* 18:3, pp. 271-283.

Despite Canada's leadership in the field of population health, there have been few successes in reducing the country's health inequities. There is an increasing recognition that regardless of the progress made to date, significant gaps remain in comprehending fully the root causes of inequities, including the complex ways in which the determinants of health relate, intersect and mutually reinforce one another. Calls are being made to draw on the theoretical insights of critical social science perspectives to rethink the current framing of health determinants. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the theoretical project of population health by exploring the innovative paradigm of intersectionality to better understand and respond to the 'foundational' causes of illness and disease, which the health determinants perspective seeks to identify and address. While intersectionality has taken hold among health researchers in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, the transformative potential of this approach in the context of health determinants is largely unexamined.

Harding, S. & Norberg, K. (2005). New Feminist Approaches to Social Science Methodologies: An Introduction. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30:4, pp. 2009-2015.

This introduction to a special issue of *Signs* on methodologies is written by co-editors Sandra Harding, Professor, Social Sciences and Comparative Education, and Director, UCLA Center for the Study of Women, and Kathryn Norberg, Associate Professor of History, UCLA. Written for a feminist academic audience, this article describes the ways in which feminists have tried to change the epistemologies and methodologies of their disciplines in the interests of more democratic social relations, for example through critical studies, minimizing power differentials between researched and researcher, and using researcher power for social change. This attempt at transformation is grounded in an understanding of how conventional approaches to social science research have tended to serve the interests of dominant groups and re-entrench status quo social, political and economic hierarchies.

Feminist critiques of conventional methodologies recognize that value free research is an unachievable ideal and that in fact socially engaged research is desirable. The article goes on to point out several feminist concerns about research methods, including how to understand the intersectionality between race, class, gender and other structural societal features; inappropriate essentialization; the problem of phenomena that are both socially constructed and materially real; and the (im)possibility of accurate interpretation and representation among different cultures. Finally, the article summarizes the foci of the collection: the difficulties of interpreted representation within transnational research where the third world is the object of study of the Western researcher; participatory action research and empowerment; difficulties faced by women

researchers when research subjects are men; research ethics; and disciplinary resistance to post-positivist methodologies.

Hill Collins, P. (1993). Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection. *Race, Sex & Class*, 1:1, pp. 25–45.

My presentation today addresses this need for new patterns of thought and action. I focus on two basic questions. First, how can we reconceptualize race, class and gender as categories of analysis? Second, how can we transcend the barriers created by our experiences with race, class, and gender oppression in order to build the types of coalitions essential for social exchange? To address these questions I contend that we must acquire both new theories of how race, class and gender have shaped the experiences not just of women of color, but of all groups. Moreover, we must see the connections between these categories of analysis and the personal issues in our everyday lives, particularly our scholarship, our teaching and our relationships with our colleagues and students. As Andre Lorde points out, change starts with self, and relationships that we have with those around us must always be the primary site of social change.

Hopkins, Peter & Pain, R. (2007). Geographies of age: thinking relationally. *Area*, 39:3, pp. 287–294.

In contrast to recent treatment of other social identities, geographers' work on age still focuses disproportionately on the social-chronological margins – the very young and (to a far lesser extent) the very old – and rarely connects them directly. We outline the benefits of creating relational geographies of age, in order to build out from the recent explosion of children's geographies, and discuss three helpful concepts: intergenerationality, intersectionality and life course. We suggest that participation provides one epistemological vehicle for getting beyond geographies which are mainly adults'.

Knudsen, S. (2005). Intersectionality - A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks. Presented at THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LEARNING AND EDUCATIONAL MEDIA "Caught in the Web or lost in the Textbook?" IUFM DE CAEN (France) 26-29 OCTOBRE 2005. Article accessed on March 25, 2008 at: http://www.caen.iufm.fr/colloque_iartem/pdf/knudsen.pdf

This article presents approaches to intersectionality in theoretical debates and in using the concepts in the analysis of minority cultures and identities. The debate about additive and transversal intersectionality is presented, and is expanded with the complexity of intersectionality. Connected to the concept of intersectionality is the question of power, inspired by Michel Foucault. Power is introduced as procedures of exclusion and inclusion. The use of intersectionality in textbook analysis is presented in the light of textbooks being special or specialized; and normalization, homogenization and classification are introduced as concepts to encircle the "conditions" of textbooks in handling complexity. To

illustrate possible uses of intersectionality in textbook analysis, the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks are drawn attention to. One Norwegian textbook is chosen, because the textbook presents various representations of categories, identities and power in function.

Krieger, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Embodying inequality: epidemiologic perspectives*. Amityville, N.Y.: Baywood Publishing.

To advance the epidemiological analysis of social inequalities in health, and of the ways in which population distributions of disease, disability, and death reflect embodied expressions of social inequality, this volume draws on articles published in the *International Journal of Health Services* between 1990 and 2000. Framed by ecosocial theory, it employs ecosocial constructs of "embodiment"; "pathways of embodiment"; "cumulative interplay of exposure, susceptibility, and resistance across the life course"; and "accountability and agency" to address the question; who and what drives current and changing patterns of social inequalities in health. Especially relevant is Section 1: Social Epidemiology: History, Hypotheses, Methods, and Measurement, focuses on theories and constructs useful for analyzing social inequalities in health related to class, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and disability. Rather than construing these aspects of lived experiences of inequality as solely a matter of personal "identities" and "behaviors," the contributors consider how the political and economic context in which people live enhances—or destroys—their abilities to live healthy, dignified lives.

Lorber, J. (2006). *Shifting Paradigms and Challenging Categories*. *Social Problems*, 53:4, pp. 448–453.

In looking back over the last twenty years, I want to start with the paradigm shift in feminist social sciences and then discuss what has and has not entered mainstream sociology. The paradigm shift in feminist social science starts with the concept of gender as an organizing principle of the overall social order in modern societies and all social institutions, including the economy, politics, religion, the military, education, and medicine, not just the family. In this conceptualization, gender is not just part of personality structures and identity, but is a formal, bureaucratic status, as well as a status in multidimensional stratification systems, political economies, and hierarchies of power.

The second aspect of this paradigm shift is that gender and sexuality are socially constructed. This principle provides the content of gender as an organizational process, a framework for face-to-face interaction, and the behavioral aspects of personal identity.

The third focus is the analysis of the power and social control imbricated in the social construction of gender and sexuality, which lays bare the hegemony of dominant men, their version of masculinity, and heterosexuality.

Fourth, feminist social science has devised research designs and methodologies that have allowed the standpoints of oppressed and repressed women throughout the world to come to the forefront, and which reflect increasingly sophisticated intersectional analyses of class, racial ethnicity, religion, and sexuality.

To what extent have these theoretical and methodological principles, developed in feminist social science over the past 35 years, influenced mainstream sociology? Let me work backward, starting with standpoint theory and methods.

Ludvig, A. (2006). Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13:3, pp. 245-258.

The 'intersectionality' approach in feminist theory postulates that differences between women, such as age, ethnicity, class, nationality, sexuality, etc. do intersect. However, intersectionality starts to get blurred when examined concretely because the list of differences is always endless. There is frequently silence about concrete questions such as: who defines when, where and which of these differences are rendered important in particular conceptions, and which are not? This article examines how categories of difference and identity interplay and intersect by analysing a narrative life-interview with a female migrant to Vienna. It aims to make visible some of her specific identifications and differentiations and how these are located in time and space, by focusing on her self-presentation and the categories of difference such as gender, class and ethnicity that she introduces. Through this the article aims to contribute to discussions of the dynamism of subjectivities and power relations.

Macbeth, H. & Prakash, S. (2001). Health and Ethnicity. London: Taylor and Francis Group.

This timely book explains the diversity in health experience due to determinants and factors that can be described as 'ethnic'. Both 'ethnicity and 'health' are words that have stimulated semantic debate, and yet too seldom is sufficient sensitivity given to the complexity of the issue. The difficulty in understanding ethnic factors contributing to observed pathologies lies in the interaction of genetic variation and lifestyle differences. Diversity in both of these is found within and between cultural subgroups of larger social and geographic categories. Differences range from diet and other consumptions to traditional remedies, from religious beliefs to marriage patterns, from exercise to clothing, and much more. Similarly, psychological and socio-economic correlates of ethnic status are deeply intertwined with the well-being of the individual. Too frequently, academic coverage of this important subject has been scattered in the specialist literature of different disciplines. *Health and Ethnicity* is the first book to bring together perspectives from leading biomedical and social scientists to emphasize the multidisciplinary nature of the topic.

Mahalingam, R., & Janxin, L. (2005). Culture, Essentialism, Immigration and Representations of Gender. *Theory & Psychology*, 15:6

Our paper explores whether a combination of intersectionality and hybridity perspectives will be sufficient to develop a feminist gender psychology of immigrant women that escapes the pitfalls of gender essentialism. Analyses of interviews with Indian immigrant women and self-descriptions of Filipina mail-order brides (MOBs) suggest that intersections of identity can ironically contribute to the essentialization of 'self' as well the 'other'. We argue that essentialist representations among these women mask the role of power between various social intersections of gender. The various modes and contingencies of essentialist idealized representations may be interpreted as psychological strategies employed by Asian immigrant women to locate displaced identity within a transnational and postcolonial history. Further, we argue that the cultural psychological study of gender should examine the costs and benefits of such idealized representations.

Manuel, T. (2006). Envisioning the Possibilities for a Good Life: Exploring the Public Policy Implications of Intersectionality Theory. *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, 28:3/4, pp. 173-203.

Public policy is one of the younger, interdisciplinary subfields in the social sciences, but one of the most promising in terms of its social relevance. While public policy has made major strides in terms of analytical and methodological development, it has largely ignored the development of intersectional theory—a broad theoretical paradigm that has much to offer public policy scholars. In this article, the author discusses the contribution made by intersectionality scholars to the social sciences and advances ways in which intersectionality theory could extend efforts to elucidate public policy outcomes and women's political leadership.

Matsumoto, D. (1994). *Cultural influences on research methods and statistics*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

In this book, Dr. David Matsumoto, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Intercultural and Emotion Research Laboratory at San Francisco State University, addresses the lack of attention paid to issues of cultural diversity in relation to methodology and statistics in research in psychology and sociology. Intended to supplement traditional methods training in undergraduate research methods courses this book explains how culture influences how research is designed, conducted and analyzed, and then provides students with "tips" on conducting cross-cultural studies.

McCall, L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30:3.

With the aim of expanding discussion and research on intersectionality, and delineating methodological approaches to the study of complex social relationships, Leslie McCall describes three approaches to the study of intersectionality that differ principally on their stance toward categories: anticategorical complexity, intercategorical complexity, and intracategorical complexity. The approach known as *anticategorical complexity* begins with the assumption that categories are simple fictions and that human social life is far too complex to be divided in this way. As such, anticategorical complexity is based on a methodology that deconstructs analytical categories. At the other end of the spectrum, *intercategorical complexity* entails the documentation of social relationships using – at least provisionally – existing analytical categories. A third approach, that falls in the middle of the continuum between anticategorical complexity and intercategorical complexity in intersectional research is *intracategorical complexity*. Similar to the first approach, this approach investigated boundary making and boundary defining processes while acknowledging that categories of human social relationships are sometimes stable and even durable. Proponents of this approach tend to study social groups and social relationships among people whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups.

Nash, J.C. (2008). Re-thinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, pp. 1-15.

Intersectionality has become the primary analytic tool that feminist and anti-racist scholars deploy for theorizing identity and oppression. This paper exposes and critically interrogates the assumptions underpinning intersectionality by focusing on four tensions within intersectionality scholarship: the lack of a defined intersectional methodology; the use of black women as quintessential intersectional subjects; the vague definition of intersectionality; and the empirical validity of intersectionality. Ultimately, my project does not seek to undermine intersectionality; instead, I encourage both feminist and anti-racist scholars to grapple with intersectionality's theoretical, political, and methodological murkiness to construct a more complex way of theorizing identity and oppression.

Pinn, V.W. (2005). Research on Women's Health: Progress and Opportunities. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 294:11, pp. 1407-1410.

In this article Vivian Pinn, Director of the Office on Women's Health at the National Institutes of Health, argues that the trajectory of women's health research has led to focus on the continuum of women's health throughout life and a recognition of the need for interdisciplinary and comprehensive research that is not limited to clinical studies, but rather, is inclusive of the full spectrum of research, including molecular, genetic, prevention, and behaviour studies, as well as evaluation of clinical intervention and "clinical translation of newly proven hypotheses." Pinn defines the current major focus of women's health research

as the design and implementation of clinical studies of conditions that affect both women and men to determine what differences exist for women, and thereby providing information for gender-specific care. She suggests that future priorities in research include an emphasis on chronic and preventable illnesses, research on the effects of sex as a modifier of gene function and response, further research to understand the menopausal transition and postmenopausal health, further research on CVD, diseases that differentially affect women like autoimmune diseases, infectious diseases, breast cancer and other forms of cancer. Pinn concludes that NIH inclusion policies have enhanced attention given to women's health research, that basic research and clinical trial methods are crucial to future research, that clinical knowledge translation is crucial, as is advancing the careers of women's health researchers.

Prins, B. (2006). Narrative Accounts of Origins: A Blind Spot in the Intersectional Approach? *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13:3, pp. 277-290.

This article uses a study of the life-story narratives of former classmates of Dutch and Moluccan descent to argue that the constructionist approach to intersectionality, with its account of identity as a narrative construction rather than a practice of naming, offers better tools for answering questions concerning intersectional identity formation than a more systemic intersectional approach. The case study also highlights the importance of the quest for origins in narratives. It demonstrates that theories of intersectionality are not justified in subsuming the issue of belonging under the identity marker of ethnicity, when all identities are performatively produced in and through narrative enactments that include the precarious achievement of belonging. The case study demonstrates that if narrative accounts of a (singular or collective) life fail to achieve narrative closure regarding *roots*, attempts to trace *routes* are seriously hampered.

Purdie-Vaughns, V. & Eibach, R.P. (2008). Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 377-391.

The hypothesis that possessing multiple subordinate-group identities renders a person "invisible" relative to those with a single subordinate-group identity is developed. We propose that androcentric, ethnocentric, and heterocentric ideologies will cause people who have multiple subordinate-group identities to be defined as non-prototypical members of their respective identity groups. Because people with multiple subordinate-group identities (e.g., ethnic minority woman) do not fit the prototypes of their respective identity groups (e.g., ethnic minorities, women), they will experience what we have termed "intersectional invisibility." In this article, our model of intersectional invisibility is developed and evidence from historical narratives, cultural representations, interest-group politics, and anti-discrimination legal frameworks is used to illustrate its utility. Implications for social psychological theory and research are discussed.

Risman, B. (2004). Gender as Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism. *Gender & Society*, 18:4, pp. 429-450.

In this article, the author argues that we need to conceptualize gender as a social structure, and by doing so, we can better analyze the ways in which gender is embedded in the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions of our society. To conceptualize gender as a structure situates gender at the same level of general social significance as the economy and the polity. The author also argues that while concern with intersectionality must continue to be paramount, different structures of inequality have different constructions and perhaps different influential causal mechanisms at any given historical moment. We need to follow a both/and strategy to understand gender structure, race structure, and other structures of inequality as they currently operate while also systematically paying attention to how these axes of domination intersect. Finally, the author suggests we pay more attention to doing research and writing theory with explicit attention to how our work can indeed help transform as well as inform society.

Robbins, W. (2007). Francis a First. *Herizons*, 21:2, pp. 35-36.

Balancing paid work and study, Francis earned a bachelor of arts from Saint Mary's University, a master's degree in public administration from New York University, a certificate in equal opportunity studies from Cornell University and a certificate in theological studies from the Atlantic School of Theology. Early in her career she worked as a human rights officer at the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. Francis advanced women's equality and employment equity through positions at Dalhousie University in Halifax and the District Attorney's Office in Kings County, New York. She became the province's ombudsman from 2000 to 2003 and went on to head the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, a post she held until 2006. Her feminist credentials also include service at the Ontario Women's Directorate and a stint at the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, where, in the early 1990s, she helped educate her council peers on the importance of "intersectionality," or what some now simply call an integrated feminist analysis that addresses both gender and race. She has worked on international projects in Brazil and Ghana.

Ruzek, S., Olesenn, V.L. & Clarke, A.E. (1997). *Women's Health: Complexities and Differences*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

This book, edited by Adele E. Clarke, professor of sociology and of the history of health sciences at the University of California, San Francisco, Virginia L. Olesen, professor of sociology in the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, School of Nursing, at the University of California, San Francisco, and Sheryl Burt Ruzek, professor of Health and Education at Temple University, brings together a diverse set of contributions from scholars, practitioners, activists and advocates in the area of women's health. The goal of this book is to provide a text for scholars and students that places women's health in a broad social and theoretical context and addresses the role of intersectionality in health. The

editors of this book encouraged the contributors to address “differences among women” in each of their chapters in order to avoid having these issues addressed only as separate chapters. Contributions were sought from a wide range of women with different lived experiences and “involvement in diverse communities.” The 23 chapters cover a wide range of women’s health issues ranging from biomedical, social, cultural and political.

Schultz, A.J. & Mullings, L. (Eds.). (2005). *Gender, Race, Class and Health: Intersectional Approaches*. Indianapolis: Wiley

Gender, Race, Class, and Health examines relationships between economic structures, race, culture, and gender, and their combined influence on health. The authors systematically apply social and behavioral science to inspect how these dimensions intersect to influence health and health care in the United States. This examination brings into sharp focus the potential for influencing policy to improve health through a more complete understanding of the structural nature of race, gender, and class disparities in health.

Shields, S. (2008). *Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective*. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 301-311.

Intersectionality, the mutually constitutive relations among social identities, is a central tenet of feminist thinking and has transformed how gender is conceptualized in research. In this special issue, we focus on the intersectionality perspective in empirical research on gender. Our goal is to offer a “best practices” resource that provides models for when and how intersectionality can inform theory and be incorporated into empirical research on psychological questions at individual, interpersonal, and social structural levels. I briefly summarize the development of the intersectionality perspective, and then review how the realization of its promise has been diverted by preoccupation with intersectionality as a methodological challenge. I conclude with a discussion of why intersectionality is an urgent issue for researchers invested in promoting positive social change.

Simien, E. (2007). *Doing Intersectionality Research: From Conceptual Issues to Practical Examples*. *Politics & Gender*, 3:2, pp. 264-271.

Research interrogating the simultaneity of oppression in American politics is rare. Political scientists, as compared to scholars of other disciplines, have paid far less attention to the ways in which race and gender operate in tandem to produce and maintain the unequal distribution of power and privilege in the American political system. Far too often, political scientists have treated race and gender as separate, dichotomous variables in regression models that employ either/or versus both/and identity categorizations. That is to say, political science as a discipline historically has had limited relevance and prescriptive utility for individuals and groups that confront interlocking systems of oppression, as it has largely ignored the intersection (or interaction) of race, class, and gender in

American politics. For example, political scientists have seldom studied those who struggle with dual identity—specifically, African-American women—with a critical eye attentive to the ways in which race, gender, and class shape their public opinion and political behavior, as well as election campaigns and legislative decisions. Feeling called upon to both articulate and translate the complexities of life for African-American women, scholars from Jewel Prestage and Mae King to Linda Williams and Shelby Lewis have played a critical role in bringing to the academic fore the study of intersecting patterns of discrimination, as they unveiled a “portrait of marginality” and provided the theoretical framework on which intersectionality research is based today. The recent publication of several books and articles on and by African-American women in political science clearly attests to this fact (see, for example, Berger 2004; Hancock 2004; Jordan-Zachery 2003; Simien 2006; Smooth 2006). These works, concentrating as they do on race and gender, are excellent examples of intersectionality research authored by political scientists.

Spitzer, D.L. (2004). *What’s Sex and Gender Got to Do with It? Integrating Sex and Gender into Health Research*. Canadian Institute of Gender and Health. Final Report, Spring 2004. Accessed November 7, 2005 from www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/25131.html

This report, published by the Canadian Institutes of Gender and Health (CIHR), summarizes the outcomes of the CIHR-IGH first International Think Tank on Sex, Gender, and Health, which was held in Ottawa between February 27 and March 1, 2003. The Think Tank brought together national and international participants from a wide-range of disciplines (including academics, government officials, representatives from non-governmental organizations, and national voluntary health organizations) to discuss the multiple meanings of the concepts of sex and gender and the significance of their integration into a programme of health research. The meeting set out to accomplish two primary goals. First, to provide a forum for the discussion of ideas that would help make stronger science through the integration of sex and gender in health research, and second, to facilitate a deeper understanding of some of the complexities of such work. Beginning with the CIHR cross-pillar – biomedical, clinical, health systems and services, and population and public health – and across Institute framework, the meeting provided participants with an opportunity to debate some of the challenges of integrative health research and discuss innovative ways to overcome these obstacles. A consensus was reached that recognized sex and gender as complex concepts that are influenced by cultural, social and political contexts, and participants recommended that innovative methodologies and analytical tools be developed to attend to exploring the significance of sex and gender in health research (CIHR: 2).

Squires, J. (2008). *Intersecting Inequalities: Reflecting on the Subjects and Objects of Equality*. *The Political Quarterly*, 79:1

The creation of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) marks a profound shift in the British approach to equality, bringing together equality strands that were previously institutionally discrete. This both reflects and potentially facilitates a growing concern to address multiple forms of inequality via a united 'equalities' agenda. It also raises the possibility that UK equality institutions will be better able to engage with issues of 'intersectionality', providing new possibilities for negotiating multiple and cross-cutting equality considerations. Much of the debate surrounding the creation of the EHRC focused on whether diverse inequalities should be tackled via single equalities laws and integrated equality institutions, or whether there are specific causes and features of different forms of inequality requiring separate equality laws and distinct equality institutions.

The question confronting us now that the EHRC has been established is how an integrated equality institution can and should address multiple equality agendas. Should it continue to address single strand issues via separate equality laws? Should it aim to address intersectional and multiple discrimination issues as well? Or should it perhaps be concerned with more generic, less group-based, equalities considerations. My sense is that it needs to do all three, and that the real 'value-added' contribution of the EHRC lies in its potential to adopt a 'joined-up' approach to equality that is better able to negotiate issues of intersectionality. The correlative danger is that considerations of structural inequality will be eclipsed by more market driven equality considerations that are framed by a 'diversity management' agenda.

This approach takes a utility-based approach to equality rather than a social-justice approach, depicting equality as a means to a greater end: economic productivity. EHRC's future directions will, to a large extent, be shaped by the way equality comes to be conceived: whether equality's subjects are understood to be individuals or groups; and whether equality's object is deemed to be economic utility or social justice.

Staunæs, D. (2003). Where Have all the Subjects Gone? Bringing together the concepts of Intersectionality and Subjectification. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 11:2, pp. 101 - 110.

The concept of intersectionality is often used to grasp the interconnections between the traditional background categories of gender, ethnicity, race, age, sexuality and class. The concept can be a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people seem to get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalized. In research focused on subjectification and the variability of social life, a retooling and differentiating of the concept is needed. We do not know how the overall categories work and intersect with the lived experiences of subjects and we need to rethink the concept, which can be useful in specifying the troublesomeness of some subjectivities in a diverse and complex version of lived experience. By taking into account the above-mentioned shortcomings, the article lays the foundation for a theoretical reworking of the

concept, grounded in empirical studies of subjectification processes on a subject level in a school context.

Sweetman, C. (Ed.). (2004). Gender, development, and diversity. Oxford: Oxfam

The books in Oxfam's Focus on gender series were originally published as single issues of the journal Gender and development. *Contents:* Editorial / Caroline Sweetman -- Organisational strategy in India and diverse identities of women : bridging the gap / Ranjani K. Murthy -- When sharing female identity is not enough : coalition building in the midst of political polarisation in Zimbabwe / Everjoice J. Win -- Microfinance from the point of view of women with disabilities : lessons from Zambia and Zimbabwe / Cindy Lewis -- Gender, identity, and diversity : learning from insights gained in transformative gender graining / Dorine Plantenga -- Promoting cultural diversity and the rights of women : the dilemmas of 'intersectionality' for development organisations / Liesbeth van der Hoogte and Koos Kingma -- Diversity in Oxfam GB : engaging the head and turning the heart / Bimla Ojelay-Surtees -- Poverty reduction policy responses to gender and social diversity in Uganda / Dereje Wordofa -- Empowerment through activism : responding to domestic violence in the South Asian community in London / Aisha Gill and Gulshun Rehman -- Resources / Edited by Erin Leigh.

Valentine, G. (2007). Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography. *Professional Geographer*, 59:1, pp. 10-21.

This article focuses on the concept of intersectionality, which is being used within the wider social sciences by feminists to theorize the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, sexuality, and so forth. Although research within the field of feminist geography has explored particular interconnections such as those between gender and race, the theoretical concept of intersectionality as debated in the wider social sciences has not been addressed. This article attempts to respond to that omission. It begins by tracing the emergence of debates about the interconnections between gender and other identities. It goes on to reflect on attempts to map geometries of oppressions. The emphasis then moves from theorizing intersectionality to questioning how it can be researched in practice by presenting a case study to illustrate intersectionality as lived experience. The conclusion demonstrates the contribution that feminist geography can make to advance the theorization of intersectionality through its appreciation of the significance of space in processes of subject formation. It calls for feminist geography to pay more attention to questions of power and social inequalities.

Varcoe, C., Hankivsky, O. & Morrow, M. (2007). Introduction: Beyond Gender Matters. From *Women's Health in Canada: Critical Perspectives on Theory and Policy*, (pp. 3-30). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

As an introduction and overview to the entire text, the author outlines the trends which have marked research into women's health in Canada, discussing both women in the health care system, as well as traditional and critical perspectives on women's health research. Attributing the emphasis on woman-centered approaches to health research stemming from second wave feminist thought, the author points to contributions and drawbacks of sex and gender analysis. These last approaches are discussed in comparison with gender neutral approaches which have been traditionally used in health research, to the exclusion of gender-specific needs. However, it is also shown in contrast to emerging intersectional approaches, which help to highlight the experience of gender, as it might relate to healthcare needs, simultaneously with the experiences of class, race, sexual orientation and other forms of social difference. With specific focus on Canada, current issues and challenges within a women's health framework, include reform to a system which is not taking into account gender-specific concerns; reduction of program spending; a continuing decrease in political and financial support in the areas of women's health research; a perceived backlash against the very concept of gender-specific medical attention and research; within feminist research itself there appears to be a tendency toward essentialist modes of thinking which give primacy to gender over all other markers of individual and societal identification and to their attendant healthcare needs; politically, a more liberal individualist ideology has hindered this very search for more intersectional approaches at understanding complex healthcare needs.

Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13:3, pp. 211-228.

The European Union (EU), a pioneer in gender equality policies, is moving from predominantly attending to gender inequality, towards policies that address multiple inequalities. This article argues that there are tendencies at EU level to assume an unquestioned similarity of inequalities, to fail to address the structural level and to fuel the political competition between inequalities. Based upon a comparison of specific sets of inequalities (class, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation and gender), this article explores where and how structural and political intersectionality might be relevant. It argues that a 'one size fits all' approach to addressing multiple discriminations is based on an incorrect assumption of sameness or equivalence of the social categories connected to inequalities and of the mechanisms and processes that constitute them. Focusing on similarities ignores the differentiated character and dynamics of inequalities. It also overlooks the political dimension of equality goals. Moreover, it has become clear that attention to structural mechanisms and to the role of the state and the private sphere in reproducing inequalities is much needed. The final part of the article presents constructive ideas for a more comprehensive way of addressing multiple inequalities.

Vinz, D. & Dören, M. (2007). Diversity Policies and Practices: A New Perspective for Health Care. *Journal of Public Health*, 15:5, pp. 369-376.

Globalization and migration intensify relations of interdependence between individuals all over the world and lead to complex forms of social and cultural diversity both within and across societies. The changing structure of family patterns and processes of individualization also contribute to growing diversity. Organizations and actors in health care will therefore also be challenged to achieve social inclusion of care seekers with different social and cultural backgrounds. Disparities in the health status of people from socially and culturally diverse backgrounds have been examined broadly, but the question is how diversity as an innovative concept will influence any agenda of research on human health and health care provision.

The purpose of this article is to theorize what a diversity framework could imply for health research and care system alike. Our thesis is that diversity as a reference point for research and practices will gain significance in Germany and Europe. We will present methodologies to understand diversity and “intersectionality” as paradigms to investigate the complexity and interdependence of health modifiers. Diversity as a conceptual framework applied to the health care field has yet to prove whether it may be a new tool possibly worthwhile to be developed to improve quality of care - but it has the potential to meet the challenges of health equity, defined in terms of resource allocations and access to health care determined by needs of multiple groups of patients.

Walby, S. (2007). Complexity Theory, Systems Theory, and Multiple Intersecting Social Inequalities. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 37:4, pp. 449-470.

This article contributes to the revision of the concept of system in social theory using complexity theory. The old concept of social system is widely discredited; a new concept of social system can more adequately constitute an explanatory framework. Complexity theory offers the toolkit needed for this paradigm shift in social theory. The route taken is not via Luhmann, but rather the insights of complexity theorists in the sciences are applied to the tradition of social theory inspired by Marx, Weber, and Simmel. The article contributes to the theorization of intersectionality in social theory as well as to the philosophy of social science. It addresses the challenge of theorizing the intersection of multiple complex social inequalities, exploring the various alternative approaches, before rethinking the concept of social system. It investigates and applies, for the first time, the implications of complexity theory for the analysis of multiple intersecting social inequalities.

Weasel, L. (2004). Feminist Intersections in Science: Race, Gender and Sexuality Through the Microscope. *Hypatia*, 19:2, pp. 183-193.

This paper investigates the mutual embeddedness of ‘nature’ and ‘culture,’ as well as the intersections between race, gender, and sexuality, in the story of the HeLa cell line as viewed by a practicing feminist scientist. It provides a feminist

analysis of the scientific discourse surrounding the HeLa cell line, and explores how feminist theories of science can provide a constructive and critical lens through which laboratory scientists can view their work.

Weber, L. (2005). *Reconstructing the Landscape of Health Disparities Research: Promoting Dialogue and Collaboration Between Feminist Intersectional and Biomedical Paradigms*. In: Schultz, A. J. & Mullings, L. (eds.) *Gender, Race, Class and Health: Intersectional Approaches* (pp. 21-59). Indianapolis: Wiley.

Current scholarship on health disparities in the biomedical scientific stream and in social science research, tend to employ ideals of a more positivist paradigm, thus sharing common assumptions, understandings and methodologies. As such, argues the author, they serve to reinforce the already entrenched hierarchies of knowledge and research, further separating the researcher from the research subject, and creating a “role of expert who controls all aspects of the research process.” The author looks at limitations and bias within the biomedical paradigm, including a lack of challenge of science itself (in terms of its relationship with class, race, sex, gender and national power in the shaping of its own underlying methodologies). Instead the author proposes an effective use of feminist and intersectional scholarship in the hopes of creating a more critical dialogue within the biomedical field. Such a proposal would bring together a better understanding of the “orientation and purpose” of the research being conducted, the roles of “contextually specific social constructions” and “multilevel power relations” within the research, and a recognition of the “simultaneity and connections” within and between systems of inequality. To this end, the author proposes dialogue within health research so as to temper the dominance of the biomedical paradigm, recognizing points of convergence between dominant and critical modes of research; to incorporate power-relational analysis into the research; to seek balance between measurement and meaning within research; and to privilege the perspectives of marginalized or subordinate groups reflected within the research. The above will require a shifting of understanding so as to incorporate critical theories on a level playing field with their dominant counterparts and to promote the use of accessible, plain language within medical research and practice.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics*. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 13:3, pp. 193-209.

This article explores various analytical issues involved in conceptualizing the interrelationships of gender, class, race and ethnicity and other social divisions. It compares the debate on these issues that took place in Britain in the 1980s and around the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism. It examines issues such as the relative helpfulness of additive or mutually constitutive models of intersectional social divisions; the different analytical levels at which social divisions need to be studied, their ontological base and their relations to each other. The final section of the article attempts critically to assess a specific

intersectional methodological approach for engaging in aid and human rights work in the South.

INTERSECTIONALITY: METHODOLOGIES AND PRACTICE

Alexander, K., Entwisle, D. & Bedinger, S. (1994). When Expectations Work: Differences in School Performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 13:3, pp. 283-299.

Why are expectations for future performance realized more often by some people than by others, and why are such differences in the efficacy of performance expectations socially patterned? We hypothesize that differences in attentiveness to performance feedback may be relevant, reasoning that follow-through behaviors will be less well conceived when expectations are formed without regard to evaluation of previous performance. Using data from Baltimore fourth-grade students and their parents, we find that expectations anticipate marks more accurately when recall of prior marks is correct than when it is incorrect. Because errors of recall (mostly on the high side) are more common among lower-SES and minority children and their parents, their school performance is affected most strongly. Research on school attainment process from a motivational perspective must give more attention to the additional resources that facilitate successful goal attainment, given high expectations. Our perspective focuses on resources internal to the individual, but external constraints also are important. The discussion stresses the need for further work in both areas.

Atiba Goff, P., Thomas, M.A. & Jackson, M.C. (2008). “Ain’t I a Woman?”: Towards an Intersectional Approach to Person Perception and Group-based Harms. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 392-403.

Our research examines whether intersecting racial and gender identities affect person perception. Predominantly White undergraduates (292) from a large northeastern U.S. university categorized and rated pictures (Study 1) and videos (Study 2) of Black and White men and women. We supported three hypotheses: 1) intersectionality affects person perception processes, leading to gender categorization errors for Black women; 2) “Blackness” and “maleness” are highly associated for Black male and female targets; and, 3) women are perceived as unattractive proportionally to their perceived masculinity, leading Black women to be rated as less attractive than other women. We suggest that intersectional approaches are required in order to fully understand person perception. Further, the Black/male association may lead to unique harms for Black women.

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 312-325.

The notion that social identities and social inequality based on ethnicity, sexual orientation, and sex/gender are intersectional rather than additive poses a variety of thorny methodological challenges. Using research with Black lesbians (Bowleg, manuscripts in preparation; Bowleg et al., *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 2008; Bowleg et al., *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology* 10:229–240, 2004; Bowleg et al., *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 7:87–108, 2003) as a foundation, I examine how these challenges shape measurement, analysis, and interpretation. I argue that a key dilemma for intersectionality researchers is that the additive (e.g., Black + Lesbian + Woman) versus intersectional (e.g., Black Lesbian Woman) assumption inherent in measurement and qualitative and quantitative data analyses contradicts the central tenet of intersectionality: social identities and inequality are interdependent for groups such as Black lesbians, not mutually exclusive. In light of this, interpretation becomes one of the most substantial tools in the intersectionality researcher’s methodological toolbox.

Brewer, R. & Heitzeg, N. (2008). The Racialization of Crime and Punishment Criminal Justice, Color-Blind Racism, and the Political Economy of the Prison Industrial Complex. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 51:5, pp. 625-644.

The current explosion in criminalization and incarceration is unprecedented in size, scope, and negative consequences—both direct and collateral—for communities of color. These macro systems exist in relationality to the micro dynamics of living in the midst of police scrutiny, economic marginalization, and political disenfranchisement. Critical race theory is a guide for pedagogy and praxis in exploring the racist and classist foundations of current micro and macro injustices. Using Supreme Court opinions and the voices of political prisoner/prisoners of conscience as evidence of the dominant text and the dissent, this article explores the following issues: the roots of U.S. law, criminal justice, and mass imprisonment in classism and racism; the political economy of the criminal justice system and the prison industrial complex; the intersectionality of injustices rooted in micro and macro systems; and the role of prisoners of conscience/political prisoners in inspiring resistance to micro and macro injustice.

Burman, E. (2004). From difference to intersectionality: challenges and resources. *European Journal of Psychotherapy, Counselling and Health*, 6:4, pp. 293-308.

In this article, Erica Burman, Professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychology & Speech Pathology at Manchester Metropolitan University, provides a critical evaluation of key problems that can arise in the discourse of “enabling difference” when analyses of power relations & practices are inattentive to the multiple intersections of difference, such as gender and culture. Burman draws on the concept of intersectionality to highlight – at the intersection of gender and culture – four key problems with the discourse of enabling difference, particularly for minority women in Great Britain who may seek therapeutic health services. 1) In notions of cultural autonomy, as it often reflects liberal individualism, violence

against women can become subject to cultural relativity; 2) Concerns about being culturally inappropriate can lead to “race anxiety” and the subsequent failure to challenge assumptions about culturally specific practices; 3) Notions of cultural autonomy and cultural respect prioritize cultural identification over gender; 4) The centralization of discourses of specialization can work to exclude minority women from service provision, and at the same time, obscure state barriers that collude with their continued oppression.

Collins, P.Y., von Unger, H. & Armbrister, A. (2008). Church ladies, good girls, and locas: Stigma and the intersection of gender, ethnicity, mental illness, and sexuality in relation to HIV risk. *Social Science & Medicine*, 67, pp. 389-397.

Inner city women with severe mental illness may carry multiple stigmatized statuses. In some contexts these include having a mental illness, being a member of an ethnic minority group, being an immigrant, being poor, and being a woman who does not live up to gendered expectations. These potentially stigmatizing identities influence both the way women’s sexuality is viewed and their risk for HIV infection. This qualitative study applies the concept of intersectionality to facilitate understanding of how these multiple identities intersect to influence women’s sexuality and HIV risk. We report the firsthand accounts of 24 Latina women living with severe mental illness in New York City. In examining the interlocking domains of these women’s sexual lives, we find that the women seek identities that define them in opposition to the stigmatizing label of “loca” (Spanish for crazy) and bestow respect and dignity. These identities have unfolded through the additional themes of “good girls” and “church ladies”. Therefore, in spite of their association with the “loca”, the women also identify with faith and religion (“church ladies”) and uphold more traditional gender norms (“good girls”) that are often undermined by the realities of life with a severe mental illness and the stigma attached to it. However, the participants fall short of their gender ideals and engage in sexual relationships that they experience as disempowering and unsatisfying. The effects of their multiple identities as poor Latina women living with severe mental illness in an urban ethnic minority community are not always additive, but the interlocking effects can facilitate increased HIV risks. Interventions should acknowledge women’s multiple layers of vulnerability, both individual and structural, and stress women’s empowerment in and beyond the sexual realm.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43:6, pp. 1241-1299.

Domestic abuse and rape effect women of color differently than they effect white women because both the programs developed to help abused women and the laws created to punish domestic violence ignore the ways that race and gender discrimination combine to exclude women of color. Women of color lack political influence and are largely excluded from policy decision making, and thus their

concerns are overlooked or misunderstood. Women of color who are victims of domestic abuse must organize to gain greater political power and remedy the effect that racism has on ignoring or discounting the violence they face as women.

Cummings, J. & Braboy-Jackson, P. (2008). Race, Gender, and SES Disparities in Self-Assessed Health, 1974-2004. *Research on Aging*, 30:2, pp. 137-168.

Despite improvements in the status of Blacks and women over the past 30 years, racial and gender disparities in mortality and morbidity persist. Using General Social Survey (GSS) data from 1974 to 2004, the authors explore the extent to which race, gender, and socioeconomic status converge to produce differences in self-assessed health. The intersectionality paradigm is used to guide this work on health disparities. The authors find that the gender gap in self-assessed health has narrowed significantly over this 30-year time period. This decreased gap is especially pronounced because of the marked improvement over time in Black women's reports of their health. However, Black women continue to report the lowest levels of self-assessed health even in 2004. In fact, Black women who hold a college degree report worse health than White men, White women, and Black men with a high school diploma.

Deeb-Sossa, N. (2007). Helping the "Neediest of the Needy": An Intersectional Analysis of Moral-Identity Construction and a Community Health Clinic. *Gender & Society*, 21:5, pp. 749-772.

Drawing on data from 18 months of participant observation and interviews at a community health clinic in North Carolina, the author illustrates how an intersectional perspective deepens our understanding of the construction of a moral identity. In this case, the author examines the moral identity of health care providers—all women—who provide family planning and contraceptive counseling for women clients. The author analyzes how maternity care coordinators—two whites and two Latinas—craft a moral identity by drawing on the cultural toolkit available to them, using gendered frames but also racial, class, and nationalist frames. An intersectional lens helps us better understand how maternity care coordinators' moral identities are shaped by their different locations within racism, classism, and nationalism.

Dillaway, H. & Broman, C. (2001). Race, Class, and Gender Differences in Marital Satisfaction and Divisions of Household Labor Among Dual-Earner Couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22:3, pp. 309-327.

Previous attempts to account for varying levels of marital satisfaction have considered many factors. Yet, these attempts have rarely looked at the connections among race, class, and gender as explanations for differences in satisfaction. This article illustrates the importance of examining unique race-class-gender locations of individuals when studying marital satisfaction. The

authors introduce a more complex analysis of the connections among race, class, and gender effects in the production of marital satisfaction. The authors' data, which are drawn from a national survey, consist of 492 individuals in dual-earner couples. Study results provide information on variations in marital satisfaction across groups and substantial evidence that we must move beyond analyses that concentrate only on race, class, or gender differences by themselves. The authors' discussion addresses possible reasons why race-class-gender connections are important factors in determining marital satisfaction. The authors conclude that an analysis of connections among structural inequalities is one of the best directions for future research.

Dworkin, S. L. (2005). Who is epidemiologically fathomable in the HIV/AIDS epidemic? Gender, sexuality, and intersectionality in Public Health. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7:6, pp. 615–623.

This paper examines the shifting nature of contemporary epidemiological classifications in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It first looks at assumptions that guide a discourse of vulnerability and circulate around risk categories. It then examines the underlying emphasis in public health on the popular frame of “vulnerable women” who acquire HIV through heterosexual transmission. Drawing on work on gender, sexuality, and intersectionality, the paper asks why a discourse of vulnerability is infused into discussions of heterosexually active women's HIV risks but not those pertaining to heterosexually active men's. The paper then moves to current surveillance categories that are hierarchically and differentially applied to women's and men's risks in the HIV epidemic. Here, the focus is on the way in which contemporary classifications allow for the emergence of the vulnerable heterosexually active woman while simultaneously constituting lack of fathomability concerning bisexual and lesbian transmission risk. Lastly, theories of intersectionality, are used to examine current research on woman-to-woman transmission, and to suggest future more productive options.

Gallant, M.P. & Dorn, G.P. (2001). Gender and race differences in the predictors of daily health practices among older adults. *Health Education Research*, 16:1, pp. 21-31.

Preventive health behaviors are crucial for older adults' well-being. This study examined the factors that influence the practice of positive daily health behaviors over time in a sample of older adults (N = 1266) and investigated whether explanatory factors differ by health behavior, gender or race. Physical activity, weight maintenance, smoking, alcohol consumption and sleep patterns were examined as dependent variables. Independent variables included demographic characteristics, baseline health behavior, health status variables, psychological factors and social network characteristics. Results indicate that age and health status are important predictors of preventive health behaviors. However, the factors that predict preventive health behaviors vary by behavior, gender and race. The independent variables included in this study were most successful in explaining cigarette smoking and weight maintenance, and least successful in

explaining amount of sleep. In addition, results suggest that social network variables are particularly influential for women's health behaviors, while health status is more influential among men. Greater education predicts better health behaviors among whites, while formal social integration seems particularly important for the health behaviors of older black women. These results indicate that examining older adults' health behaviors by race and gender leads to a fuller understanding of these behaviors.

Greenwood, R.M. (2008). Intersectional Political Consciousness: Appreciation for Intragroup Differences and Solidarity in Diverse Groups. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32, pp. 36–47.

This article introduces an intersectional approach to political consciousness and presents data to demonstrate its importance for predicting solidarity in diverse social change organizations. Women activists (N = 174) completed measures of political consciousness, diversity, and solidarity. As expected, women differed in the degree to which their political consciousness reflected intersectionality (sensitivity to intragroup differences arising from intersections of social identities, such as ethnicity with gender) and singularity (focus on intragroup similarities arising from a shared social identity, such as gender). Although high group diversity related to lower solidarity, the content of political consciousness moderated the negative association of diversity to solidarity. High diversity had a negative association with solidarity only when political consciousness reflected a high degree of singularity and a low degree of intersectionality. These findings challenge the common assumption that diversity undermines a group's ability to work together and suggest that, when appreciation of difference is an important aspect of an individual's identity, solidarity with a social change organization may be greater when group diversity is high rather than low.

Greenwood, R.M. & Christian, A. (2008). What Happens When We Unpack the Invisible Knapsack? Intersectional Political Consciousness and Inter-group Appraisals. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 404-417.

How does consciousness of the intersection of white privilege with gender discrimination affect white women's appraisals of Muslim women? White, female, non-Muslim undergraduates at a Scottish university (n=37) were primed with either singular or intersectional group consciousness via a measure of political attitudes before they completed an ostensibly unrelated study about impression formation. As predicted, participants primed with intersectional consciousness reported more accepting attitudes toward covering practices and formed more positive impressions of the Muslim woman, but this effect was moderated by participants' political orientation. Results support an intersectional approach to conceptualizing political consciousness and suggest that the content of political consciousness is key to understanding appraisals of and responses to difference.

Hankivsky, O., Blackwood, E., Hunt, R., Pigg, S., Morrow, M., Reid, C. & Patton, C. (2006). Gender, Diversity and Evidence-based Decision-making. *Health Law in Canada*, 28:1, pp. 1-15.

The authors focus on the gaps in knowledge transfer within Evidence-based decision-making (EBDM) and discuss how knowledge generation and dissemination varies for culturally and ethnically diverse peoples and vulnerable populations. How the effects of this information then translate onto these vulnerable populations or how different forms of evidence are valorized, is further discussed within a context of EBDM and their ultimate policy outcomes. Secondly, in identifying useful critiques of this method – mainly through feminist and critical approaches including gender-based or gender and sex-based analyses, the authors discuss the advantages and limitations of these critical methods. They outline how, because of the evidence hierarchies which are inherently created through EBDM, the resultant decision-making can suffer from excessive rigidity or narrow focus. There is also a possibility for moral values to inadvertently permeate a study through the process of interpretation of the evidence. Even critical theories, however, utilizing GBA or GSBA, can be limited in that they do not necessarily attend to the issues of difference and diversity. More work is needed to create more inclusive research methods and policy tools which reflect qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods of research. One of the most promising areas of research is within intersectionality. The authors stress, however, that further work must be done in order to realize fully the benefits of an intersectional approach within health care policy-making.

Hankivsky, O. (2007). More than Age and Biology: Overhauling Lifespan Approaches to Women's Health. From *Women's Health in Canada: Critical Perspectives on Theory and Policy* (pp. 64-90). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Offering an overview of the lifespan approach to women's health research, the author first identifies the limitations of both Health Canada and other traditional approaches to conceptualizing life stages. The organization of these stages has tended to focus on specific factors related to each stage (for example, personal choice among adolescents vs. chronic illness among middle-aged women). The author instead argues that critical to the effectiveness of lifespan studies is a recognition of both biological and epidemiological factors along the lifespan, but also various societal determinants ranging from economic and social difficulties (poverty), to ethnicity or race. The perceived invisibility of difference, or the inability of the lifespan approach to adequately recognize diversity in women's lives (along a continuum of factors) is perhaps its greatest shortcoming. In response, the explanatory resource proposed by the author relates to the theoretical approaches being developed within intersectionality studies, focusing not only on the intersections of difference, but also on constructions of power and inclusion/exclusion. Currently, a dearth of empirical evidence to bolster this approach makes measurement of difference and between differences difficult. Ultimately, the success of a comprehensive lifespan approach to women's health

research will require sophisticated research which will incorporate a multiplicity of interactions and differences while still recognizing a broader perspective on women's health.

Hawkins, J.W. & Haggerty, L.A. (Eds.). (2003). *Diversity in Health Care Research Strategies for Multisite, Multidisciplinary, and Multicultural Projects*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

In this collection, editors Joellen W. Hawkins and Lois A. Haggerty, professors of nursing at William F. Connell School of Nursing, Boston College, have compiled a series of essays that represent some of the leading examples of international multi-site, multidisciplinary and multicultural research designs and collaborations. Hawkins and Haggerty focus on project management in multiple research sites, and have organized this volume of essays in two parts. In Part One, contributing authors describe various practical strategies for research implementation, including issues relating to project management, research funding, ethics review processes, working with research assistants, clinical support at study sites, as well as multidisciplinary project management from local and international perspectives. Part Two is comprised of essays that illustrate specific examples of studies in which contributing authors describe lessons learned, including issues of cultural competence, problems and solutions for multi site investigations in disparate locations, project organization in clinical settings, and the development of collaborative relationships.

Health Canada. (2000). *Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada*.

Health Canada has released its *A Statistical Profile on the Health of First Nations in Canada for the Year 2000* report. The report contributes to improving First Nations health by increasing the information available to health professionals, researchers, community leaders and policy makers. It contains detailed statistics and figures on a range of health related topics, including hospitalization, perinatal health, life expectancy, and communicable diseases among First Nations people. The report provides a snapshot of the health status of First Nations in Canada. Figures show that some aspects of First Nations health are improving, such as longer life expectancy and reduced mortality rates. At the same time, there are areas of concern, such as the high rate of tobacco use and a high incidence of injury. In keeping with Aboriginal approaches to 'wellness'-- which encompass physical, social, emotional and spiritual spheres -- the report also contains a section on non-medical factors that affect health. Some of these factors are education, employment, housing conditions, water quality and sewage treatment.

Hill, S. & Sprague, J. (1999). Parenting in Black and White Families: The Interaction of Gender with Race and Class. *Gender and Society*, 13:4, pp. 480-502.

It is widely believed that gendered expectations are communicated to children in the process of socialization. However, there is reason to ask whether and how gender is constructed in Black families. An early perspective that still continues to inform some contemporary research is assimilationism, which assumes that Black people embrace and pass on to their children the gender norms of the dominant white society. The Afrocentric perspective challenges this view, maintaining that the unique historical experiences of Blacks have militated against an emphasis on rigid gender distinctions, and that relative gender neutrality exists in Black families' child-rearing practices. The development of multicultural feminist theory, which argues that the impact of race on gender varies by social class, implies that both assimilationism and Afrocentrism may be overgeneralizations. Yet, little systematic research has been done on whether race makes a difference in how parents view gender. The authors use data from surveys completed by a nonrandom sample of parents in 202 African American and 204 white families in two large metropolitan school districts to examine the impact of gender, race, and class on parents' self-reports of their immediate priorities and long-term goals for their children, their view of the parenting role, and their discipline strategies. The findings are consistent with multicultural feminist theory: Race and social class interact to shape the intergenerational construction of gender in families.

Hogan, R. and Perrucci, C. (1998). Producing and Reproducing Class and Status Differences: Racial and Gender Gaps in U.S. Employment and Retirement Income. *Social Problems*, 45:4, pp. 528-549.

Recent research indicates that between 1970 and 1990 the racial gap in employment income increased (Cancio, Evans and Maume 1996), while the gender gap decreased (Wellington 1994). We find a parallel pattern in retirement income for the cohort that retired in 1980-1981. The racial gap is greater in retirement than it was in employment, while the gender gap is smaller. Regression analyses specify the qualitatively different ways in which racial and gender inequality are produced in employment and reproduced in retirement. Focusing on how self-employment and marital status interact with race and gender in predicting income, we explain how the redistributive effects of Social Security, pensions, and assets contribute to the enduring racial gap (and, perhaps, to the declining gender gap).

Holguín Cuádriz, G. & Uttal, L. (1999). Intersectionality and In-depth Interviews: Methodological Strategies for Analyzing Race, Class, and Gender. *Race, Gender & Class*, 6:3, pp. 156-186.

In this essay, we address several common dilemmas that arise when using in-depth interviews to conduct race, class and gender analyses. Utilizing our own in-depth interview studies, we illustrate three methodological dilemmas we confronted. First, what claims about race, class, and gender can be made if the

sample does not include comparative subsamples? Second, to what extent can researchers overlay the social categories of race, class, and gender on the individual accounts articulated by the interviewees? Finally, how does one explicate the intersections between structures and biography, while honoring the simultaneous intersectionality of multiple structures of race, class, and gender?

Jedwab, J. & Donaldson, I. (2003). Intersections of Diversity. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 35:3, pg. 1

"Intersectionality" is a term introduced by legal theorists to refer to the specific conditions that exist when one holds two or more social statuses and the results that arise from that combination. Dual and multiple attachments have long been part of the Canadian reality. Linguistic and confessional duality in Canada is reflected in the recognition of rights and the extension of services in the English and French languages as well as the provision of religious education in certain provinces to children of the Protestant and Catholic faiths. It has been argued that the historic recognition of duality in this country was a harbinger for the eventual acceptance of the federal government's multicultural policies. Still, Canada has struggled with the reconciliation of multiple identities within dualistic frameworks when, for example, developing policies that address ethnic and linguistic attachments. Recognizing Aboriginal identities and addressing their concerns has often proved difficult within the emphasis on duality. Only recently did the "Metis" population that combines Aboriginal, French, and English heritages secure historic recognition of its rights from the Supreme Court of Canada. Hence despite Canada's diverse population, the recognition of multiple and intersecting identities is a relatively recent phenomenon. When asked, Canadians tended to identify language and ethnic origins as the most important aspects of their identity. Yet with the exception of Quebec, where the majority of the population regards language as most important, in the rest of Canada no single marker of identity dominates. Whereas ethnic origins and language were selected by more than half of the respondents, the rest defined themselves by gender, religion, social class, and their political philosophy.

Kane, E. (1992). Race, Gender, and Attitudes toward Gender Stratification. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 55:3, pp. 311-320.

This paper addresses the intersection of race and gender in contemporary American society by exploring how one aspect of gender relations, the degree of agreement between men and women in their attitudes toward gender stratification, varies between blacks and whites. Both black men and black women tend to express more criticism in their gender-related attitudes than whites, and the level of agreement between the sexes is greater for blacks. I interpret this greater agreement in the context of the resistance racial inequality, levels of exposure to gender inequality, and the degree of interdependence between the sexes among blacks. I consider the implications of my results for understanding how race and gender interact in shaping attitudes toward gender inequality and how men's social dominance and women's dependence influence

the degree of agreement between men and women in their criticism of gender stratification.

Kertzner, D. (1991). Household and gender in a life-course perspective. In Masini, E. & Stratigos, S. *Women, households and change*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press. Retrieved August 18th, 2004, from: <http://www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu10we/uu10we00.htm#Contents>

The author provides a brief overview of the Household, Gender, Age (HGA) study conducted by the United Nations University, so as to demonstrate the effectiveness of the *life-course approach* to qualitative and quantitative social research. The essence of this approach, he argues, rests in “the continuous interplay between social change and the life-course of individuals. People begin their lives in one historical period distinguished by a characteristic set of cultural norms and perceptions and institutional arrangements, and, as they age, these larger forces change.” Research conducted under this method allows macro-societal changes to be taken into account, as well as the fluidity of specific identity categories. Furthermore, from a researcher’s standpoint, it allows for cultural or environmental specificity to come into play, whereby researchers in different countries (contexts) are free to design study questions which are pertinent to that context, but still allowing for cross-cultural (macro-level) comparisons to be made. While the study focused on women in each of the cohorts under examination, it could only really do so in the relational context that these women experienced (through kinship or marriage for example). Also, at an individual level, the life-course method offered a means of viewing how these individuals creatively coped with the macro-level societal changes occurring around them, which in turn influenced subsequent generations, thus furthering the social and economic changes at the macro-level.

Kobayashi, K. (2003). Do Intersections of Diversity Matter? An exploration of the relationship between identity markers and health for mid- to later-life Canadians. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 35:3, pg. 85.

This paper explores the intersections of diversity, namely the identity markers of ethnicity, gender, age, and immigrant status, in the area of health and well-being. Based on findings from recent studies on the determinants of health status and health care utilisation patterns of immigrant and native-born Canadians in mid-to later life (Dunn and Dyck, 1998; Globerman, 1998; Kopec, Williams, To and Austin, 2001; Perez, 2002), the paper examines issues of representation, inclusion, and access to health care services from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Specifically, the focus is on identifying and understanding the connections between ethnicity, gender, age, immigrant status, charter language ability, and health care accessibility and utilisation over the adult life course. A recent study, based on analyses from 1996-1997 National Population Health Survey data, examining the intersections between age, health, immigrant status, and language ability is highlighted. The paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of this research for policy and program

development targeting specific intersection sub-groups (e.g., South Asian older adult women for screening tests).

Kohn, L.P. & Hudson, K.M. (2002). Gender, Ethnicity and Depression: Intersectionality and Context in Mental Health Research with African American Women. *African American Research Perspectives*, 8:1, pp. 174-184. Accessed on April 1, 2008 from: <http://www.rcgd.isr.umich.edu/prba/perspectives/springsummer2002/kohn.pdf>

Currently, a remarkable amount of information has emerged regarding gender and mental health and, to a lesser degree, ethnicity and mental health. However, a number of gaps in the literature remain. Further, empirical investigations that examine the effects of both gender and ethnicity are rare. Why is this important? After nearly a full decade of mental health services research, major conclusions regarding ethnic disparities in mental health have been drawn with regard to ethnic minorities and mental health (see: DHHS, Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General, 1999). Most disturbingly it was found that large racial disparities in mental health treatment exist. Understanding and improving discrepant rates of treatment requires close examination of the unique factors related to mechanisms underlying distress and suffering in ethnic minority groups, including a better understanding of the epidemiology, etiology, and symptomatology of mental illness across gender and race.

However, investigation of these variables must take into account the unique ways in which race and gender interact to affect psychological processes. This review synthesizes the current knowledge regarding African American women and depression. After highlighting major findings related to the epidemiology, etiology, symptomatology and treatment, we will discuss the gaps in our understanding of these factors specific to African American women. We will argue that filling in these gaps will require a theoretical framework that takes into account the intersection of race and gender. We will present an empirically defined heuristic for studying mental illness among African American women, in terms of both experiences and outcomes.

Krieger, N., Rowley, D., Herman, A.A. Avery B., & Phillips, M.T. (1993) Racism, sexism, and social class: implications for studies of health, disease and well-being. In: Rowler, D. & Tosteson, H. (eds.) *Racial Differences in preterm delivery: Developing a new research paradigm. American Journal of Preventative Medicine*, 6 Supplement 9, pp.82-122

The author examines the incidence of excess rates of low birthweight (LBW) and infant mortality among children born to black women, noting the lack of correlation with socioeconomic status. Different methods of measuring social class are explored, as are emerging approaches to the inclusion of factors related to social class within health research, and an appreciation of intra-group differences within different ethnicities. Pertaining to the question of research in the area of disease and disease prevention and/or control, the author's broad-

based methodological suggestions, involve: a recognition of the objective and subjective components of research which promote racism, discrimination or social inequities within health research; research into preventive measures which would be useful to targeted groups or populations so as to avoid health erosion; “why” versus “how” questions of disease causation focusing on population patterns of disease and not simply general mechanisms of disease causation.

Loue, S. (1999). *Gender, Ethnicity and Health Research*. Ohio: Plenum Publishers.

This text examines the basic constructs of gender, sex, ethnicity, and race. These constructs are routinely used in the analysis of data in a number of fields, including epidemiology, health services research, sociology, and medical anthropology. Despite the widespread use of these terms, little thought has been given to what they really mean. What does it really mean, for instance, to say that African-Americans are at a higher risk of AIDS than other groups? Is this really a surrogate for sexual behavior? For access to medical care? For an unknown genetic difference in the immune system? Since ethnicity/race is not a mutable characteristic, are we accomplishing anything by focusing on it as a risk factor or risk marker, or should we be examining its underlying meaning? Should we continue to utilize these constructs and, if so, how? What are the implications for intervention programs and intervention research? This text addresses these constructs of gender and ethnicity in a manner that challenges the conventional wisdom within the health sciences. Additionally, the text will provide a good review of these constructs, as well as socioeconomic status, access to care, and quality of care.

MacDonald, G., Osborne, R.L. & Smith, C.C. (Eds.). (2005). *Feminism, law, inclusion: intersectionality in action*. Toronto: Sumach Press.

In this book, Gayle MacDonald, professor of Sociology at St. Thomas University, Rachael L. Osbourne, a policy advisor in the area of educational governance, and Charles C. Smith, Equity Advisor to the Canadian Bar Association, have compiled contributions examining feminism and intersectionality in law. This book examines the way in which the reconceptualization of gender to include other aspects of identity, and recent attempts to address previous trends towards essentialized notions of gender, have begun to shape and influence the Canadian legal framework, including legal activism, scholarship, theorizing, organizations and professions and law. Focusing on intersectionality, contributions to this book are written by a diverse group of legal scholars, activists and advocates. The book provides a theoretical and practical scope and begins with a chapter discussing the concept of intersectionality. It then proceeds in three parts: Theory in Action; Organizations in Actions; and Law in Action.

Mahalingam, R., Balan, S. & Haritatos, J. (2008). Engendering Immigrant Psychology: An Intersectionality Perspective. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 326-336.

In this paper, using an intersectionality perspective, we tested the idealized cultural identities model proposed by Mahalingam (Cultural psychology of immigrants. Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp 1–14, 2006) using a sample of Asian Americans (N=151). According to the structural model, idealized identities positively relate to ethnic pride, which is positively related to resilience. The data had excellent fit (Comparative Fitness Index=.99). Idealized patriarchal beliefs regarding femininity positively related to model minority pride ($b=.34, p<.0001$) and idealized patriarchal beliefs regarding masculinity were positively related to model minority pride ($b=.29, p<.001$). Additionally, model minority pride was positively related to resilience ($b=.25, p<.001$) which was negatively related to depression ($b=-.46, p<.0001$). Further, we discuss the significance of the intersectionality perspective in studying immigrants.

Mattis, J.S., Grayman, N.A., Cowie, S., et al. (2008). Intersectional Identities and the Politics of Altruistic Care in a Low-Income, Urban Community. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 418-428.

The literatures on the ways in which social identity and social position (e.g., gender, class, race) inform altruism have developed orthogonally. In this community-based qualitative study we use intersectionality theory to explore the complex ways in which social identity and social structures jointly influence altruism among African American adults ($n=40$) in an urban, economically distressed housing community in New York City. Content analysis of participants' narratives reveals the ways in which gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, and urbanicity work in tandem to create differential patterns of vulnerability, differential needs, differential commitments to caring for particular subgroups, and informs how altruists are perceived by others. The implications of this work for future research on altruism are highlighted.

Meyer, I.H., Schwartz, S. & Frost, D.M. (2008). Social patterning of stress and coping: Does disadvantaged social statuses confer more stress and fewer coping resources?. *Social Science & Medicine*, 67, pp. 368-379.

Despite its centrality to social stress theory, research on the social patterning of stress exposure and coping resources has been sparse and existing research shows conflicting results. We interviewed 396 gay, lesbian and bisexual, and 128 heterosexual people in New York City to examine variability in exposure to stress related to sexual orientation, gender, and race/ethnicity. Multiple linear regressions showed clear support for the social stress hypothesis with regard to race/ethnic minority status, somewhat mixed support with regard to sexual orientation, and no support with regard to gender. We discuss this lack of parsimony in social stress explanations for health disparities.

May, D. & Dunaway, R. (2000). Predictors of Fear of Criminal Victimization at School among Adolescents. *Sociological Spectrum*, 20:2, pp. 149-168.

Adolescent crime at school, as well as adolescent fear of crime at school, have increasingly become serious social problems. Although many studies have been conducted examining the predictors of fear of crime among adults in various settings, fear of criminal victimization among adolescents at school has been practically ignored. Using a representative sample of 742 high school students from a southeastern state, this study examined the predictors of adolescent fear of crime at school in an attempt to determine whether they are similar to predictors of adult fear of crime. Results indicate that, although the predictors of fear among adolescents are, in many cases, similar to those of adults, there are important differences. As expected, youths with lower levels of perceived safety at school and youths who perceive their neighborhoods as exhibiting signs of incivility were more likely to be fearful of criminal victimization at school. Interestingly, however, there were important differences between adolescents and adults regarding the effects of race, gender, and victimization experience and fear of crime. The results from this study indicate that the effects of race and victimization experience on fear of crime vary by gender: Namely, Black males were more fearful than White males, and female victims of crime were more fearful than females who had not been victimized by crime. This study suggests that the phenomena that underlie fear of crime among adults are somewhat different than those of adolescents.

Meyers, M. (2004). African American women and violence: gender, race, and class in the news. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 21:2, pp. 95-118.

This study uses discourse analysis to examine the representation of *violence* against *African American women* in local TV *news* coverage of Freaknik, an annual "spring break" ritual that drew *African American* college students from throughout the country to Atlanta, Georgia in the 1990s. It draws on Black feminist theory in its examination of the ways that *gender*, *race*, and *class* intersected to shape the representation of the victims, the perpetrators, and the *violence*. The results indicate that the convergence of *gender*, *race*, and *class* oppressions minimized the seriousness of the *violence*, portrayed most of its victims as stereotypic Jezebels whose lewd behavior provoked assault, and absolved the perpetrators of responsibility. Coverage also reinforced *race* and *class* stereotypes by representing locals as underclass troublemakers prone to crime while students were linked to law-abiding, middle *class* values and norms. In demonstrating the utility of addressing the intersectionality of *gender*, *race*, and *class*, this study argues that such an approach is necessary to the study of representation.

Mørck, Y. (2003). Narratives of the intersections of masculinities and ethnicities in a Danish high school class. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 11:2, pp. 111 – 120.

The article focuses upon a Danish high school class. The aim is to explore the possibilities of maneuver in relation to masculinities and ethnicities within the existing discursive forms of power in this specific class. An analytical description of some fieldwork situations is presented in order to arrive at an understanding of a power struggle between a multiethnic group of boys, a group of ethnic majority girls and some female teachers.

Mulvihill, M.A., Mailloux, L. & Atkin, W.. (2001). *Advancing policy and research responses to immigrant and refugee women's health in Canada*. Prepared for the Centres of Excellence for Women's Health. Retrieved November 7, 2005: http://www.cewh-cesf.ca/en/resources/im-ref_health/im_ref_health.pdf

This paper presents an overview of research on immigrant and refugee women's health in Canada in order to raise emergent issues concerning future policy and research direction. The paper employs an intersectional approach to analyze immigrant and refugee women's health in Canada. Although immigrant and refugee women share some common experiences, the authors argue that diversity must be used as a key analytical category in order to capture the many differences between these women such as economic, social and political status, education, national origin, culture, and ethnic and racial identity" (pp. 8-9). These differences illustrate the fact that no single health strategy can address the diverse needs of immigrant and refugee women, thus necessitating the need for gender and diversity analyses and approaches. The paper is broken down into the following themes: health status and the socio-cultural context of immigrant women's lives; income and employment; mental health; aging; accessibility of; health care services; impacts of health reform; considerations for future research. In each of these sections 'key research findings to date', 'future research issues' and 'policy implications/advice' are presented.

Okazawa-Rey, M. (2002). Warring on Women: Understanding Complex Inequalities of Gender, Race, Class, and Nation. *Journal of Women & Social Work*, 17:3, pp. 371-383.

Examines the military violence against women. Several examples of military violence against women; United Nations Commission on Human Rights' passage of a resolution placing rape within the framework of war crimes; Patriarchy and militarism systems in the society; Complex inequalities of gender, race and ethnicity and class; History of military violence against women, especially sexual enslavement of poor women, Privilege in gender relations; Role of gender in Afghan War and Taliban's treatment of women in Afghanistan.

Ostrove, J., Feldman, P. & Adler, N. (1999). Relations among Socioeconomic Status indicators and Health for African-Americans and Whites. *Journal of Health Psychology* 99:4, pp. 451-464.

This investigation explored the relationship of socioeconomic status (SES) to physical and mental health in two nationally representative samples of whites and African-Americans. We examined the interrelations among SES variables and assessed their contribution to health for the two racial groups. Throughout, we assessed the contribution of a less traditional indicator of SES—wealth—in the SES–health relationship. As we expected, African-Americans had lower levels of education, household income, and wealth than whites. Unexpectedly, however, the strength of the interrelationships among the three SES indicators did not differ for African-Americans and whites. In addition, we found that SES operated to effect health in a very similar fashion for African-Americans and whites. We found that wealth, in addition to more traditional indicators of SES (education and household income), made a unique and significant contribution to explaining both physical and mental health. Examining relations of different SES indicators to health across groups is critical to eliminating persistent social inequalities in health.

Oxman-Martinez, J., Krane, J., Corbin, N. & Loisel-Leónard, M. (2002). Competing Conceptions of Conjugal Violence: Insights from an Intersectional Framework. Montreal: Centre for Applied Family Studies, pp. 2-59.

This research project explores the question of an over-representation of ethnoracial minorities in the criminal justice system in relation to conjugal violence. Based on focus groups with CLSC social work professionals, law enforcement agents and Crown attorneys and interviews with staff and residents at a local shelter for battered women, the project examines constructions of and responses to conjugal violence. While efforts are made to understand and incorporate issues of race/racism, culture, ethnicity, and religion in addressing conjugal violence, the belief that “abuse is abuse” permeated the accounts offered by the participants. The thematic contradiction that appeared through the insights offered by a selection of battered women and professionals directly implicated in the problem of conjugal violence was, on the one hand recognizing facets of one’s social location, and on the other hand, downplaying facets of one’s social location. The preliminary findings of this exploration point to policy recommendations that aim to enhance individual and institutional responses to instances of conjugal violence.

Re'em, M. (2001). The politics of normalcy: intersectionality and the construction of difference in Christian-Jewish relations. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education (QSE)*, 14:3, pp. 381-397.

This article examines the workings of a discourse of *normalcy* for a group of black Christian fundamentalist students. Focusing on the intersection of religion

and race the essay analyzes the representation of Jewish people as dark and other, while constructing Christians who are white and normal. The inversion of racial identities unfolds in contradictory ways, reinscribing a discourse of colorblindness while simultaneously reifying categories of race. Through discourse analysis the article discusses how the political moves in both centrifugal and centripetal directions to construct a "universal" (Eurocentric) Christian identity while suppressing subgroup differences.

Reid, C. & Herbert, C. (2005). Welfare moms and welfare bums: Revisiting poverty as a social determinant of health. *Health Sociology Review*, 14:2, Article 7. Retrieved from <http://hsr.e-contentmanagement.com/14.2/14.2.7.html>

In the last two decades health researchers have paid increasing attention to the social determinants of health and health inequalities. Broadly, two hypotheses attempt to explain health inequalities - the materialist hypothesis and the psychosocial hypothesis. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between poverty and women's health from the perspectives of a group of poor women. Our qualitative study with 20 diverse women on low-income included 32 one-on-one interviews, 15 group meetings, and 30 sets of field notes. We used the analysis program Atlas.ti to sort, code, and conduct a content analysis. Overall, our findings revealed that both hypotheses were deeply connected with the dominant ideology of poverty and the concomitant social construction of 'welfare bum' and 'welfare mom'. Socioeconomic factors limited the women's access to health promoting resources and influenced their health behaviours (such as what they ate and how much they exercised). Ideologies that promulgated negative stereotypes legitimized the systemic barriers the women faced, enforced their material scarcity, and limited their entitlements to health-promoting services and resources. Our findings also indicated that the stereotype led the women to feel shamed, stressed, and depressed, and to adopt negative health behaviors as a way of coping and finding comfort.

Rowland Hogue, C.J. (2000). Gender, Race and Class: From Epidemiologic Association to Etiologic Hypotheses. In Goldman, M. & Hatch, M., Eds. *Women & Health* (pp. 15-23). San Diego: Academic Press.

In the area of epidemiologic research, past studies would generally have limited themselves to *between-gender* analyses, by either limiting the study to one gender, or by controlling for gender so as to explore other causative factors related to a particular disease. Instead, the author contends, so as to fill in the gaps in knowledge about the impact of group identity on a given health problem, it is necessary to recognize that the *between-gender* health differences under consideration are caused not only by the biological differences between male and female, but also as a consequence of socially constructed genders. Furthermore, the social context, which includes class, as well as inclusion in an ethnic or racial group, is the one within which a particular health problem would arise. The author uses the examples of smoking and being sedentary, preterm

delivery among African-American women and the obesity epidemic, as health problems within which the *biopsychosocial theory* which she posits, would be an effective analytical tool. This theory would take into account not only gender but also race and class, so as to ultimately find the causative factors which would need to be addressed so as to solve the health problem under consideration.

Squier, S.M. (2007). *Beyond Nescience: the Intersectional insights of health humanities. Perspectives in Biology and Medicine, 50:3, pp. 334-347.*

Through a comparison of two graphic novels concerned with the experience of cancer diagnosis and treatment, Brian Fies's *Mom's Cancer* (2006) and Harvey Pekar and Joyce Brabner's *Our Cancer Year* (1994), this essay suggests some of the strengths and limitations of the medical humanities in responding to the experience of illness. It demonstrates how the graphic medium enables us to generate a new set of reading strategies and thus to articulate a more complex and powerful analysis of illness, disability, medicine, and health. Finally, the essay considers the question raised by the comparison of the graphic novels: whether the term "health humanities" might not be preferable to its predecessor, "medical humanities."

Steinbugler, A., Press, J. & Johnson Dias, J. (2006). *Gender, Race and Affirmative Action: Operationalizing Intersectionality in Survey Research. Gender & Society, 20:6, pp. 805-825.*

In this article, the authors operationalize the intersection of gender and race in survey research. Using quantitative data from the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, they investigate how gender/racial stereotypes about African Americans affect Whites' attitudes about two types of affirmative action programs: (1) job training and education and (2) hiring and promotion. The authors find that gender/racial prejudice towards Black women and Black men influences Whites' opposition to affirmative action at different levels than negative attitudes towards Blacks as a group. Prejudice toward Black women has a larger effect on Whites' policy preferences than does prejudice toward Black men or Blacks in general. In future research, survey methodologists should develop better intersectional measures to further document these gender/racial attitudes.

Valentine, G. (2008). *Living with Difference: Reflections on Geographies of Encounters. Progress in Human Geography, 32:3, pp. 323-337.*

In this *Progress in Human Geography* annual lecture I reflect on geographical contributions to academic and policy debates about how we might forge civic culture out of difference. In doing so I begin by tracing a set of disparate geographical writings – about the micro-publics of everyday life, cosmopolitanism hospitality, and new urban citizenship – that have sought to understand the role of shared space in providing the opportunity for encounter between 'strangers'. This literature is considered in the light of an older tradition of work about 'the contact hypothesis' from psychology. Then, employing original empirical material,

I critically reflect on the notion of 'meaningful contact' to explore the paradoxical gap that emerges in geographies of encounter between values and practices. In the conclusion I argue for the need for geographers to pay more attention to sociospatial inequalities and the insecurities they breed, and to unpacking the complex and intersecting ways in which power operates.

Walby, S. (2008). Complexity Theory, Systems Theory and Multiple Intersecting Social Inequalities. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 37:4, pp. 449-470.

This article contributes to the revision of the concept of system in social theory using complexity theory. The old concept of social system is widely discredited; a new concept of social system can more adequately constitute an explanatory framework. Complexity theory offers the toolkit needed for this paradigm shift in social theory. The route taken is not via Luhmann, but rather the insights of complexity theorists in the sciences are applied to the tradition of social theory inspired by Marx, Weber, and Simmel. The article contributes to the theorization of intersectionality in social theory as well as to the philosophy of social science. It addresses the challenge of theorizing the intersection of multiple complex social inequalities, exploring the various alternative approaches, before rethinking the concept of social system. It investigates and applies, for the first time, the implications of complexity theory for the analysis of multiple intersecting social inequalities.

Warner, L.R. (2008). A Best Practices Guide to Intersectional Approaches in Psychological Research. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 454-463.

This paper serves as a "best practices guide" for researchers interested in applying intersectionality theory to psychological research. Intersectionality, the mutually constitutive relations among social identities, presents several issues to researchers interested in applying it to research. I highlight three central issues and provide guidelines for how to address them. First, I discuss the constraints in the number of identities that researchers are able to test in an empirical study, and highlight relevant decision rules. Second, I discuss when to focus on "master" identities (e.g., gender) versus "emergent" identities (i.e., White lesbian). Third, I argue that treating identity as a process situated within social structural contexts facilitates the research process. I end with a brief discussion of the implications for the study of intersectionality.

Weber, L., & Parra-Medina, D. (2003). Intersectionality and Women's Health: Charting a Path to Eliminating Health Disparities. *Gender Perspectives in Health and Medicine: Key Themes Advances in Gender Research*, 7.

Discusses the biomedical and intersectional research paradigms that have attempted to answer the reasons for health disparities. Intersectional models of

women's health; Contrasting themes in biomedical and intersectional models of health disparities; Distributional and relational constructions of social inequality; Case of health disparities in physical activity and cardiovascular disease.

This article appears in a volume which critiques biomedical approaches to personal and public health and class for more sociological input and qualitative research to help in the understanding of health and illness. Weber and Parra-Medina examine the consequences of health for race, gender, class and sexuality and call for an intersectional approach to eliminating disparities in health and health care. They review existing studies and current methodological challenges in trying to capture simultaneously interlocking oppressions, especially when health research attempts to move beyond capturing two forms of oppression in research designs.

Weitzer, R. & Tuch, S. (1999). Race, Class and Perceptions of Discrimination by the Police. *Crime and Delinquency* 45:4, pp. 26-507.

Previous research has shown that Blacks are more likely than Whites to hold unfavorable opinions of criminal justice agencies in America, but the literature has rarely examined whether social class also affects these opinions. Using recent national survey data on perceptions of racial discrimination by the police and the criminal justice system, this study examines the effects of race and class on citizen attitudes. The findings indicate that (1) race is a strong predictor of attitudes and (2) class affects several of these views. An important finding is that middle-class Blacks are sometimes more critical of the police and justice system than are lower-class Blacks.

Wilkinson, L. (2003). Advancing a Perspective on the intersections of diversity: challenges for research and social policy. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 35:3, pg. 26

The author seeks to outline how, despite the advances brought about by the Employment Equity Act, the Multiculturalism Act and others, and despite the general changing attitudes in Canadian society (less tolerance for discrimination, etc.), many injustices remain, perhaps due in part to a flaw in the initial research which leads to specific policy outcomes. Wilkinson argues for the necessity to examine the intersections of diversity, while at the same time recognizing the limitations of this approach. Empirically, a statistical intersection of two variables, while certainly valorizing two or more variables rather than simply one, still does not allow for a study of that or any particular intersection. Currently, even when policy targets one particular category of citizen, it does so using a single identity-marker, rather than recognizing the multiple markers which may exist. And yet, there is also recognition that identity markers and the intersections of difference may also not be sufficient in addressing long-standing disparities or marginalization. Rather, a focus on policy areas (changing the way society is organized) instead of identity may be more useful. In either case, however, intersectionality would aid all stakeholders in the policy debate inasmuch as it

offers a multi-methodological and multi-disciplinary approach to the initial research.

Williams, D., Takebuchi, D. & Adair, R. (1992). Socioeconomic Status and Psychiatric Disorder and Whites. *Social Forces*, 71:1, pp. 179-194.

This article examines the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and current (six-month) and lifetime rates of psychiatric disorders among blacks and whites. Overall, SES is inversely related to psychiatric disorder for both racial groups. This association is weaker for black males than for white males. There is some variation among specific disorders, with the strongest relationship with SES occurring for alcohol abuse. The six-month rate of depression is unrelated to SES among blacks but inversely related for whites. In contrast to our expectations, we found that lower-SES white males have higher rates of psychiatric illness than their black peers. Lower-SES black females have higher rates of substance abuse disorders than their white counterparts. These findings underscore the need for research efforts to identify the mechanisms and processes that link social stratification to disease.

Zakrisson, I. (2008). Gender Differences in Social Dominance Orientation: Gender Invariance May Be Situation Invariance. *Sex Roles*, 59:3, pp. 254-263.

Most studies of gender differences in social dominance orientation (SDO) have investigated settings more or less hierarchy-enhancing. The aim of this study was to explore gender differences in SDO (1) within social structures varying in equality-enhancement, i.e., communities differing in political equality between men and women, and (2) settings where equality was maximized and held constant, i.e., democratic, voluntary associations, but varying in gender composition, using survey data from a random sample of 831 Swedish adults (median age= 47 years). There was a significant interaction effect between gender and membership in voluntary associations dominated by women, with men and women displaying equally low levels of SDO. In all other instances the main effect of gender remained statistically significant.