Intersectionality in Education: Rationale and practices to address the needs of students' intersecting identities

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Abstract

Intersectionality highlights that different aspects of individuals' identities are not independent of each other. Instead, they interact to create unique identities and experiences, which cannot be understood by analysing each identity dimension separately or in isolation from their social and historical contexts. Intersectional approaches in this way question the common classification of individuals into groups (male vs. female, immigrant vs. native etc.), which raises important implications for the policy-making process. In education, analyses with an intersectional lens have the potential to lead to better tailored and more effective policies and interventions related to participation, learning outcomes, students' attitudes towards the future, identification of needs, and socio-emotional well-being. Consequently, as elaborated in this paper, some countries have adjusted their policies in the areas of governance, resourcing, developing capacity, promoting school-level interventions and monitoring, to account for intersectionality. Gaps and challenges related to intersectional approaches are also highlighted.

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1. Introduction

More than 30 years have passed since Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1989[1]) article that drew attention to the term "intersectionality". Intersectionality recognises that people are shaped by membership in multiple and interconnected social categories (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Additionally, these social categories are not only shaped by individual social locations, but also by macro-level systems and structures such as laws, policies and governments (Crenshaw, 1991[3]; Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016[4]). These systems often have an element of power, oppression and discrimination; and a recognition of these is a key element of intersectionality. As a result, individual experiences of inequality are formed by the interactions between social categories, power relations and broader macro contexts (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016[4]). The experiences can be both long-lasting as well as transitory, but are, most importantly, unique.

Intersectionality does not create hierarchies between various dimensions of diversity or forms of oppression. As a result, it is not possible to operationalise intersectionality as an add-on to a primary dimension (e.g., gender) (Hancock, 2007[5]). Neither can intersectionality be understood as a sum of different oppressions (e.g., discrimination + homophobia) (Bowleg, 2008[6]; Hancock, 2007[5]). Instead, intersectionality aims to understand how dimensions of diversity interact, are shaped by multiple forms of oppression as well as forms of advantage, and create distinct experiences and outcomes (Bowleg, 2008[6]).

At least with respect to education, however, the term is not yet a standard part of policy frameworks. This may be due to a variety of factors. Definitions of intersectionality vary and the word may not be directly translatable to languages other than English (Christoffersen, 2021[7]; Harris and Leonardo, 2018[8]; OECD, 2020[9]). Policy makers are often uncertain regarding the usefulness of the concept and often struggle to reconsider their approaches to applying an intersectional lens (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]). Furthermore, as will be shown later, the lack of data on many dimensions of diversity poses a barrier to the operationalisation of the concept.

However, existing research highlights the added value of an intersectional approach. Whether considering participation, learning outcomes, identification of students' needs or attitudes towards the future, intersectional research can help to tailor policies better. While instances remain rare, some countries have begun to apply an intersectional lens to education through changes in resource allocation, tailoring learning strategies, diagnostic assessments and counselling services. Datasets that enable an intersectional approach in education exist, although often with limited scale and scope.

This working paper discusses why and how policy makers could potentially address intersectionality in their education jurisdictions. In doing so, the paper is set in the framework of the Strength through Diversity project (hereinafter "Project"). This framework considers five policy areas to analyse inclusion, equity and diversity in education systems: governance, resourcing, developing capacity, promoting school-level interventions, and monitoring and evaluation. The Project also considers six dimensions of diversity within education systems: immigrant background; ethnic groups, national minorities and Indigenous peoples background; gender; gender identity and sexual orientation; special education needs; and giftedness.

Furthermore, there are two overarching factors, socio-economic status and geographic location, that affect all of the dimensions above (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1. Dimensions of diversity and overarching factors
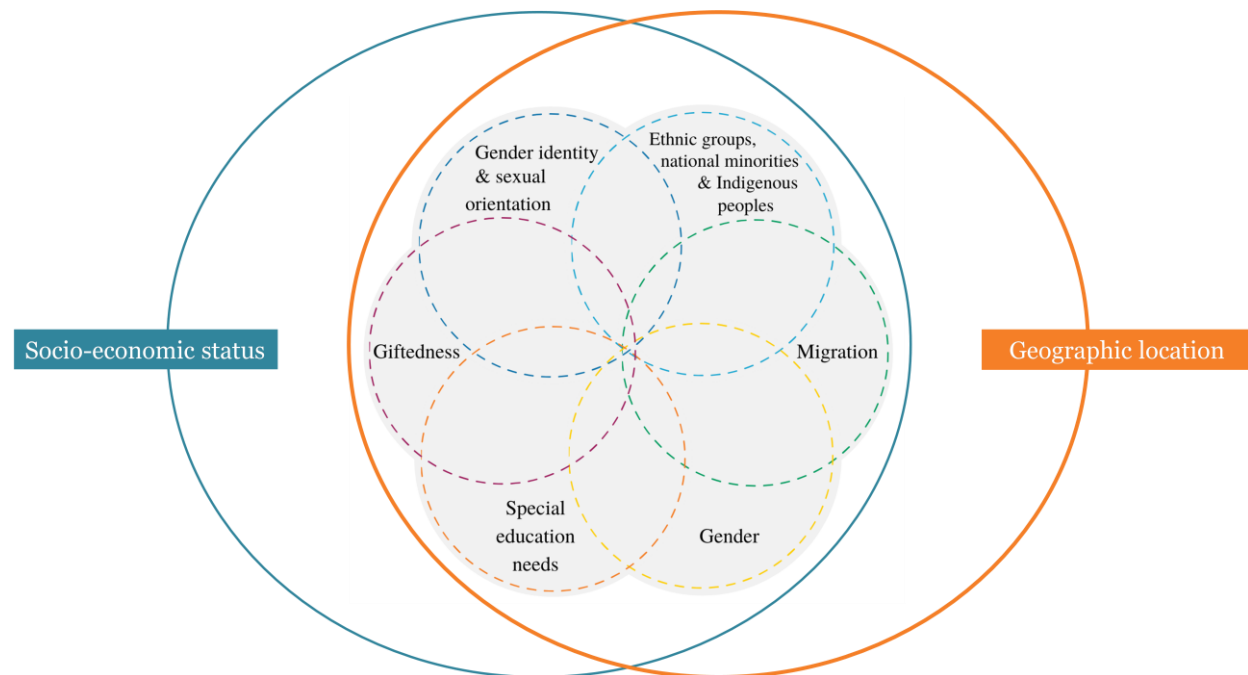
Source: Cerna et al. (2021[11]), Promoting inclusive education for diverse societies: A conceptual framework, https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/94ab68c6-en.

The six dimensions of diversity can intersect and create new zones of complexity for policy makers as well as practitioners. For instance, teaching approaches to improve students' learning outcomes often vary between socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged students. However, it might be potentially useful to further differentiate teaching for advantaged and disadvantaged girls and boys. In terms of policy making, it is then important to ask, for instance, whether the education system provides training opportunities for teachers to support students' intersecting needs. One can also focus on how to address discrimination and victimisation in schools, and how to improve student well-being outcomes. While this working paper covers these areas, it is beyond its scope to also focus on the intersections in these outcomes.

The working paper begins with a definition of intersectionality and in the second section moves to the reasons why it is important to acknowledge and consider it in education systems. This section also discusses different frameworks and methods for applying intersectionality in policy making. The third section provides an overview of how applying an intersectional lens in research can shed light on differences in student outcomes and experiences. The fourth section describes some of the areas where intersectional approaches are developed and how the policies seek to address various outcome disparities between different social groups. A summary of frameworks and methods for application intersectionality is also provided. The final section concludes.

2. Conceptualising intersectionality

2.1. Defining intersectionality

The term "intersectionality" was coined by the Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989[1]), who raised awareness of the existing disconnect between gender and ethnicity, specifically for Black women. Centring around three legal cases in the United States, she argued that viewing Black women as purely Black or as purely female ignores other challenges specific to the intersection of these two characteristics (ibid.). The concept has since become a core component of disciplines such as women's studies and feminist legal studies (Bowleg, 2012[12]), and has inspired extensive discussion in many other academic fields such as psychology, sociology, and medical and life sciences, with many researchers calling for explicit recognition of intersectionality in, for instance, health research (Bauer et al., 2021[13]). A modern intersectionality framework highlights that different aspects of individuals' identities are not independent of each other. Instead, they interact to create unique identities and experiences, which cannot be understood by analysing each dimension separately or in isolation from their social and historical contexts (Bowleg, 2008[6]; Hancock, 2007[5]). An intersectionality approach is thus in contrast to more traditional siloed work on equality that has tended to focus on one marginalised group at a time (Christoffersen, 2021[7]).

2.1.1. Intersectionality and non-additive perspective

An intersectional approach highlights that dimensions of diversity should not be viewed from an "additive" perspective (Hancock, 2007[5]). Policy approaches focused on single dimensions of diversity or taking an "additive" perspective can lead to marginalised groups competing with one another for limited amounts of available resources (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Furthermore, focusing on a single dimension of diversity ignores heterogeneity and may thus fail to address all the needs of the targeted group. Thus, an intersectional approach can not only prevent "targeted" interventions that disproportionately benefit small groups but can also enable the development of more efficient policies that are more effective in responding to the issue or need to be addressed (ibid.).

Furthermore, in order to avoid the risk of ignoring a particular group, an intersectional approach does not *ex ante* deem one category or structure as more important than another (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]). In an intersectional approach, the categories (e.g., specific student groups) and their relative importance and relevance for a particular social problem are discovered in the process of investigation throughout the policy process (section 2.4). This is in contrast to the standard policy-making process, in which various marginalised groups are sometimes not even considered due to their low representation or absence in datasets (Parken, 2010[14]).

For instance, while it has been observed that socio-economically disadvantaged students or students from certain ethnic backgrounds achieve lower academic results, an intersection between ethnicity and socio-economic status revealed various heterogenous effects. On the one hand, 16-year-old socio-economically advantaged White British were among the top performing ethnic groups, on the other, disadvantaged White British were among the bottom performing ethnic groups (Strand, 2014[15]).

Intersecting special education needs with ethnicity, gender or socio-economic background can reveal important differences regarding unequal representation of particular ethnic groups among students with special education needs. Other findings are presented in section 3. Fundamentally, one's identity cannot be disaggregated into separate characteristics (Hancock, 2019[16]). Thus, studying the identity intersections might be more informative compared to exploring ethnicity, gender and socio-economic background separately (Kertzner et al., 2009[17]).

2.1.2. Intersectionality and socio-structural context

An intersectional approach encourages considerations of micro- and macro-level influences that shape individuals' experiences (Bowleg, 2012[12]). Including socio-structural factors in an analysis can transform research to explicitly consider the role of systemic factors in individual outcomes. Such a focus on structural factors can also encourage interventions on a structural level, rather than just addressing issues on the individual or group level (ibid.). For instance, while individual discrimination experiences exist, they are often symptoms of macro-level systems of power, such as sexism and racism (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016[4]). Thus, intersectionality refers not only to the interaction among dimensions of diversity of the individual, but also considers the interaction within a context of connected systems and structures of power (e.g., laws, policies and governments). Recognising power inequality is key to intersectionality (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]).

2.2. Challenges in applying an intersectional approach

Applying an intersectional lens is not an easy task. The term is not integrated in many academic disciplines and definitions often vary. It is not easy to translate "intersectionality" to languages other than English. Policy makers and researchers are also often short of relevant data to be able to implement intersectional analyses. Furthermore, data that are available often lack the sufficient quantity or quality with respect to the diverse groups of interest. For instance, there are only a handful of datasets that can consider the intersection of sexual orientation and gender identity with other dimensions of diversity (section 4.5).

2.2.1. Variations in understanding and definition

Intersectionality as a topic is not inherently embedded in many academic disciplines. Researchers often do not consider it explicitly, due to lack of frameworks and previous practice, which means that it is not tagged as a keyword (Bowleg, 2012[12]). Intersectionality also has several rival terms, such as "interlocking oppressions", "wholism", "multidimensionality", "inter-connectivity", "co-synthesis", "complex bias", "symbiosis" and multiple metaphors ("Koosh ball", "Rubik's cube") illustrating the concept (Harris and Leonardo, 2018[8]). This creates challenges in providing an overview of the literature on intersectionality.

Furthermore, the term is frequently not defined as researchers assume a common understanding in the community. However, research on how the term is used among non-governmental organisations and policy makers working on equality in the United Kingdom showed that there are variations in conceptualisation, with five main approaches or understandings being identified (Christoffersen, 2021[7]). In a "generic" approach to intersectionality, work aims to address issues that affect everybody, with no or very little focus on particular groups or forms of inequality. A "pan equality approach" understands intersectionality as a concept that addresses broad issues common to all or most marginalised groups. "Multi-strand" intersectionality addresses different equality strands in parallel, separately and simultaneously, while the "diversity within" approach focuses on intersections within an equality strand. Finally, the "intersections of equality strands" conceptualisation understands intersectionality to mean work of and with specific groups sharing intersecting identities.

Despite the fact that intersectionality is not a new term, it is not yet contextualised in many national settings (OECD, 2020[9]). The term itself might not be used in languages other than English, which results in further complications when assessing the literature. Moreover, while participants at the 7th Policy Forum on Responding to Intersecting Diversity to Promote Inclusion and Equity in Education Systems generally agreed that intersectionality is a useful concept, many raised questions as to how it could be operationalised outside of academia (Box 2.1).

Box 2.1. Seventh OECD Policy Forum: Responding to Intersecting Diversity to Promote Inclusion and Equity in Education Systems

Policy Forums are organised annually by the *Strength through Diversity* project. The seventh edition – Intersecting Diversity to Promote Inclusion and Equity in Education Systems – was attended by over 50 participants from 21 OECD countries, one partner country and representatives from the European Union, the Trade Union Advisory Committee, UNESCO, civil society and several academic institutions. The Forum was organised around three sessions with presentations, workshops and plenary discussions.

In addition to defining and conceptualising intersectionality, the Forum explored how an intersectionality approach can be a powerful tool to (1) respond to the needs of the most marginalised students, and (2) engage in profound reforms of education systems through the design and implementation of inclusive laws and policies. More specifically, an intersectional policy approach attempts to respond to the intersecting needs of and challenges faced by some individuals, while also allowing for more structural changes that will benefit a whole group in the long run. For example, a policy focusing on the issues arising from the interlinkages of an immigrant status and special education needs (SEN) can target students with an immigrant background and with SEN to improve their educational performance and sense of belonging at school.

However, many participants noted that intersectionality remains a complex notion and there are significant challenges linked to its operationalisation. Translating theory into practice can be difficult for policy makers who are not always familiar with the concept. Among other crucial issues linked to the operationalisation of intersectionality is the existence of implicit biases (e.g., at the individual and social level, in legal and policy frameworks), the difficulty of translating the notion in languages other than English, the risk of misunderstanding and misusing the concept in a way that can render certain marginalised groups invisible, and the lack of disaggregated data to design, implement and monitor effective initiatives for inclusion. The collection of data relating to different dimensions of diversity was also a recurrent issue raised during the Forum.

Finally, the Forum participants emphasised the need for further research, experience sharing and peer learning on the topic of intersectionality to reach a common understanding of the concept, and how to design and implement intersectionality laws and policies to foster inclusive societies.

Source: OECD (2020[9]), Responding to Intersecting Diversity to Promote Inclusion and Equity in Education Systems, https://www.oecd.org/education/strength-through-diversity/1.%20Seventh%20Policy%20Forum%20Proceedings%2021%20September%202020.pdf (accessed on 23 August 2023).

2.2.2. Data collection challenges

Data collection is often limited in terms of both scope and sample size. Marginalised groups are frequently underrepresented in statistical data collection, which means that many countries lack information on diverse minorities. For instance, only 16 out of 38 OECD countries' national statistics offices collected data on race and ethnicity characteristics in 2018 (Mezzanotte, 2022[19]). Other data on dimension of diversity,

such as on sexual orientation, gender identity and giftedness, are even less common (McBrien, Rutigliano and Sticca, 2022[20]; Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). Many studies with an intersectional framework are therefore qualitative in nature (Nichols and Stahl, 2019[22]).

Even if studies include questions related to diversity, many individuals may be hesitant to disclose certain parts of their identity due to fears of discrimination or even legal repercussions (for instance, in contexts where homosexuality is prohibited by law). Such non-responses might cause significant biases that often result in low external validity.

Biases and unreliability can also be a consequence of small sample sizes. Studies that are designed based on random sampling or sampling that ensures representativeness of the overall population often face the challenge of having an extremely small number of observations in specific two-, three- or more dimensional intersections (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016[23]). Statisticians have developed several techniques that can ensure representativeness while avoiding low cell counts for certain intersections: stratified random sampling, and purposive, quota or snowball sampling (ibid.). Under stratified random sampling, the population is first divided into subgroups (e.g., intersections) from which individuals are randomly sampled. Purposive, quota and snowball sampling are more suitable for qualitative methods, whereby participants are recruited to be typical of the population of interest through networks or by asking research participants to refer eligible peers (Scottish Government, 2022[24]). Purposive, quota and snowball sampling increase the sample size, but are no longer representative samples (unlike stratified random sampling).

The limitations of small sample sizes among two- and three-dimensional intersections, as well as an absence of dimensions of diversity beyond gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background, are generally also visible in many international large-scale assessments, such as the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS), International Computer and Information Literacy Study (ICILS), Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). However, while a more detailed analysis is provided in section 4.5, national adaptations of the questionnaires can be tailored to specific countries' needs and include data on other dimensions of diversity.

Moreover, even where data are available, intersections are often omitted in analyses. For example, Delprato (2021[25]) illustrated that of all possible two- and three-dimensional inequalities that could be calculated for the indicators monitoring Sustainable Development Goal 4.1, only 35% were presented.

Disaggregated data can be used to distribute targeted resources, reveal inequalities between groups and benchmark progress on diversity policies, a process which is impeded if data are absent (Balestra and Fleischer, 2018[26]). However, the issues discussed above limit the scope for data analysis, particularly for some groups (e.g., sexual minorities). This might result in a situation in which policy makers are unaware of the inequalities and forms of disadvantage experienced by certain groups of the population.

Caution needs to be exercised when investing in a data collection with a wide range of dimensions of diversity

Intersectional analyses often require detailed data at the population level. However, these datasets pose unique sets of ethical and privacy concerns. The availability of data in many countries can thus be limited by legislative and regulatory frameworks. Two main factors drive such frameworks. First, it is feared that data may be misused to maintain or deepen power relationships between majority and minority population groups (Balestra and Fleischer, 2018[26]; Durante, Volpato and Fiske, 2009[27]; Simon and Piché, 2012[28]). This is of particular concern in countries where, e.g., ethnicity-based data was used in the past to provide the basis for discriminatory practices, and for groups that have in the past experienced ethnic profiling, segregation, genocide and violence (Balestra and Fleischer, 2018[26]). Second, some European countries adopted a "colour-blind" or "ethnicity-blind" approach that prohibits the collection of data on ethnicity with

the aim of ensuring equal treatment of all by the state and in social life more broadly (Balestra and Fleischer, 2018[26]). Proponents of the colour-blind approach also argue that collecting and publishing data by ethnic background could be threatening to national cohesion (Simon, 2017[29]).

As will be argued later, intersectionality therefore often requires a combination of approaches. Some questions, such as on the experiences of marginalised groups, can be answered using qualitative surveys with small sample sizes, or using anonymised quantitative surveys. Other intersections can be analysed using large-sample representative surveys or even using administrative data (e.g., intersections between gender, an immigrant background, in some countries also ethnic background and special education needs (SEN) etc.).

2.2.3. Doubts regarding the usefulness and applicability of the concept

Due to variations in understanding and defining the concept as well as lack of data, policy makers are often unclear on when and how to apply an intersectional lens, and may also have doubts regarding the usefulness of the concept (Christoffersen, 2021[7]; Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]). Intersectionality can represent a puzzle for policy makers given that equality policies are often formed in silos and are addressed one at a time (ibid.).

Even though frameworks that can guide policy makers on how to reconsider their approaches to apply intersectionality exist, intersectionality is sometimes operationalised as an add-on to existing policies that focus on a specific dimension of diversity without providing a definition for "intersectionality" and developing a full intersectional framework (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]). These approaches, however, often *a priori* prioritise one dimension of diversity, thus potentially disregarding other marginalised groups and intersections (ibid.). Such frameworks are possibly adopted due to low recognition of the intersectional frameworks, lack of data to implement an intersectional framework or other challenges discussed in section 2.4.

Applying an intersectional framework often requires resources. The need to search for and include a wide variety of stakeholders, explore new datasets and look for intersectional evidence requires time (Manuel, 2019[30]). Given that datasets that would permit an intersectional lens are rare, and there are issues with data availability linked to privacy concerns, this is not always possible.

Even if intersectionality frameworks are applied and new ways of thinking about a policy issue are revealed, obstacles remain in translating these messages from the research phase into easier and more digestible formats for other policy actors and decision makers (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]). For instance, revealing "too many" intersections can become overwhelming, and there is no clear answer as to whether and how prioritisation of intersections should be made.

2.3. Methods for applying an intersectional approach

Discussions about intersectional research methodologies reveal that research methods are often left unconnected to intersectionality frameworks (Bauer et al., 2021[13]). A mapping of available research methodologies suited to analyse issues from an intersectional perspective can thus be helpful in providing a relevant overview of potential tools for conducting this type of research.

In analysing the causes and associations of academic as well as non-academic outcome disparities and their intersections, researchers face the challenge of translating the abstract concept of intersectionality into appropriate methodologies well-suited to analyse the issues at hand. Such analyses can be conducted qualitatively, by describing themes and relations among different social phenomena, or quantitatively by testing pre-defined hypotheses on differences between groups (Shields, 2008[31]). Lastly, these methods can be combined for a mixed-method approach. However, as outlined in Box 2.2, these distinctions are not the only ones that can be made.

Box 2.2. Anti-categorical, intra-categorical and inter-categorical approaches

An alternative to looking at the methods for applying an intersectional approach using the quantitative/qualitative lens is to focus on how subjects of the study are categorised based on their characteristics. McCall (2005[32]) outlined three approaches: intra-categorical, inter-categorical and anti-categorical. The anti-categorical approach highlights the theoretical underpinnings of intersectionality that view each individual as a complex persona and as having a unique identity. As such, this method questions the ways in which categories such as gender, ethnic background and others are used and by whom (Unterhalter, Robinson and Balsera, 2020[33]). It renders the process of categorisation as suspect, because categorisation leads to demarcation, which can lead to exclusion that can result in inequality. The premise of this approach is that nothing fits neatly into separate categories. For instance, while gender has for a long time been viewed as a binary category, deconstruction of the concept (e.g., what distinguishes a man and woman?) has led to additional non-binary categories. By a similar process, one could even further deconstruct those categories.

The main concern of the inter-categorical approach is with the relationships among categories and how they change rather than with the definitions of the groups *per se*. Furthermore, this method does not focus on complexities within categories or social groups. While this approach is often criticised as reductionist, it can arrive at useful conclusions and, in fact, reach similar conclusions as the anti-categorical approach. For instance, by observing differences in student outcomes by intersecting gender, ethnicity, social, class, immigrant background and other characteristics, one can conclude that there is no single dimension of diversity that can fully analyse educational issues or design effective interventions (Grant and Zwier, 2011[34]). The inter-categorical approach is generally used in quantitative methods and, as such, also faces some of the same challenges regarding, for example, sample size limits.

Finally, the intra-categorical approach analyses complexities within broad formations of social division, such as gender (Unterhalter, Robinson and Balsera, 2020[33]). Similarly to the inter-categorical approach, it uses categories. However, rather than focusing on all kinds of relationships between them, it pays attention to one category and searches for complexities within it. This is done by clearly defining the subject of analysis, e.g., an Arab woman, and subsequently analysing the intersections with multiple other categories (such as class and sexual orientation), but from the perspective of Arab women rather than, for instance, Arab men. This method also suggests that it is important to search for causes behind inequalities and the support that various stakeholders need for equality (Unterhalter, Robinson and Balsera, 2020[33]). Both the anti-categorical and intra-categorical methods are often used in narrative approaches and case studies.

Source: McCall (2005[32]), The Complexity of Intersectionality, https://doi.org/10.1086/426800.

Several factors can be considered to ensure an intersectional perspective during data collection. Firstly, reflexivity on the part of the researcher is essential for the intersectional approach (Christoffersen, 2017[35]; Hunting, 2014[36]). In interacting with participants, it is important that researchers are aware of their own pre-conceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs to mitigate against the tendency to ascribe certain experiences to reductive ideas of pre-existing groups (Hunting, 2014[36]).

Secondly, the sampling process is crucial. The identification of the populations and intersections that the researchers aim to analyse is important (Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016[23]; Hunting, 2014[36]). A sample that enables an intersectional analysis is chosen in a way that ensures accurate representation of the communities of interest, while also allowing for diversity within the relevant groups. It is also essential to be sensitive to the cultural or personal circumstances of the participants. For example, participation rates

can be impacted by the accessibility of locations where data are collected or by possible scheduling conflicts with any dates or times that may be culturally or otherwise significant (Christoffersen, 2017[35]). An overview of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods is presented below (Table 2.1). How these methods can be applied in policy frameworks is then outlined in section 2.4.

Table 2.1. Overview of methods for applying an intersectional approach

	Qualitative methods	Quantitative methods	Mixed methods
Relevance of use	For uncovering emergent themes amongst different experiences	For uncovering group-level effects that depart from an individual's perspective	For establishing effects at the individual level while increasing generalisability of results
	For describing relationships between phenomena without a necessarily pre-defined research question	For establishing policy interventions for large populations	To mutually reinforce and clarify qualitative and quantitative methods
	For addressing multi-dimensional aspects of identity		For improving the sensitivity of quantitative data collection to the issues of individuals
	To avoid categorisation of individuals into pre-defined groups		
Applicable contexts	When data on some dimensions of diversity are unavailable and difficult to collect on a large scale	When data on a range of dimensions of diversity are available at a large scale	When questions about the dimensions of diversity for a large-scale survey are *ex ante* not known
	When wanting to understand the complexity and richness of people's experiences	When results are being generalised	When results are being generalised
	When wanting to understand how individual experiences differ in contexts that shape their lives		
Non-applicable contexts	When applying broad-scale policy solutions beyond local contexts	When categorisation of individuals' identities is difficult to make or categories are *ex ante* not known	When resources to conduct the research are limited

2.3.1. Qualitative methods

Qualitative research methodologies collect data on the micro level with an emphasis on individual voices and life experiences (Harris and Bartlow, 2015[37]; Hunting, 2014[36]). As a goal, qualitative researchers often intend to uncover emergent themes amongst different experiences. They often describe relationships among phenomena without a necessarily pre-defined research question and usually with small samples (Harris and Bartlow, 2015[37]).

Qualitative methodologies are well-suited to address multi-dimensional aspects of identity without resorting to a categorisation of individuals into pre-defined groups (Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2019[38]; Shields, 2008[31]). However, their main drawback is that, while they often yield interesting results, these cannot be generalised to the overall population of interest.

Qualitative methods are generally suitable in contexts where data on some dimensions of diversity are unavailable and/or difficult to collect on a large scale. Indeed, as presented in section 3. many studies that focus on the intersections of sexual orientation and gender identity are qualitative in nature. Qualitative methods are also suitable for the understanding of the complexity and richness of people's experiences, and for the understanding of how individual experiences differ in some common contexts that shape their lives (e.g., power, discrimination, resistance and resilience) (Dubrow, 2013[39]).

2.3.2. Quantitative methods

Quantitative methods can help understand group-level effects that depart from an individual's perspective. Such insights are useful to establish potential policy interventions, as quantitative evidence can hold more weight in policy discussions (Ballo, 2019[40]; Bauer, 2014[41]; Bowleg and Bauer, 2016[42]).

Due to the nature of quantitative data collection, participants are asked the same questions, typically with a limited set of permissible answers. Individual responses are thus placed into pre-determined categories that are later relied on for the statistical analysis. As such, this approach appears at odds with some aspects of intersectionality, which generally attempts to avoid the categorisation of individual experiences (Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2019[38]).

In general, quantitative approaches can be applied if data are available on a range of dimensions of diversity at a large scale. The size of the dataset is important to overcome insufficient number of observations for more than two-dimensional analyses. In contrast, quantitative methods are not suitable when categorisation is difficult to make or categories are *ex ante* not known.

In quantitative methods, it is highly relevant to distinguish between models that adopt an "additive" approach and a multiplicative approach. The difference between the two is best understood when illustrated (Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2). Under an additive approach displayed in Panel A of Figure 2.1, the four lines for simulated test scores are parallel to each other. For each level of socio-economic background, girls without an immigrant background outperform girls with an immigrant background, who in turn score better than boys without and with an immigrant background respectively. The important detail to notice here is that the differences between the four groups are the same for each level of socio-economic background – an unlikely assumption imposed by the additive structure of the model.

Panel B of Figure 2.1, shows an interaction between immigrant and socio-economic background. As a result, the lines between students with and without an immigrant background are no longer parallel. They remain parallel within these groups (i.e., between boys and girls with an immigrant background and boys and girls without such background).

Finally, in Figure 2.2, a three-way interaction is introduced between socio-economic background, immigrant background and gender. Here, scores differ for each level of socio-economic background between girls and boys, and with and without an immigrant background. None of the lines are parallel to each other.

Figure 2.1. Illustration of the difference between additive and two-way multiplicative models

Panel A: Model without interactions	Panel B: Model with an interaction between socio-economic background and immigrant background
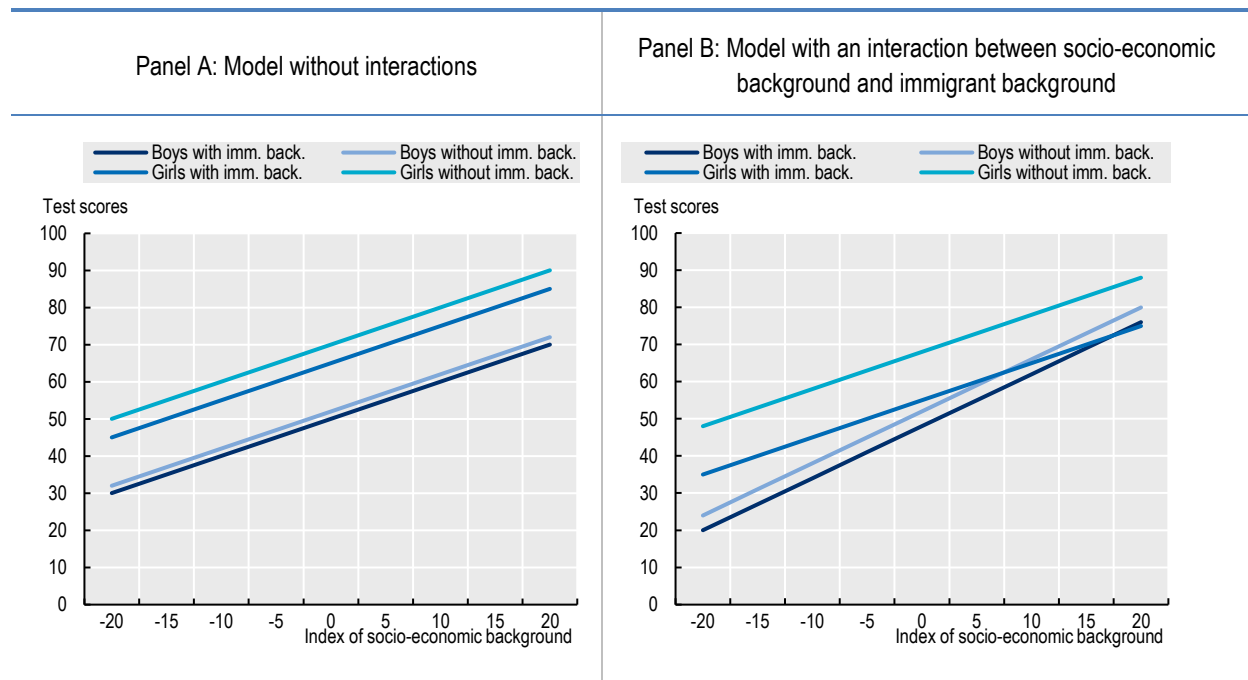
Note: Authors' elaboration based on simulated data.

Figure 2.2. Illustration of a three-way multiplicative model
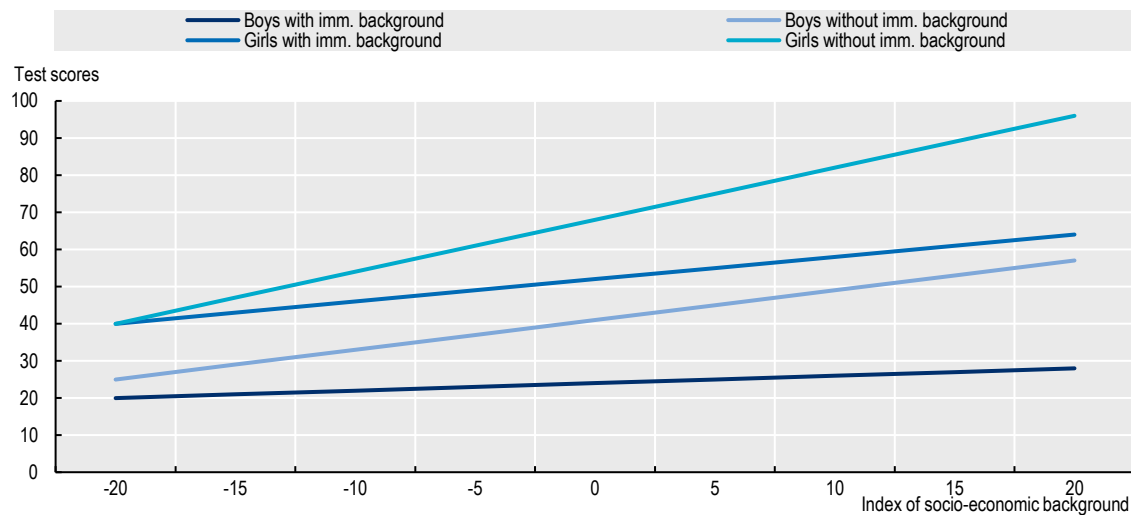
Note: Authors' elaboration based on simulated data.

The models presented above are not too complex. However, once researchers add more variables or variables with more categories, the illustrations can become challenging to read. For instance, in the examples above, each of the categorical variables had only two possible values. If each had three categories, nine lines would have to be displayed (or the figures would have to be split in two, one for each gender, for instance). Furthermore, researchers are often interested in statistical significance, which is directly related to the sample size. As a result, quantitative analyses might not be informative for sub-categories with few observations.

Quantitative models can also control for other macro-level characteristics. For example, when observing gender differences in scores among socio-economic groups, researchers often also consider school-level characteristics, such as whether the school is private or which region the school belongs to. These can theoretically also interact with student-level characteristics and one can thus observe the interaction of broader environments with students' (intersecting) dimensions of diversity.

2.3.3. Mixed methods

Some researchers have emphasised that the use of several different methods may be required to provide a comprehensive answer to a research question from an intersectional perspective (Dubrow, 2013[39]; Hancock, 2007[5]). While a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies may be well-suited for this purpose, mixed methods research can be costly and time-intensive (Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2019[38]).

Mixed methods research aims at gathering large amounts of data that may increase the generalisability of results compared to qualitative methods, while enabling the analysis of channels and establishing effects at the individual level (Bowleg and Bauer, 2016[42]; Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2019[38]). Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods can thus be used to clarify and reinforce results obtained using either methodology, and can help balance the limitations of each method in the intersectional approach (Grace, 2014[43]; Griffin and Museus, 2011[44]).

Data collection for mixed methods studies is based on qualitative surveys, such as in-depth interviews or focus groups, in conjunction with quantitative data in the form of large-scale surveys with close-ended questions. It is important to consider how data will be used in the quantitative and qualitative analysis together. Researchers can opt to conduct a population-based survey and supplement it with qualitative sub-samples for an embedded approach. The collected qualitative data can allow for more insights into individual channels and experiences or validate findings from quantitative analysis (Creswell and Creswell, 2018[45]; Fehrenbacher and Patel, 2019[38]).

Conversely, it is possible to gather qualitative data to supplement the development of questions for a large-scale survey, thus letting the results of the qualitative data inform quantitative data (Creswell and Creswell, 2018[45]). Data can also be merged to present, for instance, side-by-side comparisons. Due to the variety of data collection methods in mixed-method research, it is important to carefully consider the research question of interest before making decisions on these processes (ibid.).

Mixed methods approaches can be helpful from the intersectional perspective, as they can make the collection of quantitative data more sensitive to the issues of individuals who rarely exert influence on how research is conducted. Incorporating the experiences of people with intersecting identities into survey design can also help researchers uncover previously overlooked issues.

2.4. Policy frameworks that operationalise intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality is complex, multidimensional, and can be challenging to apply for researchers and policy makers alike. However, without adopting an intersectional lens, research and policies are unlikely to be able to adequately identify, reflect or address the needs of individuals with intersecting identities (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Consequently, policies targeted at separate dimensions of diversity without an intersectional lens may not be able to address adequately issues that they were meant to solve (ibid.).

Policy frameworks can help policy makers to systematically assess interventions and processes for their effectiveness in mitigating intersectional issues. Applying intersectional methodologies in an analysis can also help evaluate policies according to their impact on groups who are otherwise marginalised by focusing

on the individuals' intersecting identities. Drawing on the review by Hankivsky and Cormier (2011[2]) and work by Hankivsky (2012[46]), this section presents three frameworks for intersectional policy analysis.

2.4.1. Intersectional Policy Process Analysis

One method of analysing policy from an intersectional perspective is to examine each step of the policy-making process to determine the extent (if any) to which an intersectional approach is needed, and, if it is, whether it has been included (Bishwakarma, Hunt and Zajicek, 2007[47]; Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). While going through this process, representatives from each intersectional group at which the policy is targeted are to be included in the policy discussion. This can help ensure a thorough examination of the process from a diversity of perspectives (Bishwakarma, Hunt and Zajicek, 2007[47]). Bishwakarma, Hunt and Zajicek (2007[47]) have developed a guide for the Intersectional Policy Process Analysis, which consists of four stages (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. Intersectional Policy Process Analysis
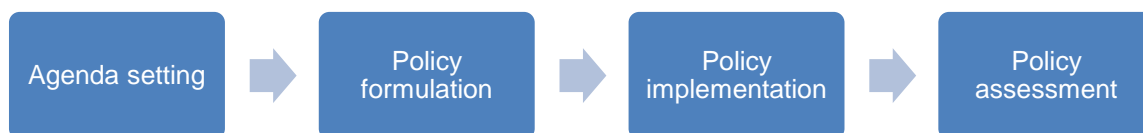
Source: Authors' illustration based on Bishwakarma, Hunt and Zajicek (2007[47]), Intersectionality and informed policy and Hankivsky and Cormier (2011[2]), Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models, https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912910376385.

Agenda setting

During the agenda setting stage of the policy process, it is key to understand which issues are to be prioritised (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). This can be a process involving many political actors with a large variety of biases and knowledge bases. This stage should also determine whether various groups experience the policy problem at hand differently and thus warrants an intersectional approach, which requires diverse experiences of policy issues to be considered. This can be done by consulting with the intersectional target groups involved in the policy process.

The agenda setting stage also involves a consideration of both the present situation and its historical context (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). The historical context can include the effects of colonialism, globalisation and nation building, among others. The present situation context, or situational analysis, elaborates on the interaction between individual and institutional factors. Some policies have the potential to create further competition and discrimination between marginalised groups, rather than improving their outcomes. Keeping in mind the current situation and its historical context helps make such potential unintended consequences more visible.

Policy formulation

During the policy formulation stage, policy makers examine whether the proposed policies developed in response to the issues identified in the first stage apply an intersectional lens (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). This can be done by focusing on intended outcomes with a special consideration for the outcomes of marginalised groups as well as their intersections. Before proceeding with a policy proposal, previously conducted research on intersectional policy issues is consulted as a relevant knowledge base. This can help determine the policy's impact on different groups. While Bishwakarma, Hunt and Zajicek (2007[47]) acknowledge that a policy cannot be written to narrate the effects on every group, they note that it is

important to include a process that examines whether and how the policy addresses the specific consequences for the different groups of people.

Policy implementation

In the third stage, policy makers decide which administrative unit will be responsible for implementing the policy (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). This phase also involves an evaluation as to whether the implementation process adopts an intersectional lens by, for instance, ensuring that the targeted groups are represented in the implementing body.

Policy assessment

At the policy assessment stage, the goal is to evaluate whether the objectives of the policy were achieved (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). To retain an intersectional perspective, it is necessary to determine whether the intersectional nature of the problem (initially identified during the agenda setting stage) was effectively addressed. Evaluators should thus analyse whether each targeted group was reached and whether the policy influenced their outcomes as intended.

Advantages and disadvantages

The advantage of the Intersectional Policy Process Analysis is that it can be relatively easily implemented in the policy cycle, given that it mirrors the cycle itself (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). However, viewing the policy-making process as a policy cycle with several stages implicitly assumes that there is a clear distinction between the stages. In practice, policy making can be a complex and non-linear process that may make it difficult to apply the guidelines presented above (ibid.). Furthermore, this approach ignores the possible presence of other, competing policy cycles. These can impact and interact with the one under analysis, which is not considered in this methodology (ibid.).

Moreover, the Intersectional Policy Process Analysis makes the incorporation of intersectionality optional (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Rather than being viewed as an essential part of policy, this methodology encourages adding an intersectional perspective based on need. This could result in intersectionality being viewed as an additional, optional feature in a traditional process, rather than implying a fundamental transformation of policy making (ibid.).

2.4.2. Multi-Strand Approach

An alternative way to integrate an intersectional perspective in policy making is to employ the Multi-Strand Approach. This methodology was initially developed to promote equality and human rights in Wales (United Kingdom) (Box 2.3). It is based on the principle that each "strand" (or dimension) of diversity should be represented in policy making without prioritising one over the others. It thus aims to avoid siloed thinking and considers differences in outcomes between different dimensions (Parken, 2010[14]).

Furthermore, it seeks to combine expertise from a range of perspectives, such as equality and human rights, and to incorporate representatives from diverse groups into the policy discussion without letting any specific dimension or intersection dominate the conversation (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). The explicit requirement for the consideration of marginalised perspectives has the potential to transform policy processes and make policy makers more conscious of real-lived experiences (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Originally, the Multi-Strand Approach included six equality strands: gender, race and ethnicity, ability, religion and belief, age, and sexual orientation. Each dimension had an equal "weight" in the analysis ("equality mainstreaming") (ibid.).

This method differs from the Intersectional Policy Process Analysis in that it does not focus on the evaluation of a single policy (new or existing) (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Instead, the Multi-Strand

Approach emphasises the examination of the entire policy field. The analysis is focused on how different dimensions of diversity are influenced by policy and whether any changes can serve to address the existing disparities. After mapping the policy field and envisioning possible changes, proposals are "road-tested" by imagining how they would impact individuals at different intersections of diversity to examine intended and unintended consequences (Parken, 2010[14]). Lastly, the methodology emphasises continuous monitoring of outcomes. The framework can be summarised in five steps, as illustrated in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4. Multi-Strand Approach
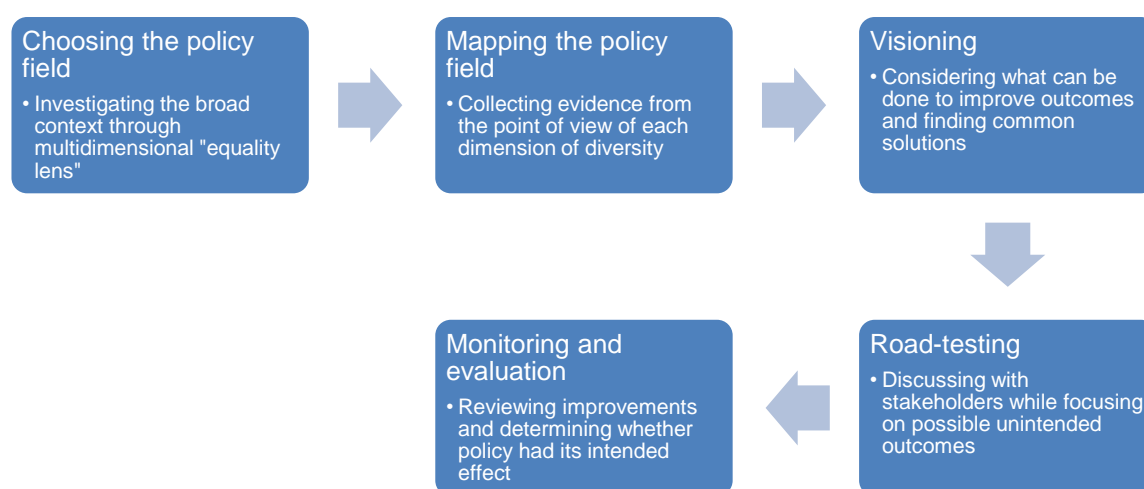
Choosing the policy field

The first stage of the Multi-Strand Approach is to choose a policy field to be investigated (Parken, 2010[14]). The aim of looking at a policy field rather than specific interventions is to avoid competition between different dimensions of diversity. To ensure this, emphasis is placed on the definition of the policy field. Investigation of the broad context should thus be made with a multidimensional "equality lens", which considers various diversity strands (ibid.).

Mapping the policy field

After choosing the policy field, the mapping stage involves examining the broad dimensions of the field from the point of view of each diversity strand as well as the intersections between strands. Evidence from qualitative and quantitative data on each strand and its treatment in the policy field is collected and discussed to raise awareness of any inequities (Parken, 2010[14]). Policy makers also investigate the way the policy field is currently structured, assessing whether this promotes values of dignity, respect, fairness and autonomy, whether it is likely to cause or perpetuate disadvantage, and whether any group's outcomes remain unexamined (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). This can be done by asking questions such as "Is the way the policy field is structured likely to cause or perpetuate disadvantage?" and "Does the structure

of the policy field promote values of dignity, respect, fairness and autonomy?" (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011, p. 224[2]).

Visioning

Based on the evidence collected in the mapping stage, policy makers now consider what can be done to improve outcomes (Parken, 2010[14]). The focus is placed on the intended consequences of the policy change. Emphasis is also put on commonalities across different diversity strands to identify common solutions. To keep an intersectionality approach, no strand dominates the discussion.

Road-testing

During road-testing, ideas collected in the visioning stage are discussed with stakeholders while focusing on potential unintended consequences of the policy change (Parken, 2010[14]). This can be achieved through the construction of "vignettes", where analysts aim to see the envisioned policy changes from the perspective of an individual's intersecting identity (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). For instance, policy makers consider how the envisioned policy would impact a girl with special education needs and from an ethnic minority background. For each scenario considered, the accessibility and inclusivity of the envisioned policy should be checked (ibid.).

Monitoring and evaluation

Evaluation is a continuous process necessary to determine whether a policy has had the intended effects. For example, equity indicators that measure improvements in disparities can be developed (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). Each diversity strand as well as the intersections between strands may require a separate set of indicators in order to measure success of the policy (ibid.).

Box 2.3. Application of the Multi-Strand Approach in Wales (United Kingdom)

The Multi-Strand Approach was developed in Wales (United Kingdom) in the late 1990s and early 2000s as a roadmap for promoting equal treatment legislation covering gender, disability, race, sexual orientation, age and religion prompted by legislative changes in the European Union. The Evidence Panel of the Multi-Strand Project was set up with representatives from key organisations with vested interests in one or more of the strands. Indeed, recruiting these representatives already revealed some gaps given that, at that time, for some groups (e.g., transgender equality groups) representative bodies were difficult to find. The representatives were also trained in the principles underlying an equality mainstreaming approach and its applications in policy making.

In the first step (choosing the policy field), the Panel identified social care, in particular the situation of unpaid social carers, as the main field of interest. In the second step (mapping the policy field), the Panel was involved in analysing quantitative surveys, policies and research findings from the literature to determine, for instance, who was providing social care and the impact of existing policies on social carers. Some gaps were identified in this area. For example, few datasets were available about sexual orientation, religion or belief, and the levels of Welsh language of the social carers. The policy language around older and disabled people identified them as recipients of care, but often obscured their considerable contributions to unpaid caring. Moreover, obtaining intersectional data involved, for instance, commissioning new data runs from the 2001 census.

As part of the next stage (visioning), the Panel searched for commonalities among strands based on the findings in the mapping stage. For example, the Panel identified that women, older and disabled people would particularly benefit from financial support provided to family members who stopped working or worked less to care for someone. However, this stage also revealed some challenges in adopting the Multi-Strand Approach. For instance, when considering the many intersections of the strands under consideration, the Panel members became overwhelmed and unable to prioritise.

During the road-testing stage, the Panel examined the possible unintended consequences of the proposed policy solutions from the perspective of each strand. Effects were explored, for example, for disabled men speaking Welsh or single older women working part-time and caring for 30 hours per week.

Finally, in monitoring and evaluation, the members considered indicators of success for each step of the Multi-Strand Approach. These included identifying equality indicators (e.g., an increase in the use of service), continued data collection to monitor the impact of the policy changes and on-going consultations with relevant stakeholders.

In follow-up interviews with the Panel members, several highlighted the added value of learning about the other strands (that they themselves did not represent). This was only achieved thanks to non-prioritisation of any of the strands and by hearing all voices.

Source: Hankivsky and Cormier (2011[2]), Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models, https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912910376385 and Parken (2010[14]), A multi-strand approach to promoting equalities and human rights in policy making, https://doi.org/10.1332/030557309X445690.

Advantages and disadvantages

In comparison to the Intersectional Policy Process Analysis, intersectionality underpins the entire Multi-Strand Approach, rather than being viewed as a potential add-on. Moreover, this approach also explicitly avoids prioritising one dimension of diversity over others. Indeed, it places intersectionality at the

heart of the process (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]). However, some methodological issues remain. The framework provides little guidance for the identification of policy priorities or the representatives to be included in the process (ibid.). Furthermore, it does not allow for a more specific focus on any of the dimensions of diversity or any of their intersections, despite the possibility that some groups might be more marginalised than others (ibid.).

The implementation of this framework may require a large amount of resources, in that the framework recommends training representatives of different diversity dimensions in issues of inequality, human rights and policy. Such measures can be time-consuming and costly, and may thus delay the implementation of intersectionality-oriented policies (Hankivsky and Cormier, 2011[2]).

2.4.3. Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis framework

The Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis (IBPA) framework published by the Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy aims to provide methods for policy makers to translate intersectionality into practical approaches (Hankivsky, 2012[46]). The IBPA is the joint outcome of several authors who engaged in a participative process, during which they received feedback from scholars in the field (ibid.). The IBPA primarily targets stakeholders in health and health-related policy sectors, but can potentially also guide policy makers in the education area. According to the authors, the IBPA provides an innovative structure for critical policy analysis; captures the different dimensions of policy contexts including history, politics, everyday lived experiences, diverse knowledge and intersecting social locations; and generates transformative insights, knowledge, policy solutions and actions that cannot be gleaned from other equity-focused policy frameworks (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]).

The IBPA has two components (Hankivsky, 2012[46]). The first component comprises eight guiding principles that advance the central tenets of intersectionality. These are summarised in Figure 2.5. The first guiding principle, intersecting categories, highlights that individuals cannot be reduced to distinct social categories, nor can individual characteristics be analysed in an additive fashion (e.g., gender + ethnicity). Furthermore, policy analysts should be guided by multi-level analyses including the macro (global and national-level institutions and policies), meso (provincial and regional-level institutions and policies), and micro level (community-level, grassroots institutions and policies as well as the individual), and take into account diverse knowledge bases of different groups. Analysts are also encouraged to be reflective of their own situation, consider the interactions of time and space, as well as the concept of power to determine how privilege and marginalisation are shaped. Lastly, analyses should be guided by the principles of social justice and equity.

Figure 2.5. Guiding principles of the Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis framework

Intersecting categories
- View individuals as unique with their social categories as interacting to create distinctive social locations

Multi-level analysis
- Connect macro, meso and micro level to address inequity at various levels

Power
- Remember that power structures can exclude particular knowledge and experiences, that social locations are constructed by processes and systems of power, and that these processes operate together

Reflexivity
- Be involved in a continuous process of reflection about who is excluded from the policy roles, and question various assumptions and "truths"

Time and space
- Consider that privileges and disadvantages change over time and space

Diverse knowledges
- Reflect on how diverse knowledge, power and the relationship between power and knowledge production are considered in policy analysis

Social justice
- Place an emphasis on social justice and challenge inequities at their source

Equity
- Intersect multiple positions of privilege and oppression to design social systems that equalise outcomes

Source: Adapted from Hankivsky (2012[46]), An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/46176 (accessed on 23 August 2023).

The second component of the IBPA framework comprises 12 sets of questions that can guide or shape an intersectional analysis (Hankivsky, 2012[46]). The questions are both descriptive and transformative (Table 2.2). Descriptive questions build a comprehensive background, find assumptions underpinning priorities and explore possible inequities created by current policies. Transformative questions subsequently guide the user to find new policy perspectives to promote social justice and equity-focused policies. Some of the key features of this framework are simplicity and flexibility. In line with those, users might not need to focus on all 12 questions but a smaller selection that is tailored and relevant to their policy contexts. Hankivsky (2012[46]), however, recommends that all users ask the first question to help them inform the use of the framework, and the position, knowledge, values and experiences they bring to their analysis.

Table 2.2. Questions from the Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis

	Main question	Detailed guidance questions
Descriptive	What knowledge, values and experiences do you bring to this area of policy analysis?	What is your experience with policy and policy analysis? What policy areas have you worked in? What are your personal values, experiences, interests, beliefs and political commitments? How do these personal experiences relate to social and structural locations and processes in this policy area?
	What is the policy "problem" under consideration?	What assumptions (e.g., beliefs about what causes the problem and which population(s) is/are most affected) underlie this representation of the "problem"?
	How have representations of the "problem" come about?	What was the process in framing the "problem" this way? Who was involved and why was the "problem" defined in this way? What evidence was used? How has the framing of the "problem" changed over time or across different places?
	How are groups differentially affected by this representation of the "problem"?	Who is considered the most advantaged and who is the least advantaged within this representation? Why and how? How do the current representations shape understandings of different groups of people? What differences, variations and similarities are considered to exist between and among relevant groups?
	What are the current policy responses to the "problem"?	Who has responded to the "problem" and how? What are current policies trying to achieve? Do current policies focus on target groups? If so, are they seen as homogenous or heterogeneous? Are they stigmatised by existing policy responses? How do existing policies address, maintain or create inequities between different groups? Do responses create competition for resources among differently situated groups?
Transformative	What inequities exist in relation to the "problem"?	Which are the important intersecting social locations and systems? Where will you look to find necessary information to help you answer this question (e.g., evidence from academic sources, policy reports focusing on intersectionality-informed analyses)? What approaches can be used to promote discussion across differently affected groups? What are the knowledge/evidence gaps about this problem across the diversity of the population?
	Where and how can interventions be made to improve the "problem"?	What are the logical entry points? What are the available policy levers? What are other examples of successes? How could policy interventions build on these examples? Who is part of the proposed intervention? Who is positioned to implement the intervention? What role can diverse communities play in these interventions? How will they be meaningfully engaged and supported in providing input? At what level or combination of levels (e.g., micro, meso, macro) can interventions be made?
	What are feasible short-, medium-, and long-term solutions?	How can solutions be pragmatically positioned and promoted in relation to government policy priorities (e.g., budget allocations, ministerial priorities and departmental plans)? How can proposed solutions be synthesised into a clear and persuasive message?
	How will proposed policy responses reduce inequities?	How will proposed options address intersectional inequities and promote social justice? How will you ensure that the proposed options do not produce further inequities for some populations? How will the solutions interact with other existing policies? What might be the challenges and opportunities for proposed policy solutions?
	How will implementation and uptake be assured?	Who will be responsible to ensure the implementation of the policy recommendations? What time frames and accountability mechanisms are identified for implementation? How do the policy solutions encourage solidarity across divergent interests and groups?
	How will you know if inequities have been reduced?	How will you measure policy implementation and outcomes? What intersectional factors will be measured in the evaluation? How will they be measured? How will affected communities be meaningfully engaged in assessing the reduction of inequities? What will be the measure of success?
	How has the process of engaging in an Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis transformed your views?	How has the process transformed: Your thinking about relations and structures of power and inequity? The ways in which you and others engage in the work of policy development, implementation and evaluation? Broader conceptualisations, relations and effects of power asymmetry in everyday world?

Source: Hankivsky (2012[46]), An Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis Framework, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/46176 (accessed on 23 August 2023).

Advantages and disadvantages

The IBPA has a documented record of applications in the academic literature (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]). One case study that applied the IBPA in the education sector is summarised in Box 2.4. Based on these implementations, Hankivsky et al. (2014[18]) highlighted that the IBPA can lead to structural innovations and transformative effects. Structural innovations are characterised by the questioning of the assumptions underpinning policies, the attention the framework places on historic contexts, the way in which it frames contemporary issues, and the self-reflective methods "for capturing complex multi-dimensional power dynamics that shape everyday lived experiences" (Hankivsky et al., 2014, p. 4[18]). The transformative effects generate new perspectives and insights about policy issues and affected populations (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]).

However, several factors can result in resistance to the implementation of the IBPA. Those who are not open to the values of social justice and change might be reluctant to use this framework (Hankivsky et al., 2014[18]). As it discourages *ex ante* prioritisation of single factors of inequity in favour of a process of discovery, policy makers may also lean towards more targeted approaches (ibid,). The adoption of a fully intersectional approach in policy analysis may require new types of expertise which can be costly to attain (ibid.). Finally, the evidence base that would be needed to apply the IBPA may not be available, due to, e.g., a lack of research (ibid.).

Box 2.4. Application of the Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis in foster care and education

Research suggests that students from marginalised, low-income and foster care backgrounds have lower rates of upper secondary and tertiary graduation and poorer academic outcomes compared to their peers. Furthermore, these gaps have been persistent across several years.

Moreover, youth in foster care live at the intersection of two systems: education and child welfare. And while both systems attempt to enact policies that will ultimately improve progress towards equity, the evidence on the impact of these policies is limited, particularly for youth from some minority ethnic backgrounds or in special education.

First Star (a non-profit organisation in the United States) partners with child welfare agencies, higher education institutions and school districts to improve the academic achievements and life skills of youth in foster care. First Star aims to raise the prospects of youth in foster care by easing the transitions to higher education and adulthood (First Star, 2022[48]). Stewart and Cavendish (2021[49]) applied the IBPA with the aim to improve equitable outcomes for the foster youth in the First Star programme. They used six (slightly rephrased) questions from Table 2.2. The answers are summarised below.

Table 2.3. Application of IBPA in First Star

Question	Answer
What knowledge, values and experiences do you bring to this area of policy or practice? What social determinants (race, gender, class, citizenship etc.) affect your perspective?	This project represents a cross-disciplinary collaboration between researchers and practitioners in Law and Education. Kele Stewart is a Black female immigrant law school professor whose legal clinic advocates on behalf of youth in foster care and whose academic research focuses on child welfare policy, including the intersection of education and child welfare. Wendy Cavendish is a White female former teacher and current education professor with experience working with diverse, urban schools, teachers, students and families to facilitate more equitable outcomes for marginalised students. The project's graduate student research team includes a Latinx former foster youth with extensive non-profit agency experience, a Black former high school teacher and a Latinx special education teacher.
How do existing policies and practices address, maintain or create inequities between different groups? Which are the important intersecting social locations and systems?	This project was designed by foregrounding the intersectional vulnerabilities of foster youth served in education. We identified the intersecting locations as schools and foster care placements and the systems as child welfare and education. As noted, while the education policies (IDEA and ESSA) include protections and/or provisions for foster youth, the systems do not work in tandem nor communicate with each other to provide supports for youth and families.
Who will be responsible (and who is best positioned) to ensure the implementation of the recommendations?	Built into the First Star Academy Theory of Change framework is a focus on the psychosocial development and support of youth that includes programming and data monitoring for self-determination skills with support for the development of self-advocacy and transformative social advocacy skills. This focus, coupled with the iterative developmental programme evaluation process that includes youth input, is designed to facilitate youth and staff development as agents of change and advocates for others within the child welfare system.
Does the research advance the perspectives of those under study?	The First Star research project centres youth perspectives and experiences both within the programme and across the child welfare and school systems. Our data sources include youth and staff surveys, focus groups, interview protocols, standardised measures for self-determination and social network development, and, importantly, individualised transition plans that include youth goals in the domains of education, independent living, social relationships and employment/career exploration. All programming and adjustments to measures and data sources collected by the programme and from the child welfare and school systems are driven by the goal areas identified by youth themselves on the transition plans.
Is the research framed within context? Does it reflect self-identified needs of affected groups/communities?	The research is framed within both the micro context (programmatically and youth-centred), and the larger school and child welfare system contexts. We have used a developmental approach for evaluation to monitor, document and adapt the programme relative to changing strengths and needs of the participants. This iterative process has been useful in the programme's development and implementation, as we are focused on addressing complex and multi-layered problems in real time. Because of its embeddedness in programme design, the on-going developmental evaluations have allowed us to essentially co-construct the programme with the youth. This iterative process allows for an understanding of context and time-sensitive insights to inform

Question	Answer
	programme adaptations in response to both emergent findings and changing circumstances. We use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate programme process and youth outcomes.
Is the tool of inquiry suited to collecting micro, macro data or a combination of both? How are interactions at individual levels of experience linked to social institutions and processes of power?	In this project, we collect both micro and macro data. The micro data include youth and staff perspectives, academic progress measures, psychosocial skill development (e.g., Self-determination Scale) and social network/social capital development (via Social Network Analysis). The macro sources include data from across both child welfare (placement changes, child welfare case notes and legal rulings) and school district systems (school mobility and attendance rates, school credits and grades, and state assessment scores). The interactions between youth experiences and progress and the practices and procedures in the education and child welfare systems are central to our analyses.

Source: Stewart and Cavendish (2021[49]), "Toward More Effective Policy, Practice, and Research in Child Welfare and Education" in *Intersectionality in Education: Toward More Equitable Policy, Research, and Practice*, Teachers College Press, New York.

3. Looking at research through an intersectional lens

The following section summarises some of the effects of applying an intersectional lens in academic and other studies. It describes how an intersectional approach can add value to analysis and enhance understanding of topics. It should be noted, however, that a recent literature review of quantitative intersectional analyses revealed several shortcomings, many of which are applicable to the studies presented in this section too. For instance, Bauer et al. (2021[13]) concluded that many studies did not precisely define their approach following McCall's (2005[32]) categorisation (anti-categorical, inter-categorical, intra-categorical (Box 2.2)). Studies also mixed what are referred to as processes of power with identity categories (Bauer et al., 2021[13]). For example, some studies did not distinguish between racism (as a process) and categories of race. As such, many studies also lacked a discussion on whether the estimates are causal. Many studies were not set in an intersectionality framework and few discussed multidimensionality of categories (e.g., race as a racial identity vs. race as a legal racial status) (ibid.).

Furthermore, research in this area is unbalanced, limited and fragmented. As described in section 2.2, it is challenging to find evidence on many of these topics and readers should be aware that what follows is simply an overview of the literature. For some dimensions of diversity (such as gender and ethnic background) research is more abundant than for others (e.g., sexual orientation) (Table 3.1).

Where possible, this section has been structured around parallel issues, though common themes are difficult to find. The first two sections begin with intersections between ethnicity, gender, socio-economic and immigrant background. Here, the literature often focuses on learning outcomes, attitudes, aspirations and subject choice. The next section elaborates on intersections between sexual orientation, special education needs, ethnicity and an immigrant background (refugees and asylum-seekers), which are a basis on which discrimination and victimisation frequently occur. Section 3.4 elaborates on intersections with special education needs, and the last section on intersections with giftedness. The common theme in both are challenges concerning the adequate identification of the needs of these students.

Table 3.1. Overview of dimensions of diversity and their intersections covered in this section

Section	Dimensions of diversity covered
3.1 and 3.2	**Ethnic background (incl. Indigeneity)**
	Immigrant background
	Gender
	Socio-economic background
	Geographic location
3.3	**Sexual orientation**
	Special education needs
	Ethnic background
	Immigrant background (refugees and asylum-seekers)
3.4	**Special education needs**
	Ethnic background (incl. Indigeneity)
	Gender
	Socio-economic background
	Immigrant background
3.5	**Giftedness**
	Special education needs
	Ethnic background (incl. Indigeneity)
	Gender
	Socio-economic background

Note: Dimensions of diversity in bold highlight the main focus of the section.

3.1. Intersections between gender, immigrant and socio-economic background

Gender, immigrant and socio-economic background are some of the most well-studied dimensions of diversity. Disparities in a broad range of educational outcomes between men and women and among different socio-economic backgrounds are of continued interest to researchers and policy makers.

The outcomes of individuals with an immigrant background are discussed in both policy and research. Students with an immigrant background often deal with a significant amount of stress and adversity while integrating into the education system of their destination country (OECD, 2018[50]). Trauma from displacement, disadvantages related to socio-economic background, shifting immigration policies and the stress of language acquisition can in many cases pose a large challenge to these students (ibid.).

A recurring theme among people with an immigrant background is experiences of marginalisation or exclusion on the grounds of their nativity or ethnicity (Covarrubias et al., 2017[51]). Reports of anti-immigrant sentiments are common throughout some immigrants' educational paths, along with experiences of disadvantage due to their non-citizen status (ibid.). Some testimonies from undocumented students in the United States reported constant worries about deportation, especially during periods when policy discussions around immigration were targeting some ethnic minority groups more than others (Abril-Gonzalez, 2020[52]).

Migration-induced diversity can further intersect with gender, ethnicity and socio-economic background. Analysing immigrant populations without considerations of such within-group differences can hide important differences in outcomes (Covarrubias, 2011[53]).

3.1.1. Participation

Early childhood education and care

While most 15-year-old students reported participating in early childhood and education care (ECEC), differences in participation exist. Disadvantaged students are particularly falling behind, despite research showing that these groups benefit from ECEC the most (Duncan et al., 2022[54]). Intersectional analyses reveal that socio-economically advantaged native boys and girls reported participating in ECEC at the highest rate (Figure 3.1). On average across OECD countries as well as in several countries with available data, socio-economically advantaged native students' ECEC participation rate was higher than that of their disadvantaged peers (with or without an immigrant background). Canada is the only country with available data where disadvantaged migrant boys participated in ECEC similarly to their native peers. In all the other countries with available data, students with an immigrant background participated in ECEC at a lower rate compared to their peers. For all of the student groups under consideration, no gender differences were observed in either of the 14 countries with available data.

The analysis displayed in Figure 3.1 also illustrates many of the challenges with quantitative data that were elaborated in section 2.3.2. For many countries, data are unavailable due to low sample sizes for the student groups under consideration. For the countries with data with sufficient sample sizes, some results did not meet the inclusion criteria of a minimum of 30 observations. In fact, no country met the inclusion criteria for advantaged migrant boys or girls, these results are therefore not presented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. ECEC participation rates (%)
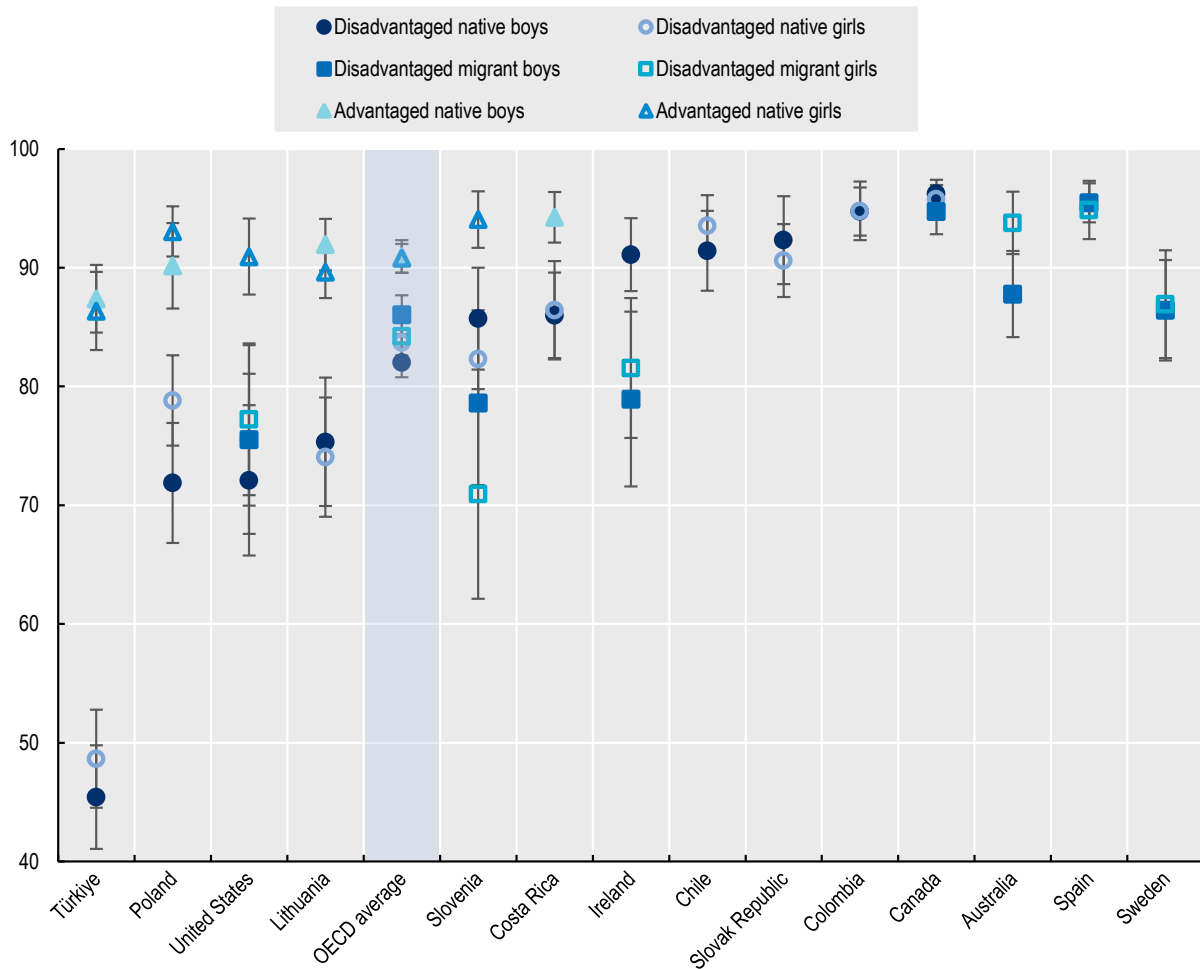
Note: The figure shows past ECEC participation rates as reported by students 15 years of age in 2018 between socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged girls and boys with and without an immigrant background based on linear regression analysis with two- and three-way interaction terms between gender, socio-economic and immigrant background. Compared to traditional PISA analyses, the definition of students with an immigrant background was widened to include students who have families with a mixed background (students who have one native-born parent and one foreign-born parent) in line with the approach of the Strength through Diversity project (Cerna, Brussino and Mezzanotte, 2021[55]; OECD, 2018[50]). The socio-economic background of students is based on the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status. Advantaged students are defined as those in the top national quartile of the index and disadvantaged students as those in the bottom national quartile of the index. Some values are not reported as they did not meet the inclusion criteria of at least 30 observations in a sub-group (e.g., no country met the inclusion criteria for advantaged migrant boys and girls, and some countries did not meet the inclusion criteria for any of the groups). The OECD average is calculated based on the displayed values. The bars display 95% confidence intervals.
Countries are ranked in ascending order of the ECEC participation rate for disadvantaged native boys.
Source: OECD (2018[56]), PISA 2018 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2018database/.

Exclusion, early school leaving and dropouts

In several OECD countries with available data (Denmark, Finland, France, Norway, Sweden and the United States) non-immigrant students achieved higher upper secondary completion rates compared to students with an immigrant background (OECD, 2021[57]). However, there were differences within immigrant cohorts. First-generation immigrants had generally lower completion rates compared to

second-generation immigrants[1]. In some countries, this also varied depending on the age of arrival. In Iceland, for instance, 79% of first-generation immigrants who arrived at or before the age of six completed upper secondary education in 2018, compared to 35% of first-generation immigrants who arrived after the age of six (ibid.).

In the United States, there is a lot of debate about immigrants' participation in education. In some studies, second-generation students with an immigrant background achieved better outcomes compared to their native-born peers (Hao and Woo, 2012[58]). In fact, the literature coined this result as the "immigrant paradox": students with an immigrant background often succeed despite the potential challenges stemming from, for instance, language barriers (Feliciano and Lanuza, 2016[59]). For example, Perreira, Harris and Lee (2006[60]) found that dropout rates varied significantly by immigrant background. While the overall share of 18-26-year-old students in 2001-2002 who dropped out did not differ between those with and without an immigrant background, once considering ethnicity and controlling for socio-economic background, the authors showed that first-generation students with certain ethnic and immigrant backgrounds had lower odds of dropping out compared to white native-born students. Using more updated data from 2009-12 in the United States, Liu and White (2017[61]) confirmed that controlling for socio-economic status and ethnicity, first-generation immigrant students had a lower probability of dropping out compared to other student groups (including native-born students).

In contrast and specifically for the case of students of Mexican origin in the United States, Covarrubias (2017[51]) showed that being born in the country makes students more than twice as likely to graduate from upper secondary education compared to non-citizen and foreign-born naturalised students. Others suggested that some of the advantages in educational outcomes seen by students with an immigrant background can be explained by a better conceptualisation of social class background (Feliciano and Lanuza, 2017[62]).

In Toronto (Canada), Anisef et al. (2010[63]) concluded that students who had immigrated to Canada from the Caribbean were more likely to drop out of upper secondary education compared to native-born students in 2006. Students from Europe, Eastern Asia, and South Asia were less likely to drop out, controlling for gender and socio-economic background of the region the students lived in.

Tertiary education

Based on an analysis of data in ten OECD countries in 2015, students with an immigrant background were less likely to enter bachelor's, long first degree[2] or equivalent programmes compared to their native peers (OECD, 2018[64]). In many countries, however, the picture is more complicated. For example, in France, the lower likelihood of North African and Southern European students entering tertiary education could be explained by socio-economic background, gender, previous school performance and other factors (Murdoch et al., 2016[65]). Furthermore, Murdoch et al. (2016[65]) showed that in France, Germany and Switzerland, the probability of accessing tertiary education differed by the country of origin of their parents as well as type of upper secondary education (vocational vs. general track).

Research in the United States revealed significant differences in the ethnic background of tertiary graduates with and without an immigrant background. In general, students with an immigrant background had a much wider spectrum of ethnicities in 2018. In fact, of all tertiary-educated native-born adults (25 years or older), 82% were white. Of all tertiary-educated foreign-born adults, only 26% were white (Olsen-Medina and Batalova, 2020[66]).

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[1] First-generation: foreign-born children with foreign-born parents. Second-generation: native-born children with foreign-born parents.

[2] Master's-level equivalent programmes of at least five years' duration preparing for a long first degree/qualification.

Subject choice

Besides academic outcomes, the topic of subject choice is attracting more attention. Expertise in specific subjects such as science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) can have significant effects on the career prospects of students (Caprile et al., 2015[67]). Moreover, the international mobility of students in tertiary education has been expanding in recent decades (OECD, 2020[68]), presenting new opportunities to analyse the experiences of those with an immigrant background.

Already at the age of 15, students' career expectations tend to reflect gender stereotyped roles. According to data from the PISA 2018 database, on average across OECD countries, the majority of 15-year-old girls (70%) who had a clear vision regarding their career chose a health-related occupation. In contrast, boys' choices were much wider and to a higher degree focused on STEM (OECD, 2019[69]). Indeed, it has been observed repeatedly that women lag behind men in their participation in STEM subjects. In 2018, on average across OECD countries, 13% of women graduated from a STEM field of study while 39% of men did so (OECD, 2021[57]).

Gender differences in STEM-related subjects also varied between students with an immigrant background and native students. An analysis of a survey of ten universities with the highest international student enrolment in the United States revealed that women who were United States citizens or permanent residents were less likely to enrol in engineering compared to men (Miner, 2019[70]). However, these gender differences were not visible among international students enrolment.

3.1.2. Learning outcomes

Differences in reading performance between gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background can be estimated using the PISA 2018 database. As has been reported elsewhere (OECD, 2019[69]), on average across OECD countries, girls outperform boys in reading performance (first column in Figure 3.2). Adding socio-economic background to the analysis reveals that advantaged girls outperform all the three other groups: advantaged boys, disadvantaged girls and disadvantaged boys respectively (second column in Figure 3.2).

The analysis of the three-way intersection between gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background is displayed in the third column of Figure 3.2. Within each gender-socio-economic status group, on average across OECD countries, there is a significant variation between students with and without an immigrant background, with at least a ten point difference between each sub-group of students with and without an immigrant background. Furthermore, gender gaps within each sub-group are lower compared to migrant gaps and much lower compared to gaps related to the socio-economic background. Gender gaps are also the smallest among disadvantaged migrant groups, but highest among advantaged migrant groups. In contrast, migrant gaps are the smallest among advantaged girls, but highest among disadvantaged girls.

The analysis in Figure 3.2 focuses on average outcomes across OECD countries. Displaying results for each OECD country creates significant challenges, as elaborated in section 2.3.2. Nevertheless, readers can refer to Table A.1. in the annex for country-level results of the three-way interaction analysis. While the patterns are generally similar to those of the average results, exceptions exist. For instance, while several countries managed to close the migrant gaps (Australia, Chile, Latvia, New Zealand, Portugal and the United States), no country managed to close either the gender or socio-economic gaps.

Figure 3.2. Reading performance by gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background

On average across OECD countries (2018)
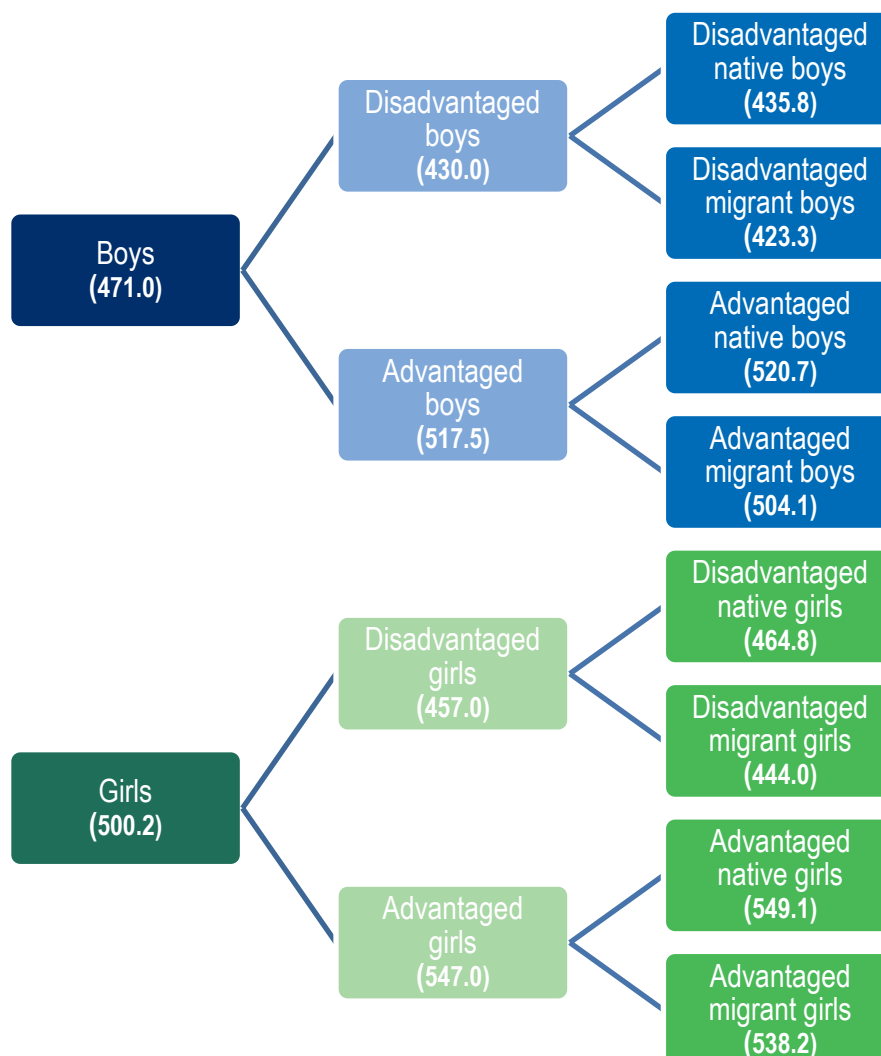
Note: The figure shows the average reading performance of 15-year-old students (in parentheses). Results in the last column are based on linear regression analysis with two- and three-way interaction terms between gender, socio-economic and immigrant background. Compared to traditional PISA analyses, the definition of students with an immigrant background was widened to include students who have families with a mixed background (students who have one native-born parent and one foreign-born parent) in line with the approach of the Strength through Diversity project (Cerna, Brussino and Mezzanotte, 2021[55]; OECD, 2018[50]). The socio-economic background of students is based on the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status. Advantaged students are defined as those in the top national quartile of the index and disadvantaged students as those in the bottom national quartile of the index. Differences between displayed values are statistically significant at 5% level within each column. For more information, please refer to Table A.1. in the annex.
Source: OECD (2018[56]), PISA 2018 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2018database/.

There are various reasons why immigrant and socio-economic backgrounds can play an important role in academic achievement. Some disadvantaged students with an immigrant background might need to work to support their families (Covarrubias et al., 2017[51]). Some women with an immigrant background might also be tasked with various housekeeping duties (ibid.). These tasks can adversely influence academic achievement if students do not have sufficient time for school preparation.

Adding ethnic background creates an even more complex picture. Learning outcomes differ not only between students with/without an immigrant background and students with a minority/majority ethnic background, but also for specific ethnic subgroups in the United States. For instance, Latinx[3] students with Mexican, Caribbean and "other" origins had a significantly higher probability of experiencing school suspension compared to their white peers (Jang, 2019[71]). Moreover, socio-economic background was positively associated with student outcomes, but the effect of the socio-economic status was to some extent mediated by gender (ibid.).

With respect to gender differences, girls outperformed boys even after accounting for socio-economic background and other structural variables based on reading performance in OECD PISA 2009 (Dronkers and Kornder, 2014[72]). Based on an analysis of student outcomes across 30 countries, girls' higher performance was also visible for those with an immigrant background. In the native-born population, girls still outperformed boys, but the gap was smaller (ibid.). These effects also varied between countries, thus highlighting that simple gender differences that disregard other factors might hide important nuances.

3.1.3. Attitudes and aspirations

A strong sense of belonging and well-being may be important for successfully integrating students with an immigrant background into the education system of their host country. It is, therefore, worrying that students with an immigrant background reported a lower sense of belonging at school compared to their native peers (Cerna, Brussino and Mezzanotte, 2021[55]; OECD, 2018[50]). Intersections with gender further revealed that native girls were more likely to report a lower sense of belonging in schools compared to boys (OECD, 2018[50]). Furthermore, large variations between countries were found. In Germany and Iceland, being female significantly reduced the negative impact of having an immigrant background on sense of belonging, while it significantly increased it in Switzerland (ibid.). The intersection of gender and immigrant background can thus have different implications depending on the destination country, underlining the need to consider between-country differences (see the following section).

Intersecting migration-induced diversity with ethnic background can reveal important nuances in this respect. In Denmark, Madsen et al. (2016[73]) found that first-generation immigrant students had an increased risk of feelings of loneliness compared to their native peers. If students with an immigrant background identified ethnically with the Danish majority, the odds of feelings of loneliness decreased (Madsen et al., 2016[73]). This indicates that in terms of loneliness, variation within immigrant groups exists. In Germany, students with an immigrant background were more likely to attend tertiary education even after controlling for socio-economic background; and the gap can be explained by immigrants' higher academic career aspirations and expectations (Zimmermann, 2021[74]). In fact, higher educational aspirations of students with an immigrant background were observed in several European countries (Dollmann, 2021[75]).

Regarding academic and career aspirations, 15-year-old students with an immigrant background held more ambitious expectations in PISA 2018. After controlling for socio-economic background and academic performance, students with an immigrant background were seven percentage points more likely to expect to complete tertiary education than native students, on average across OECD countries (Cerna, Brussino and Mezzanotte, 2021[55]). Similarly, they were more likely to hold expectations to work in high-skilled occupations when they are 30 years old (ibid.).

Reasons for these differences might be rooted in parents' expectations. A qualitative study in Finland revealed that many parents of students with an immigrant background had high educational aspirations for their children (Mäkelä and Kalalahti, 2018[76]). In response, some girls tended to highlight their own agency in school choice, going for upper secondary or vocational school depending on their own career

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[3] Latinx refers to people from a Latin American ethnic background.

aspirations. In some cases, however, girls with an immigrant background were discouraged from careers considered incompatible with their gender, leading to adjustments in their aspirations. In contrast, patriarchal structures in immigrant families of Latin American women in the United States have been considered as a reason for some students choosing to pursue higher education, in order to gain independence from their families (Ovink, 2014[77]).

3.1.4. Geographic location

Experiences of students with an immigrant background might vary depending on their country of origin. More specifically, several student testimonies indicate that students from countries that are perceived as culturally similar to the native population can have problems accessing support from school staff and peers (Fruja Amthor, 2017[78]). This may occur because staff and other students may assume that they do not need support in their integration and adaptation process due to insignificant cultural differences (ibid.). Furthermore, these students may be inadvertently involved in discussions they may perceive as insensitive towards their experiences or culture, without other participants realising how the student with an immigrant background may be affected (ibid.).

There are thus indications that challenges of integration and sense of belonging at school vary by country of origin and immigration status. Students with visibly differing ethnic backgrounds and who are language learners might face different barriers compared to other groups, such as those immigrants who are assumed to be culturally similar to the majority population (Fruja Amthor, 2017[78]).

Gender differences in academic outcomes for students with an immigrant background also differ by country of origin. In an analysis of secondary education outcomes in nine countries (Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom (England, Wales) and the United States), Fleischmann et al. (2014[79]) showed that gender differences were visible for both native and immigrant students (with a few exceptions). However, they also concluded that these patterns differed significantly by country of origin (Fleischmann et al., 2014[79]). As mentioned in section 3.1.3, within-group differences should be expected given how students' outcomes are influenced by environmental factors, such as cultural upbringing and family structures. This research thus suggests that in the area of migration-induced diversity, it is important to consider geographically disaggregated outcomes in order to design effective policies.

3.2. Intersections between ethnic groups, national minorities and Indigenous peoples; gender; and socio-economic background

The previous section revealed a large variety of differences in outcomes depending on the intersections between gender, immigrant background and socio-economic background. The following sections explore intersections between ethnicity and Indigeneity; immigrant background; gender; and socio-economic background. These intersections are of continued interest to researchers and policy makers alike.

3.2.1. Participation

Participation in education can result in better cognitive health and physical well-being throughout adult life (Mezzanotte, 2022[19]). However, participation rates in education vary significantly by gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status. As will be shown, disparities start at a young age. In ECEC, participation rates of some ethnic groups (e.g., Roma) are disturbingly low even when controlling for socio-economic background, with disparities continuing throughout education levels (OECD, 2020[80]; Rutigliano, 2020[81]). Some ethnic and socio-economic groups present significantly higher dropout rates from upper secondary education. Subsequently, they also show lower participation and graduation rates in tertiary education. Discussions on which factors drive the inequities in educational achievement have been present for a very

long time. In the 1970s, William Julius Wilson argued that race was replaced by social class as the primary driver for social and economic opportunities in the United States (Wilson, 1978[82]). Various authors have since analysed how ethnicity interacts with socio-economic background and other variables to explain educational outcomes. The following sections present a non-comprehensive overview of some of these issues with a particular focus on analyses considering intersections between different factors.

Early childhood education and care

In the United States, the participation of children under six years old in ECEC varies significantly by ethnic background (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020[83]). White and Black children were among the highest participating in 2019 (both 40%), followed by Asian/Pacific Islander (37%), Hispanic (32%) and American Indian/Alaska Native (28%). However, these statistics hide important disparities when factoring in socio-economic background. White poor[4] children had the lowest (28%) and Black non-poor children had the highest participation rates (45%) of all children groups[5].

In several European Union countries, participation in ECEC is a concern, particularly regarding Roma minorities. In 2014, only every second (53%) Roma child aged between four years and the starting age of compulsory education was participating in ECEC, significantly below the general population (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018[84]). In some countries, the overall averages hide disparities by gender. In Croatia, 37% of Roma girls and 26% of Roma boys participated in ECEC, compared to 72% of the general population. In Portugal, 31% and 51% of Roma girls and boys respectively participated in ECEC, compared to 94% of the general population. In the Slovak Republic, the participation rate of 5-year-old socio-economically disadvantaged children was 71% in 2018/19 (Hellebrandt et al., 2020[85]). The participation rate of similarly disadvantaged children from marginalised Roma communities was just 52% (ibid.).

In Australia, Canada and New Zealand, policy makers are concerned with the participation of Indigenous children. While positive developments have been observed over the past decade, a participation gap remains. In Australia, 91% of the general school population was enrolled in a pre-school programme in the year before full-time schooling, compared to 86% of Indigenous children (Kral et al., 2021[86]). In Canada, Indigenous children were also less likely to attend ECEC (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2018[87]). Furthermore, a recent report showed that the probability of a First Nations child attending an ECEC programme decreases by a factor of 0.38 when the parent is not employed (ibid.).

Exclusion, early school leaving and dropouts

In England (United Kingdom), certain student characteristics significantly increased the odds of a student being permanently excluded from school in 2009/10 (The Department for Education, 2012[88]). Being male increased the odds by a factor of 2.4 and having a disadvantaged socio-economic background (free school meal eligibility) by a factor of 2.0. Controlling for both characteristics, Black Caribbean students had the highest and Chinese students the lowest odds of being excluded, relative to their white peers (ibid.).

In several European Union countries, Roma students were found to have significantly higher rates of early school leaving in a 2016 study (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2018[84]). On average across the nine analysed countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Greece, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, the Slovak Republic and Spain), the early school leaving rate of the Roma population was 68%, slightly higher for Roma women (71%) compared to Roma men (66%). However, in some countries, the comparisons

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[4] Poor children are those whose family incomes were below the country's poverty threshold.

[5] Disaggregation by socio-economic background is not available for Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian/Alaska Native children.

with the general population were significant. For example, in Greece, 92% of Roma students left school early, compared to 8% of the general population (ibid.).

In the United States, upper secondary dropout rates differed between men and women as well as ethnic groups in 2019 (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020[83]). The highest rates of dropout were observed for American Indian/Alaska Native (10%) and the lowest for Asian (2%) students, with men generally dropping out more (6%) than women (4%). For some ethnic groups, the gender gap was more pronounced. For instance, Hispanic men's dropout rate was 9% compared to 6% for women.

Tertiary education

Several patterns can be observed regarding entry into tertiary education. First, concerning gender, men are underrepresented among first-time and new entrants into tertiary education on average across OECD countries. However, the share varies based on subject choice. Men are more underrepresented in subjects related to education, health and welfare, while overrepresented in engineering, manufacturing and construction, as well as information and communication technologies (OECD, 2021[57]). Second, based on an analysis of several OECD countries, disadvantaged students (with parents without a tertiary education) were less likely to study a bachelor's, a long first degree or an equivalent programme in 2015. Intersecting these two dimensions showed that disadvantaged men were even more underrepresented among new entrants to tertiary education compared to disadvantaged women (OECD, 2018[64]).

In the United States, the progression rate from upper secondary to tertiary education has seen an upward trend for all ethnic groups over the past decades (National Center for Education Statistics, 2020[83]). However, ethnic gaps remain persistent. In 2019, 90% of Asian, 68% of white, 63% of Hispanic and 50% of Black students progressed to a higher education institution (HEI). However, intersections with gender and socio-economic background revealed even bigger differences in graduation rates between 2000 and 2015 at Southwest Public University. Relative to high-income white women, all gender/ethnic/socio-economic groups graduated at lower rates apart from high-income Hispanic and Asian women (López et al., 2017[89]). Some groups' graduation rates were particularly worrying. American Indian low-income men were approximately 45% less likely to graduate compared to high-income white women. Black high-income men were approximately 30% less likely to graduate. The authors hypothesised that "being racialized as Black and male produces a unique set of experiences and exposure to structural racism that may negatively impact schooling opportunities even at the highest income brackets", thus highlighting the added value of applying an intersectional lens (López et al., 2017, pp. 195-6[89]).

In England (United Kingdom), there is a persistent gender gap in the progression rate to higher education (Department for Education, 2021[90]). In 2018/19, 38% of men and 49% of women progressed to an HEI by the age of 19. When intersecting with ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds (based on eligibility for free school meals), large discrepancies emerged. The highest progression rates were observed for Chinese students. However, while the gender gap for disadvantaged Chinese students was negligible (one percentage point), it was significant among advantaged students (12 percentage points). The gender gap for white British students was visible regardless of socio-economic background (7 and 11 percentage points for disadvantaged and advantaged students respectively). Some of the lowest progression rates were observed for Gypsy/Roma students. Less than 10% of them, regardless of gender or socio-economic background, progressed to an HEI (ibid.).

Even though data for Roma students are volatile due to their small numbers, the extremely low participation rate is confirmed by research from the Slovak Republic. The participation rate of 19- to 23-year-old disadvantaged students in tertiary education was 10% in 2018/19, significantly lower compared to the general population (45%) (Hellebrandt et al., 2020[85]). However, when looking at the intersection of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds (marginalised Roma communities), considerable differences emerged. Of all Roma disadvantaged students, less than 2% participated in tertiary education, compared to over 19% of the disadvantaged non-Roma population (ibid.).

Subject choice

Subject choice is a pivotal decision for future career prospects. Earnings after graduating from a university vary by subject choice and institution as well as gender and socio-economic background (Britton et al., 2016[91]). Furthermore, intersecting gender with ethnic background revealed that African American women were more likely to major in STEM fields in HEIs compared to European American women in the United States (O'Brien et al., 2015[92]).

Other results were found after considering socio-economic background. For instance, socio-economically disadvantaged women and men in the United States were equally likely to choose STEM-related subjects (technical, life/health science and business fields) in tertiary education (Ma, 2009[93]). However, among the socio-economically advantaged, women leaned towards social science and humanities fields while men towards business and health-related majors (ibid.). In contrast, data from England (United Kingdom) showed that advantaged women were more likely to study STEM subjects (Codiroli Mcmaster, 2017[94]).

These findings can have important policy implications for career guidance. While it has been known that career choices are influenced by prior notions about gender-appropriate subject choices (e.g., STEM-related fields being male dominated), the research suggests that this effect also varies by socio-economic status. Conceptualisation of the connections between gender, socio-economic status and subject choices before establishing a career development plan might therefore be an important consideration for school counsellors (Trusty et al., 2000[95]).

3.2.2. Learning outcomes

Statistics show that students from some ethnic minority groups, e.g. Black students (Department for Education, 2021[96]) or students from disadvantaged socio-economic settings (OECD, 2019[69]), achieve lower academic results compared to the majority. However, when looking at the intersection of ethnicity and socio-economic status, Strand (2014[15]) found that among socio-economically disadvantaged 16-year-old English students, those belonging to an ethnic minority group performed *at par* or better than white British students[6]. In contrast, among socio-economically advantaged students, those belonging to an ethnic minority group performed significantly worse than the majority, except for Indian students (ibid.). Furthermore, among disadvantaged boys and girls, those belonging to ethnic minority groups performed better or similar to white British boys and girls. Among advantaged boys and girls, Indian boys and girls outperformed their peers and Black Caribbean boys scored significantly lower compared to white British boys (ibid.).

Evidence from other countries reveals different patterns. Taş, Reimão and Orlando (2014[97]) compared ethnicity and gender disadvantage in educational outcomes across Bolivia, Mexico, Peru, Senegal and Sierra Leone. They found that by intersecting gender and ethnicity, women from ethnic minorities were particularly disadvantaged in terms of literacy as well as primary and secondary school completion. In the United States, the picture is more mixed. Bécares and Priest (2015[98]) showed a range of different results for learning outcomes between boys and girls from various ethnic minority backgrounds. While they reported that both Black boys and girls underperformed white boys, they also showed that this difference is generally the highest among the most advantaged students (ibid.).

3.2.3. Attitudes and aspirations

Differences in aspirations are visible early. According to OECD PISA 2018, on average across OECD countries, 86% of advantaged 15-year-old students expected to complete a tertiary degree compared to

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[6] The research considered these categories for ethnic background based on self-identification: white British, mixed heritage, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African and "any other group".

69% of disadvantaged students (in terms of their socio-economic status). Moreover, 89% of young people with high socio-economic status expected to have a high-skilled occupation when they turned 30, compared to 64% of students with low socio-economic status (OECD, 2019[69]).

Further differences emerge when looking at the intersections between gender and ethnic groups in addition to socio-economic background. For instance, Howard et al. (2011[99]) found that in the United States, advantaged Native American and Asian/Pacific Islander students in secondary education aspired to more prestigious occupations[7] compared to their disadvantaged peers. However, this effect was not visible for other ethnicities. Furthermore, disadvantaged Native Americans reported the lowest aspirations compared to all other ethnic groups, a result mostly driven by Native American boys. Focusing on gender and ethnic differences while controlling for socio-economic status in the United States, Jang (2018[100]) discovered that the intention to pursue higher education was lower for Southeast Asian women compared to men as well as compared to other ethnic groups.

For STEM-related career aspirations in the United States, Saw, Chang and Chan (2018[101]) found that socio-economic background, ethnicity and gender all had large effects on the aspirations to pursue a STEM-related career, as illustrated in Figure 3.3. Asian American boys from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds reported the highest aspirations to pursue a STEM-related career, even though this difference was not statistically significant from advantaged white boys' aspirations. In contrast, African American girls had the lowest aspirations to pursue a STEM-related career.

Figure 3.3. Aspirations to pursue a STEM-related career
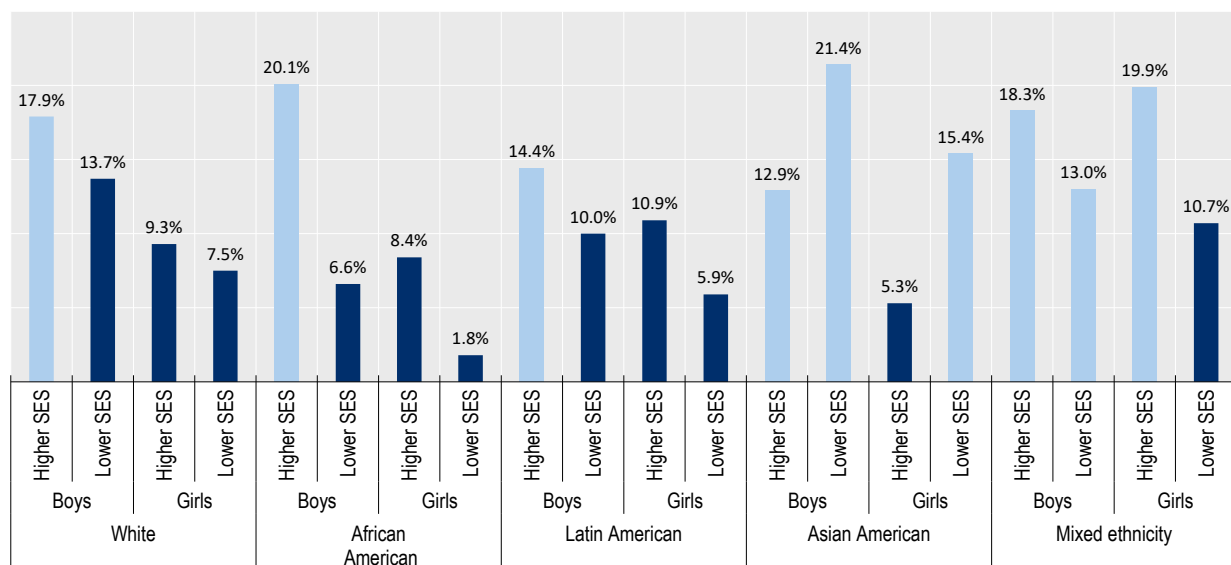
Note: Results are outputs from a regression analysis of 9th grade students in the United States in 2009. Apart from ethnic background, gender and socio-economic status (SES), no other variables were included in the analysis. Statistically significant differences compared to the reference group (white boys with higher SES) are shown in a darker tone.
Source: Adapted from Saw, Chang and Chan (2018[101]), Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Disparities in STEM Career Aspirations at the Intersection of Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Socioeconomic Status, https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X18787818.

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[7] The prestige of occupations was measured using an index that considered the relative prestige level of the occupation, the minimum education required to enter the occupation, and the median income of those employed in the occupation.

Gender differences in career aspirations can be explained by various theories. For example, some analyses in the area of gender differences with respect to STEM-related fields showed that US women had a lower self-assessment of their professional role confidence (confidence to fulfil the roles, competencies and identity features of a profession), and thus a reduced likelihood of continuing with STEM-related studies and careers (Cech et al., 2011[102]). However, Litzler, Samuelson and Lorah (2014[103]) concluded that from all ethnic groups, only white women had a lower self-confidence in the competencies required to complete STEM courses compared to white men in the United States. Women from all other ethnic groups did not have significantly different confidence levels compared to white men, after considering socio-economic background and other factors. In contrast, Else-Quest, Mineo and Higgins (2013[104]) did not identify any gender gaps across ethnic groups in attitudes toward mathematics and science, such as self-concept and success expectations, although from a sample of only 367 secondary school students.

Expectations about the future can have a significant impact on future careers. Evidence from several countries (Australia, Canada, Denmark and Switzerland) that followed up with students taking the OECD PISA 2015 assessment later in life shows that 15-year-old students who aspired to hold high-skilled jobs were more likely to work in one at the age of 25 (OECD, 2018[105]).

Given these results, applying an intersectional lens has the potential to create better-targeted policies, because it dismantles the simplified macro-group effect. Interventions that target a particular group of students without considering intersections with other groups might be inefficient and even slow down the overall progress in regard to student well-being (Taş, Reimão and Orlando, 2014[97]). However, much of the available research on intersectionality is based on North American and Western European contexts (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]; Bauer et al., 2021[13]). There is a need for evidence and evaluation in different national contexts given that some of the forces described above might play different roles and have varying effects between men and women, ethnic, migrant and socio-economic backgrounds.

3.3. Intersections with sexual orientation

Increasing awareness of sexual and gender minorities has brought the inclusion of LGBTQI+[8] people onto the policy agenda in many OECD countries (OECD, 2020[106]). However, research in this area is often stifled by a lack of data. Most countries do not systematically collect information on sexual orientation and gender identity, neither is it included in regular censuses (OECD, 2019[107])[9]. Some estimations of the size of the LGBTQI+ group are available in a selected number of countries. As a lower bound, these data points indicate 17 million LGBTQI+ people across 14 OECD countries, indicating the group to be a sizable minority (ibid.).

LGBTQI+ identities can further intersect with other dimensions of diversity[10]. However, a lack of disaggregated data with information on sexual orientation and gender identity makes an approximation of the overlap of sexual orientation or gender identity with other dimensions of diversity difficult (Miller et al., 2019[108]). Nevertheless, some indications exist that can offer insight into the policy implications of these

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[8] The LGBTQI acronym refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, queer and intersex individuals. The "+" refers to "people who do not self-identify as heterosexual and/or cisgender but who would not apply the LGBTQI label to themselves either" (Cerna et al., 2021, p. 17[11]).

[9] Canada is one of the few exceptions. The Canadian 2021 census included questions on sex at birth and gender. While sex at birth only allowed two answers, the gender question also included an "other" text box (Statistics Canada, 2020[295]).

[10] While intersections also exist within the LGBTQI+ group (e.g., between sexual orientation and gender identity) (Eisenberg et al., 2019[297]), these are not further examined in this working paper.

intersections. The following sections elaborate on intersections between sexual orientation/gender identity, special education needs (SEN)[11], an immigrant background (refugees and asylum-seekers) and ethnicity. In general, LGBTQI+ individuals with intersecting identities face higher rates of discrimination and victimisation in schools as well as in other support systems.

3.3.1. Special education needs

Greathouse et al. (2018[109]) combined data from seven national datasets across 918 HEIs and found that LGBTQI+ students were over four times more likely to report a psychological disorder before tertiary education entry compared to their heterosexual peers. Additionally, qualitative studies indicated that autistic students, for example, are disproportionately more likely to identify as LGBTQI+ or with gender dysphoria[12] compared to their peers (Nachman, Miller and Vallejo Peña, 2020[110]; Van Der Miesen, Hurley and De Vries, 2016[111]; de Vries et al., 2010[112]).

There is a body of research exploring the physical and mental health of the LGBTQI+ population (McConnell, Birkett and Mustanski, 2015[113]; Russell and Fish, 2016[114]; Smalley, Warren and Barefoot, 2016[115]). More recent developments have also focused on students' well-being (Miller et al., 2019[108]). Despite these efforts, the school experiences of the likely sizable intersection of students with LGBTQI+ identities and disabilities have to a large extent remained undocumented.

Experiences of discrimination and victimisation

Negative stereotypes often lead to stigma and discrimination both for LGBTQI+ people and people with SEN (Duke, 2011[116]). Many LGBTQI+ youth with SEN are more vulnerable to bullying and victimisation at school (King et al., 2017[117]). Furthermore, LGBTQI+ students with SEN are victimised by their peers more and report suicidal ideation at higher rates compared with students belonging to just one of these groups (ibid.).

Systemic discrimination

Testimonies from some LGBTQI+ students with SEN indicate that in heteronormative environments some school staff may not take their sexual orientation into serious consideration (Duke, 2011[116]). Sexual or gender minority identification is often considered a "phase" for individuals with poor mental health, thus delegitimising and preventing access to support (Toft, Franklin and Langley, 2020[118]). In higher education settings, some LGBTQI+ students with SEN reported negative experiences with staff who questioned their needs for accommodations (Miller and Dika, 2018[119]). Many students with SEN also did not obtain accommodations, either because they were not aware they had disabilities that could be accommodated or because they decided not to use the services. Several students often also found the campus climate to be unfriendly with particular places and groups being described as hostile (e.g., specific neighbourhoods or student groups/fraternities/sororities) (ibid.).

Moreover, there are indications of misperceptions about the sexuality of individuals with SEN. Individuals with autism, for instance, are sometimes assumed to lack romantic feelings and not desire sexual relationships (Duke, 2011[116]). Such misconceptions can lead to a lack of provision of sex education, which was reported as a consistent problem in several qualitative studies (Brown and McCann, 2018[120]). Even

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[11] In line with the Strength through Diversity Project's framework, the terminology of "special education needs" (SEN) is adopted (Cerna et al., 2021[11]). However, the literature commonly adopts the term "students with disabilities", often without specifying the typologies (in several cases, this is due to the fact that individuals self-identified without specifying the type of disability).

[12] "Gender dysphoria is a term that describes a sense of unease that a person may have because of a mismatch between their biological sex and their gender identity" (NHS, 2020[296]).

when sex education services are offered to students with SEN, research from Sweden has identified a predominant focus on heterosexuality and gender stereotyped norms in special education programmes (Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2008[121]; Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2011[122]).

Peer discrimination

Some LGBTQI+ students with SEN face discrimination from their peers in school settings. Qualitative studies revealed that many students experience homophobic language and overwhelming heteronormative cultures in upper secondary schools in the United States (Gutmann Kahn and Lindstrom, 2015[123]). Several students reported aggressive behaviours from peers and for many students, some activities, such as physical education classes, were particularly challenging (ibid.). Even more worryingly, a few students also reported physical violence or direct homophobic bullying (ibid.). Qualitative research conducted at higher education campuses to explore the experiences of LGBTQI+ students with SEN emphasised students' experiences of micro-aggressions in the classroom (Miller, 2015[124]). Based on a sample of over 160 000 adolescents in the United States, Bucchianeri et al. (2016[125]) reported that some sexual minority students experienced disability-based harassment more often than their heterosexual peers. LGBTQI+ students in the United States with disabilities who were victimised more than their peers in upper secondary education were also found to have the highest rates of suicidal ideation (King et al., 2017[117]).

These experiences might also be reflected in students' perceptions of higher education campus climates. In a survey of 460 LGBTQI+ students with SEN, less than half reported a sense of belonging on campus (Miller and Dika, 2018[119]). Furthermore, less than a third of participants reported feeling valued as individuals (ibid.).

Some students have reported strategies such as avoiding the disclosure of their disability and/or their sexual orientation and gender identity in school settings in an attempt to reduce their risk of suffering peer discrimination (Miller, 2015[124]). A multitude of students also reported resorting to the use of social media and other online platforms in order to connect to individuals with similar identities and thus build a community (Miller, 2017[126]; Miller, Wynn and Webb, 2017[127]). Testimonies from other students indicate that attending a school with an open and accepting environment, in which students feel they can be open about all aspects of their identity, can foster happiness and self-belief (Gutmann Kahn and Lindstrom, 2015[123]).

3.3.2. Ethnicity

A common attribute of research on LGBTQI+ populations implicitly assumes them to be white and middle-class, without acknowledging the heterogeneity of this population (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach, 2008[128]; Renn, 2010[129]). However, evidence shows that individuals at the intersection of ethnicity and LGBTQI+ identity face a unique set of challenges.

In the United States, almost half (42%) of the LGBTQI+ population was made up of individuals from ethnic groups other than white (LGBT Demographic Data Interactive, 2019[130]). Non-white ethnic groups make up 38% of the total of the US population, making the LGBTQI+ group an ethnically diverse minority (United States Census Bureau, 2022[131]). Similarly, in several European countries, on average, 8% of the surveyed LGBTQI+ population identified as belonging to an ethnic minority or immigrant group in 2019. This percentage varies from 2% in Greece to 15% in Luxembourg, showing that LGBTQI+ individuals with an ethnic minority background are a sizable population in several countries (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4. Share of LGBTQI+ population with an ethnic minority or immigrant background (2019)
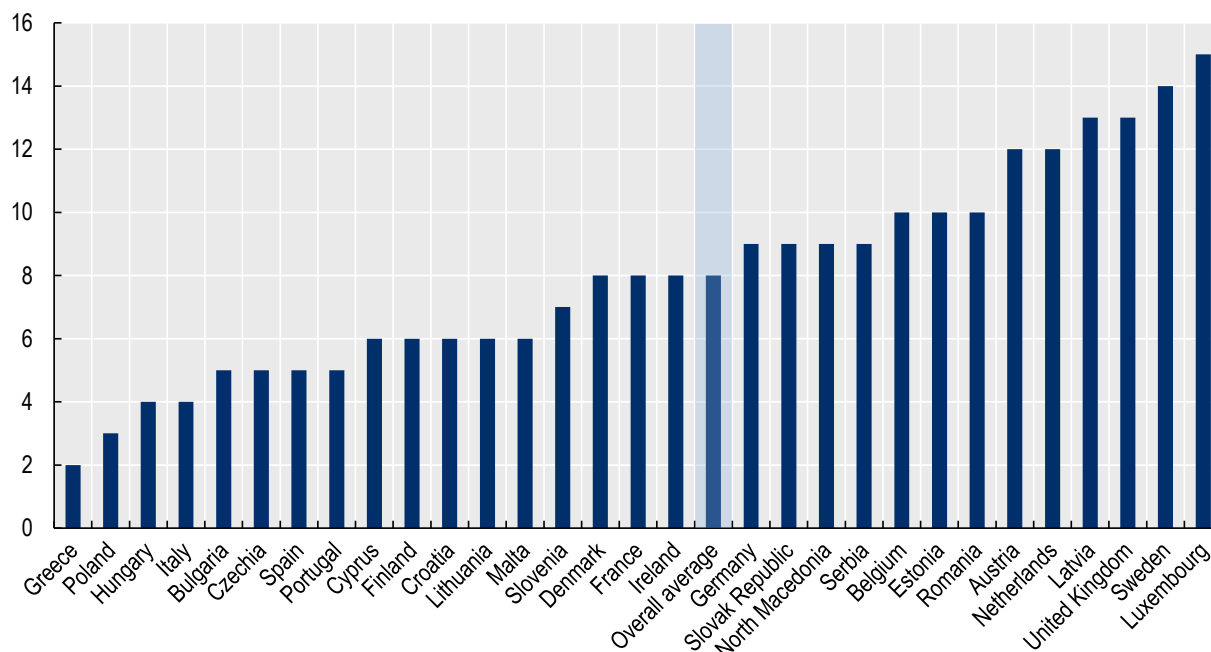
Note: The overall average includes all countries that participated in the survey, i.e., EU Member States, North Macedonia, Serbia and the United Kingdom.
Countries are ranked in ascending order of the share of LGBTQI+ population with an ethnic minority or immigrant background.
Source: Adapted from European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2019[132]), LGBTI Survey Data Explorer, https://fra.europa.eu/en/data-and-maps/2020/lgbti-survey-data-explorer (accessed on 22 February 2022).

Experiences of discrimination and victimisation

Applying an intersectional lens in the area of discrimination and victimisation reveals worrying patterns for LGBTQI+ students from ethnic minority groups, although evidence is scarce and often based on small-sampled qualitative studies. Some members of ethnic minority groups, who also identified as LGBTQI+, faced multiple marginalisation through both racism and homo/bi/transphobia. These individuals reported bullying, victimisation and a lack of acceptance based on both their sexual and/or gender identity as well as their ethnicity (Balsam et al., 2011[133]; Daley et al., 2007[134]; Earnshaw et al., 2019[135]).

Some LGBTQI+ students from certain ethnic minority groups felt particularly vulnerable at schools in the United States. Native American, American Indian and Alaska Native; Multiracial; and Latinx LGBTQI+ students felt less safe and experienced more victimisation at school compared to their white peers (Figure 3.5). Native American, American Indian and Alaska Native, and Multiracial students from sexual minorities also experienced more anti-LGBTQI+ discriminatory school policies and practices as well as more disciplinary actions (Kosciw et al., 2020[136]). For some ethnic groups, this resulted in them missing school more frequently and was associated with higher levels of depression (Truong, Zongrone and Kosciw, 2020[137]; Truong, Zongrone and Kosciw, 2020[138]; Zongrone, Truong and Kosciw, 2020[139]; Zongrone, Truong and Kosciw, 2020[140]).

Figure 3.5. Sense of belonging in school and victimisation of LGBTQI+ students (2019)
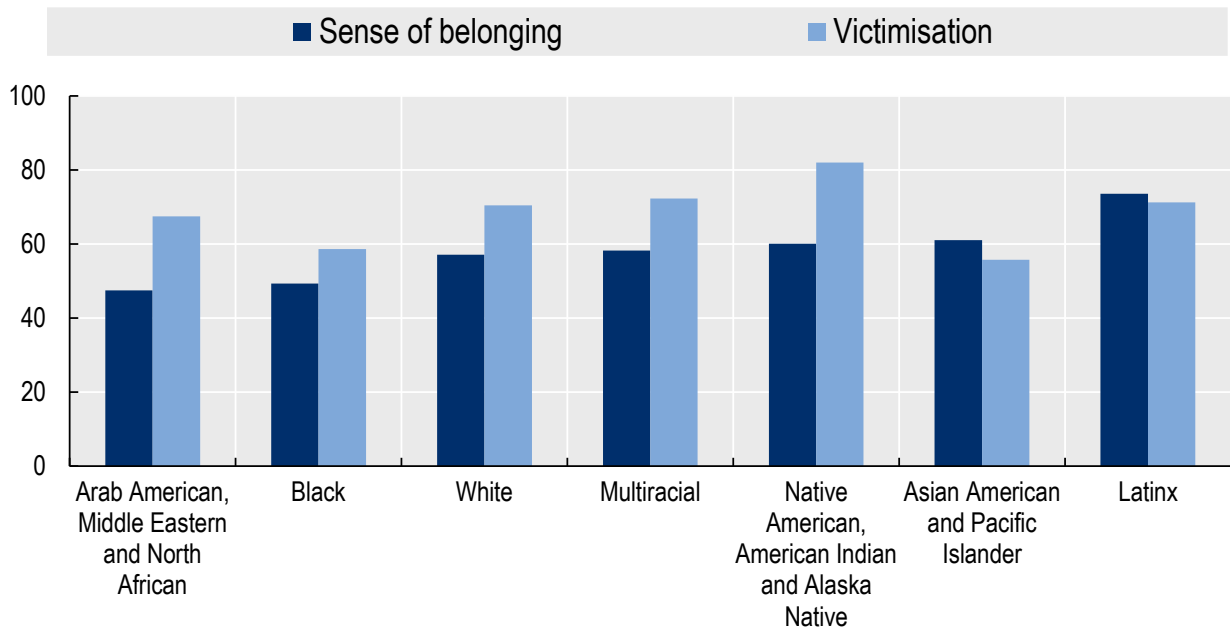
Note: Sense of belonging shows that percentage of LGBTQ students who felt unsafe at school regarding their sexual orientation. Victimisation shows the percentage of LGBTQ students who experienced bullying, harassment or assault based on sexual orientation.
Countries are ranked in ascending order of sense of belonging.
Source: Adapted from Kosciw et al., (2020[136]), The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer youth in our nation's schools, https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/NSCS19-FullReport-032421-Web_0.pdf (accessed on 22 February 2022).

Incidences of discrimination and victimisation like these sometimes remained unrecognised by school staff (Earnshaw et al., 2019[135]). The majority of LGBTQI+ students with an ethnic minority background have reported refraining from reporting incidences of harassment or assault (Truong, Zongrone and Kosciw, 2020[137]; Truong, Zongrone and Kosciw, 2020[138]; Zongrone, Truong and Kosciw, 2020[139]; Zongrone, Truong and Kosciw, 2020[140]). Students often doubt that an effective intervention would occur in response, and fear that it may worsen the situation (Kosciw et al., 2020[136]).

Lack of acceptance in designated support spaces

Connections to peers are important for many LGBTQI+ students to develop a strong social group and create a positive self-image (Garvey, Sanders and Flint, 2017[141]; Gray and Desmarais, 2014[142]). For ethnic minority students, acceptance into LGBTQI+ support spaces is viewed as a predominantly positive experience when it occurs (Garvey et al., 2018[143]). However, LGBTQI+ students with an ethnic minority background often face problems with acceptance in their ethnic communities and in designated LGBTQI+ support spaces (Balsam et al., 2011[133]). Where LGBTQI+ organisations are available at school, membership of ethnic minority students is lower (Zongrone, Truong and Kosciw, 2020[140]).

Homo/bi/transphobia in ethnic communities might cause some LGBTQI+ individuals to hide their sexual orientation altogether in order to be able to seek support for issues of structural racism (Garvey et al., 2018[143]; Malebranche et al., 2007[144]; Moradi et al., 2010[145]). Due to intense cultural pressures, many students may shy away from disclosing their sexual orientation to avoid additional stigma from their peers (Garvey et al., 2018[143]).

Furthermore, many African American young men and women in the United States have reported having less positive attitudes towards their sexuality and being less comfortable with others knowing about it

compared to white young men and women (Rosario, Schrimshaw and Hunter, 2004[146]). Being "out", i.e., open about one's own gender identity and/or sexual orientation, has been shown to improve mental health and is associated with lower rates of depression (Kosciw, Palmer and Kull, 2014[147]). The lack of acceptance of ethnic minority LGBTQI+ individuals in various communities could thus have a demonstrably negative impact on their mental health.

Some students with intersecting sexual and ethnic identities felt uncomfortable in some social groups, because they needed to suppress their sexual orientation or felt unwelcome due to their ethnic affiliation (Lange and Moore, 2017[148]). This has led to ethnic minority gay men, for instance, feeling "othered" and like they did not belong in any groups at school (ibid.).

The combination of homo/bi/transphobia and racism thus creates unique challenges for many ethnic minority students who identify as LGBTQI+. The lack of acceptance in some ethnic communities often delays students' coming out, which can harm their mental health (Kosciw, Palmer and Kull, 2014[147]). Furthermore, their possible exclusion from LGBTQI+ spaces can prevent the potential positive impact of such groups on academic success and student well-being (Pitcher et al., 2018[149]).

3.3.3. Refugees and asylum-seekers

Refugees and asylum-seekers who have fled their home countries due to harassment, discrimination or victimisation based on their sexual orientation and/or gender identity or expression (or due to the criminalisation of homosexual conduct) are more likely to have experienced sexual violence, childhood persecution, mistreatment by family members and are also more likely to have suicidal ideation (Hopkinson et al., 2017[150]; McBrien, Rutigliano and Sticca, 2022[20]).

Many LGBTQI+ refugees and asylum-seekers not only face intimidation, fear, harassment and humiliation in their home countries, but also during the process of migration. They often have to prove grounds for asylum based on LGBTQI+ status by providing evidence of their sexual orientation, which can be humiliating (Sari, 2020[151]). Furthermore, harassment and assault by detention centre staff, translators and other asylum-seekers who are detained have been also reported (Alessi et al., 2018[152]). Even when LGBTQI+ refugees and asylum-seekers are granted asylum, they may encounter widespread discrimination against LGBTQI+ persons in their host countries. They can in this way feel unable to associate with people from both the cultural majority due to cultural and/or language barriers and from their native cultures (Piwowarczyk, Fernandez and Sharma, 2017[153]).

3.4. Intersections with special education needs

Definitions regarding special education needs (SEN) vary across countries and some education systems do not even recognise the concept (Brussino, 2020[154]). Regardless of the definition, it is important to consider how SEN interacts with other dimensions of diversity. As will be shown, there are instances when, due to stereotyping or improper diagnostic tools, some ethnic minorities are overrepresented among students with SEN. Such misdiagnosis can have considerable consequences on the students (ibid.). An improper identification of SEN can result in inadequate placement in a special education setting (Rutigliano, 2020[81]). In the long run, this might result in exclusions from the labour market with powerless social positions (Brussino, 2020[154]).

3.4.1. Ethnicity, gender and socio-economic background

Being from a disadvantaged socio-economic background can have negative consequences on student well-being. Children living in poverty often exhibit toxic stress levels. These are experiences of prolonged high levels of cortisol, a hormone released in stressful situations (National Institutes of Health, 2012[155]). There are various reasons why children from poorer backgrounds may exhibit high stress levels, which

include lack of access to secure and adequate housing, and exposure to chronic family or parental stress from economic hardship (OECD, 2019[156]). Children living in poverty also often lack access to adequate nutrition, basic clothing and leisure activities. In such circumstances, the learning abilities of children can be affected (ibid.). Shonkoff et al. (2012[157]) showed that prolonged high toxic stress levels impede physical as well as mental well-being later in life. These factors can result in a higher proportion of students being identified with mental disorders, and learning and behaviour impairments.

Cultural biases can also cause socio-economically disadvantaged students to be over-diagnosed with SEN, particularly when considering ethnic as well as socio-economic background. Cultural biases generally relate to conscious or unconscious differences by teachers or other stakeholders when referring students for SEN identification. For instance, teachers have been found to be less accurate in assessing disadvantaged students' cognitive abilities compared to other students (Ready and Wright, 2011[158]). Other biases might stem from inaccurate diagnostic tools. For example, Roma students, who are also disproportionately represented among disadvantaged students in several countries, are often misallocated in special needs schools due to language barriers during assessment tests on which placement decisions are based (Rutigliano, 2020[81]). Furthermore, the fact that in some countries disadvantaged students are overrepresented in some typologies of SEN (e.g., physical impairments), while underrepresented in others (e.g., dyslexia), might also point towards imperfect diagnostic tools (ibid.).

Empirical evidence from some countries confirms that SEN identification is heterogeneous across various dimensions of diversity. Disadvantaged students aged 5-16 were approximately twice as likely to be identified with SEN in England (United Kingdom), controlling for gender and ethnic background (Strand and Lindorff, 2018[159]; Strand and Lindsay, 2008[160]). Other studies have also confirmed that students from certain ethnic minority groups are overrepresented in regard to SEN (Ford and Helms, 2012[161]; Harry and Klingner, 2014[162]). Regarding Indigenous peoples, evidence from Nova Scotia and Yukon in Canada points out that Indigenous students 6 to 16 years old are more likely to be assessed to have learning difficulties compared to their non-Indigenous peers (OECD, 2017[163]).

Moreover, analysis of data from England (United Kingdom) showed that boys were more likely to be identified with SEN compared to girls, controlling for ethnic and socio-economic background (Strand and Lindorff, 2018[159]; Strand and Lindsay, 2008[160]). Overrepresentation of boys among students with SEN is also commonly reported in the literature (Redburn, 2021[164]). Evidence also suggests that particular diagnoses, e.g., attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), are more prevalent among boys than girls (Mezzanotte, 2020[165]).

The picture becomes even more complicated when considering the various typologies of SEN in interaction with ethnic origin, gender and socio-economic background (Strand and Lindorff, 2018[159]; Strand and Lindsay, 2008[160]). For instance, in England (United Kingdom), Black Caribbean students have been found to be overrepresented among social, emotional and mental health typology of SEN (e.g., challenging, disruptive or disturbing behaviour) compared to white British after controlling for gender and socio-economic background (Figure 3.6). Chinese students have also been found to be underrepresented among moderate learning difficulties (learning disabilities) (Strand and Lindorff, 2018[159]). A higher prevalence of ADHD diagnosis has also been observed among Indigenous populations in several countries (Mezzanotte, 2020[165]). The analysis above thus highlights that an intersectional perspective can shed unique light on the challenges some education systems might face in identifying students with SEN.

Figure 3.6. Odds ratios of being identified with SEN by ethnic background, 2016
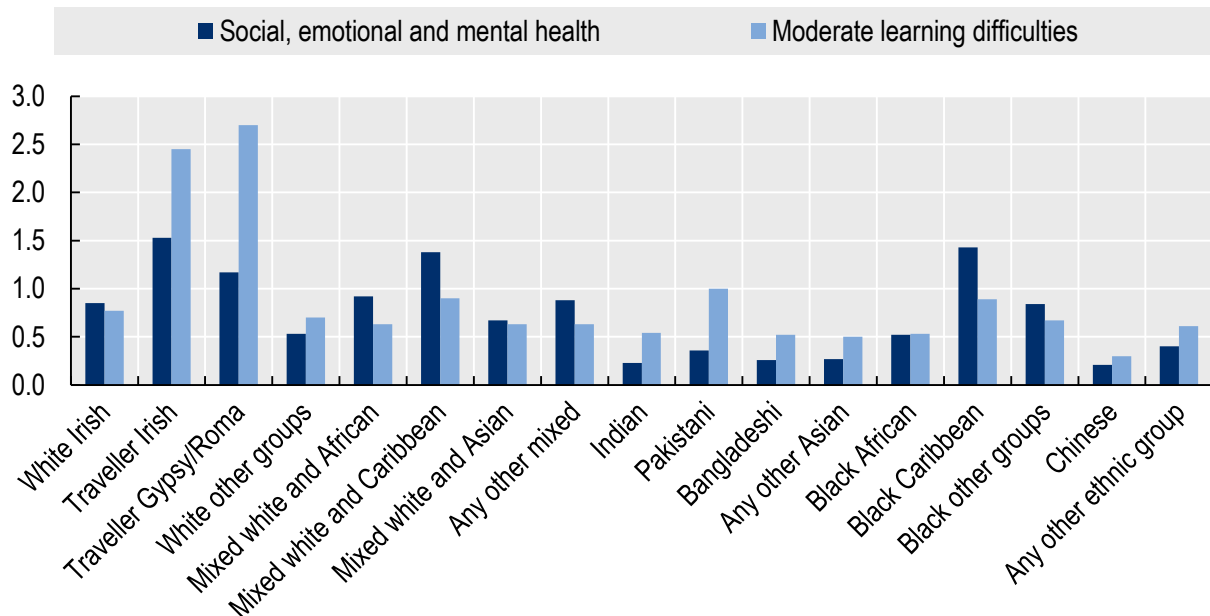
Note: Includes years 1 to 11 in England. Presented results are calculated based on regression outputs controlling for socio-economic background (income deprivation affecting children index and free school meal eligibility), gender, birth season and year group. The base group are white British students.
Source: Adapted from Strand and Lindorff (2018[159]), Ethnic disproportionality in the identification of Special Educational Needs (SEN) in England: Extent, causes and consequences, http://www.education.ox.ac.uk/research/the-unequal-representation-of-ethnic-minorities-in-special-education-in-england-extent-causes-and-consequences (accessed on 22 February 2022).

3.4.2. Immigrant background

Students with an immigrant background are often overrepresented among students with SEN (Brussino, 2020[154]). They often face similar challenges to students with a minority ethnic background, such as language barriers. They might also be victims of discrimination and stereotyping (ibid.).

Refugees in particular, also face unique challenges. Given their often traumatic experiences, they might suffer from poor mental health (Bronstein and Montgomery, 2011[166]). Moreover, they may have physical impairments as a result of war in their home countries (Watt, 2018[167]).

Having a visible special education need can sometimes lead to a lack of acceptance of individuals with SEN. In Austria, for instance, Bešić et al. (2020[168]) assessed the attitudes of people towards including refugee girls in primary schools. They concluded that refugee girls with a physical impairment or poor mental health experienced "intersectional discrimination" (Bešić et al., 2020, p. 473[168]).

3.5. Intersections with giftedness

The question of how to encourage and foster talented and high-achieving students has been discussed for many decades and remains relevant today (OECD, 2021[169]; Robinson and Clinkenbeard, 2008[170]). Special programmes for gifted students have been introduced in many countries (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). Such programmes are often put in place on the rationale that gifted students may otherwise not achieve their full potential (Ofsted, 2013[171]). Consequently, gifted students often gain access to academic opportunities, such as smaller classrooms with enriched learning environments (Parekh, Brown and Robson, 2018[172]).

The identification of gifted students was initially rooted in measures of intelligence and academic achievement ("schoolhouse gifted") (Parekh, Brown and Robson, 2018[172]; Renzulli, 1978[173]). However, more progressive measures of giftedness emerged, which include a combination of intelligence, perseverance and creativity ("three ring giftedness") (Parekh, Brown and Robson, 2018[172]; Renzulli, 2005[174]). The fluidity of the concept and its diverse interpretations across countries and cultures has led some researchers to interpret giftedness as a social construct, which can advantage some children and disadvantage others, leading to several intersectional implications (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]).

Common definitions of giftedness may not consider the cultural backgrounds and learning styles of different groups of students (Bonner and Jennings, 2007[175]). Instead, it may be a narrow representation of cognitive abilities as commonly understood in ethnic majority backgrounds (ibid.). The contribution of other skills, such as leadership ability, may be neglected, possibly to the detriment of culturally diverse student groups (ibid.). Giftedness may thus remain unidentified for many students as a result of a narrow interpretation of the concept.

Furthermore, the terminology and definition of giftedness varies across countries (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). Germany and Spain use the term "gifted" while Colombia uses the term "talent". Australia, Austria, the United Kingdom and other countries have adopted the term "gifted and talented". In Finland, there is no direct reference to giftedness based on the understanding that schools should respond to the individual needs of all students (ibid.). These differences accentuate the challenges of international research and add an extra layer of complexity to the analysis.

3.5.1. Giftedness identification

The identification of gifted students, in part, relies on the use of performance assessments such as intelligent quotient tests (Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]). Such performance assessments often claim to be unbiased, but have been shown to be poor at identifying gifted students belonging to ethnic groups in the United States (ibid.) or gifted students who are also Indigenous (Bousnakis et al., 2011[177]; Scobie-Jennings, 2012[178]). Researchers often attribute this to the fact that these assessments are typically normed on the majority population, usually white students (Carman and Taylor, 2010[179]; Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]; Ford and Helms, 2012[161]).

Performance assessments implicitly assume that all students have an equal opportunity to learn (Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]). However, students from some ethnic minority groups are more likely to live in poverty and with a lack of educational resources. Furthermore, minority students may face more barriers in life from discrimination and victimisation, which may further negatively affect their test results and hinder the identification of giftedness (ibid.). Such "culturally skewed tests" can in this way depict the cognitive abilities of some students inaccurately (Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]; Sewell and Goings, 2019[180]).

In many countries, the identification of gifted students relies on referral from teachers (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). However, ethnic minority students in the United States are significantly less likely to be referred to gifted services even when their test scores and prior achievements are similar to gifted students of the ethnic majority group (Grissom and Redding, 2016[181]; Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2016[182]). Due to various cultural biases, it has been shown that teachers are less accurate in assessing the cognitive abilities of students from socio-economically disadvantaged and/or ethnic minority backgrounds compared to other students (Ready and Wright, 2011[158]).

3.5.2. Special education needs

The intersection between giftedness and special education needs (SEN) is often very explicit, given that many countries, such as Chile (Santiago et al., 2017[183]), Greece (Polyzopoulou et al., 2014[184]) and the Slovak Republic (National Council of the Slovak Republic, 2008[185]), consider giftedness to be a special

education need. This of course, does not mean that students who are gifted do not have learning disabilities, physical impairments or mental health issues. Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, Asperger's, physical impairments, socio-emotional disorders and dyslexia are among the most commonly identified SEN among gifted students (Brussino, 2020[154]). Students with SEN who are also gifted are sometimes referred to as "twice exceptional" (ibid.).

Gifted students with SEN face unique challenges in terms of referrals from teachers or psychologists. Given that SEN and giftedness interact, they might not be easily spotted, with the effect that students' needs, whether in terms of giftedness or SEN, remain unaddressed (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). For instance, giftedness is challenging to identify among students with autism spectrum disorders (ibid.). Furthermore, school staff are often inadequately trained to identify twice exceptional students (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). For example, teachers in Florida (United States) were found to be more likely to refer twice exceptional students for counselling services rather than to gifted education (Bianco, 2005[186]). Improper identification can pose risks to students' social and emotional well-being. Gifted students often have strong beliefs about their abilities and thus set high expectations for themselves (King, 2005[187]). These high expectations, however, might not be met as a result of their SEN, which can result in failures happening more often than they might have expected, resulting in feelings of frustration and loneliness in completing their tasks (Mayes and Moore, 2016[188]). These students might also feel frustrated and bored at the same time because they often excel at one task, but fail at another (King, 2005[187]).

3.5.3. Ethnicity

Studies in the United Kingdom and the United States showed that certain minority groups, such as African American/Black and Latin American students, are overrepresented in special education programmes or among students identified as having special education needs (Ford, 2012[189]; Strand and Lindorff, 2018[159]), but underrepresented in gifted programmes (Bonner and Jennings, 2007[175]; Ford, 2014[190]; Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]; Goings and Ford, 2017[191]; Mayes and Moore, 2016[188]). In the United States, in 2014, African American students constituted almost 16% of the overall public-school population, but only 10% of gifted students. White students, on the other hand, made up 50% of the total student population, but 58% of gifted programme participants (Civil Rights Data Collection, 2014[192]; Civil Rights Data Collection, 2014[193]).

In the United Kingdom, in 2011, there were large differences in the prevalence of gifted and talented students. Of all Chinese students, 21% in state-funded primary schools and 25% of students in state-funded secondary schools were identified as being gifted and talented. Chinese students had the highest incidence of being identified as gifted and talented students. Of the majority population (white British), almost 11% in state-funded primary and 15% in state-funded secondary schools were identified as being gifted and talented. The lowest incidence of giftedness was observed among travellers of Irish heritage and Gypsy/Roma students (2.5% and 2.7% in primary, and 2.6% and 2.3% in secondary state-funded schools respectively) (Department for Education, 2011[194]).

Gifted students with SEN who also come from ethnic minorities or disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds are even more disadvantaged. Studies of these intersections are rare, but the few that exist have shown, for instance, that African American students with SEN, who are also gifted, were much less likely to be recommended for gifted programmes by teachers, a result potentially stemming from stereotyping (Mayes and Moore, 2016[188]). This underrepresentation of gifted students within some ethnic or socio-economic groups is driven by less frequent identification of giftedness as well as lower retention rates once identified and placed in gifted programmes (Card and Giuliano, 2016[195]; Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]). Furthermore, once in the class with their gifted peers, they might be alone in regard to their ethnic background and/or learning disability/physical impairment. This might result in feelings of loneliness and other issues described in other sections (Mayes and Moore, 2016[188]).

3.5.4. Indigenous peoples

Giftedness can be understood as a social construct. Differences in definitions and identifications in the various cultures of gifted students can therefore be expected. This is particularly relevant in countries with Indigenous populations. For instance, the Māori definition of giftedness in New Zealand includes attributes such as courage, hospitality or even humour (Bevan-Brown, 2011[196]). The Navajo community in North America places a lot of emphasis on interpersonal skills in their definition of giftedness. Australian Aboriginal culture highlights linguistic, spatial, naturalist/spiritual and interpersonal intelligence when defining the concept (ibid.). Given these varying definitions, it is often challenging to conceptualise giftedness and thus to develop holistic tools to identify gifted students among Indigenous peoples. Combined with teachers' biases in referrals of students from minority backgrounds (section 3.5.1), this can result in the underrepresentation of Indigenous students among those identified as being gifted (Cooper, 2005[197]; Graham, Stan and Ken, 2015[198]). For instance, on average between 2008-16, just 3% of Aboriginal students applied to governmental selective high school tests in New South Wales (Australia), compared with 18% of the overall student population (NSW Department of Education, 2018[199]).

3.5.5. Gender and socio-economic background

A meta-analysis concluded that there are no significant gender differences in terms of gifted identification. However, girls were underrepresented among gifted study programmes and boys were more likely to be identified as gifted if referrals were made based on grades or standardised tests (Petersen, 2013[200]).

Coming from an advantaged socio-economic background generally increases the odds of being identified as gifted. When intersecting with ethnicity and gender in Toronto (Canada), Parekh, Brown and Robson (2018[172]) found that white and East Asian students with a parent in a high-status occupation had the highest probability of gifted identification. They also noted that having a higher socio-economic background (operationalised as the occupational status of parents) increased the odds of gifted identification by 42%. Being a boy increased the odds by 51% (ibid.).

4. Mapping policy areas with an intersectional approach

The OECD Strength through Diversity project identifies five key policy issues for analysing and reflecting on equity and inclusion in education (Cerna et al., 2021[11]):

- Governance;
- Resourcing;
- Developing capacity;
- Promoting school-level interventions; and
- Monitoring and evaluating.

The following sections explore how intersectionality could be embedded into each of these policy areas. Where possible, it refers to examples from countries and organisations that might provide guidance on where and how intersectionality can be operationalised in education policy. In many areas, however,

intersectional frameworks are lacking or have not been scaled up from individual project-based practices. There is also a lack of evaluation of policies incorporating intersectionality. Readers should, therefore, view the following sections as a preliminary tool rather than as a comprehensive guide.

4.1. Applying intersectionality in governance

Even though several frameworks were developed to apply intersectionality in the policy-making process (section 2.4), countries rarely operationalise the concept holistically in education. Instead, countries and non-government organisations (who play a major role in applying intersectionality in governance) only focus on smaller fragments, even though, as a concept, intersectionality has been highlighted at the international level (OECD, 2020[9]; UNESCO, 2020[201]). For instance, several systems define or indirectly define intersectionality, but this is often not reflected in policies aimed at building the capacity of teachers or resourcing.

The following sections provide an overview of practices of how countries operationalised intersectionality in their jurisdictions. Robust governance at the macro and micro levels can help address some of the issues identified in the previous sections. For instance, anti-bullying policies can help sexual minority students with intersecting dimensions of diversity to feel safer at schools. The first section describes how intersectionality can be defined by several countries and organisations – a necessary starting point for any future developments. The second section then elaborates on how curriculum strategies can be adjusted to meet the needs of students with intersecting dimensions of diversity.

4.1.1. Definitions

The necessary precondition to applying an intersectional framework in policy making is a definition of the term.

In the education context, few OECD country representatives at the Strength through Diversity Policy Forum reported that they specifically define intersectionality in their jurisdictions, despite many agreeing that it is an important concept (OECD, 2020[9]). The reasons for the lack of definitions varied, from inadequate data to imperfect translations (ibid.). However, while official definitions may be lacking, several countries explicitly or implicitly incorporate and/or explain the concept in policy documents or government publications. In *Chile*, for example, intersectionality is envisioned as a key principle and an important analytical tool in the education ministry's action plan targeting equity and gender equality in vocational education and training and the inclusion of vulnerable groups (Ministry of Education, 2022[202]). In *Colombia*, the Inclusive Higher Education Policy Guidelines propose an intersectional approach to gender identity and sexual orientation by recognising diversity in cases of discrimination (Ministry of National Education, 2016[203]). In *Victoria (Australia)*, the Government's Inclusion and Equity Statement provides a clear definition of the concept along with rationale for its consideration, highlighting that using an intersectional lens means looking beyond one's identity and focusing on the points of intersection that vary by individual as a result of personal as well as societal influences (The State of Victoria, 2018[204]). Similarly, in *Scotland (United Kingdom)*, the Scottish Government has published a guide on how intersectionality can be used to understand structural inequality, which sets out the key characteristics of an intersectional approach and examples (Scottish Government, 2022[24]). In *New Zealand*, a framework developed by the Ministry of Education to identify gifted children acknowledges the concept implicitly, discussing specific challenges gifted students from minority cultures or disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds may face (The Ministry of Education, 2012[205]). Finally, in *New Brunswick (Canada)*, the Government's "LGBTQ Inclusive Education Resource" provides a definition of the concept along with examples of how different identities perceive and experience forms of discrimination. The publication focuses mostly on the intersections between the dimensions of sexual orientation, gender and ethnic/Indigenous backgrounds (Government of New Brunswick, n.d.[206]).

Several non-governmental organisations have also defined intersectionality in their work (Equinet, 2016[207]). For instance, the **European Institute for Gender Equality** defines intersectionality as an "analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which sex and gender intersect with other personal characteristics/identities, and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of discrimination" (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022[208]). **UNESCO** highlights in the Global Education Monitoring Report on gender that intersectionality "captures overlapping differences between groups, analyses interlocking institutional formations of power and criticizes existing descriptions of gender, race, ethnicity or disability" (UNESCO, 2020, p. 6[209]). **The International LGBTQ Youth and Student Organisation** has also developed the "Intersectionality Toolkit", which provides an overview of the main terms and general approaches to operationalising intersectionality in the context of sexual orientation and other dimensions of diversity (IGLYO, 2014[210]).

4.1.2. Curriculum strategies

Changing curriculum strategies to include diversity is one of the key means to apply the principles of equity and inclusion within education. Several countries have made adaptations to curricula to include different dimensions of diversity. In **Ireland**, the Primary Language Curriculum offers teachers a toolkit on how to support student learning, with a particular focus on teaching the Irish language (potentially relevant for students with an immigrant background or minority ethnic background) and students with special education needs (SEN). While the curricular resource does not have an intersectional focus *per se*, it provides examples and videos to guide teachers in the application of the curriculum for diverse students (Government of Ireland, 2019[211]). Similarly, the Relationships and Sex Education guide for schools published by the **National Children's Bureau** in England (United Kingdom) provides an overview of approaches towards creating inclusive curricula for students with SEN (National Children's Bureau, 2020[212]). It defines what an inclusive curriculum is in terms of sexual minority students, summarises how curricula should be adjusted for various typologies of SEN and provides guidance on a whole-school approach for curricula changes.

In relation to curricula that would be more inclusive of LGBTQI+ students, researchers have called for changes that reflect the latest scientific research on the sexual diversity of students (Stoffelen et al., 2018[213]). The inclusion of topics such as homo/bi/transphobia and sexual diversity can help support the identity development of LGBTQI+ students, including those with intersecting identities, and better prepare them for adult life (Stoffelen et al., 2012[214]; Stoffelen et al., 2018[213]). Curricula with an intersectional focus could also help in addressing discrimination and prejudices based on multiple and intersecting dimensions of diversity (for instance, sexual orientation and SEN). Some states in the **United States** (California, Colorado, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island and Washington) have mandated sex education to be LGBTQI+ inclusive (GLSEN, 2021[215]; URGE, 2021[216]).

To support students' intersecting identities, more flexibility in the organisation of the curriculum, such as choice of subjects or textbooks, might also be needed. Other curricular changes might include a better alignment with Indigenous worldviews, more emphasis on ethnic minorities' cultures and adjustments that could foster diversity. However, research in this area is underdeveloped and information is not available to what extent countries' curricula consider intersectionality.

4.2. Resourcing approaches to support intersectionality

The following sections provide two examples, from Canada and New Zealand, on the operationalisation of intersectionality in the area of resourcing. In Canada, an intersectional approach is explicitly considered in the overall budgeting process. The Government of Canada encourages all policy makers, including those in provinces, to embrace the process of Gender-Based Analysis Plus (education is the exclusive responsibility of provinces in Canada). In New Zealand, intersectionality is not considered explicitly, but a

somewhat intersectional approach is part of the Equity Index based on which additional equity funding is distributed.

4.2.1. Gender-based Analysis Plus in Canada

In 2011, Canada created the Gender-Based Analysis Plus approach (GBA+) (Government of Canada, 2022[217]). This approach is based on the premise that the policy-making process should consider other dimensions of diversity in addition to gender and the interactions between them. The approach also recognises that individuals experience both privilege and oppression not only due to their individual characteristics, but also as a result of the social context. Policy makers are thus advised to consider how the way in which individuals experience government policies and initiatives can be shaped by the intersections between a myriad of identity factors as well as the various inequalities and power structures that exist in society. The GBA+ process aims to ultimately devise strategies and policies that prevent further perpetuation of inequalities and systematic oppression (Cameron and Tedds, 2020[218]).

In the GBA+ approach, policy makers do not prioritise any particular dimension of diversity, nor assume that gender should be the first consideration in the analysis. Gender differences should not be neglected, but should not necessarily be the predominant part of the analysis (Government of Canada, 2022[217]).

In 2016, the Government of Canada extended the GBA+ to the federal budget process. In Canada, education funding generally falls under provincial jurisdictions, but the federal government has historically played an indirect but important role (Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, 2016[219]). The Budget 2018 included the "gender results framework" that assessed gender equality goals (Government of Canada, 2018[220]). These mostly focused on gender differences, but in some instances, goals were framed in intersectional terms (e.g., "Reduced gender gaps in reading and numeracy skills among youth, including Indigenous youth"). The 2019 Budget considered the differential impacts of each new policy by gender, socio-economic background (income) and age (intergenerational impacts) (Government of Canada, 2019[221]). In 2021, the expected benefits of the new policies were also calculated for others, such as Indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities or health problems, and LGBTQI+ individuals (Government of Canada, 2021[222]).

To operationalise the GBA+ process, the Government has developed a factsheet, research guide, bibliography and an online training course. GBA+ awareness weeks are also organised for stakeholders to be aware of the process and best practices (Government of Canada, 2022[217]). Various Canadian provinces have already embraced this process (Hankivsky and Mussell, 2018[223]).

The GBA+ consists of seven steps. The resources provided by the Government of Canada contain a description along with several questions that could be considered by policy makers within each step (Government of Canada, 2022[224]):

- **Identify key issues**: this involves identifying the context and issues related to dimensions of diversity, connecting the initiative at hand to the broader social, cultural and economic environments;
- **Challenge assumptions**: this involves reflecting on how individual and/or institutional assumptions may affect the outcome of an initiative;
- **Gather the facts – research and consult**: this involves collecting data, assessing gaps in existing data and consulting stakeholders to assess whether the initiative may have a more significant impact on a particular group or people and/or whether barriers exist;
- **Develop options and make recommendations**: based on the analysis of evidence gathered in the previous step, this involves proposing options on how to respond to the issues identified with a particular focus on heterogeneous effects on diverse groups;

- **Monitor and evaluate**: evaluation should focus on groups that are likely to be affected (positively or negatively) by the initiative, highlighting any gaps in data collection;
- **Communicate**: throughout the five steps above, messaging should be tailored to the relevant audiences and the results of the GBA+ analysis shared within the organisation; and
- **Document**: analysis and findings should be documented throughout the cycle of the initiative.

Despite these efforts, however, research suggests that the GBA+ process has not yet been embraced across different policy disciplines. For instance, it has so far only rarely been applied to the tax policy development process, and, where it has been, it has been met with criticism and hostility (Cameron and Tedds, 2020[218]). In addition, inconsistencies in its implementation indicate a lack of consensus on how the process is to be approached, particularly regarding the meaning and operationalisation of intersectionality (ibid.). In practice, the GBA+ process can be seen as still prioritising gender and sex and then "adding on" other identity factors – which is problematic, as one of the key premises of intersectionality is to avoid any hierarchical ranking of individuals' characteristics and instead considers and addresses multiple forms of inequity in a holistic way (Hunting and Hankivsky, 2020[225]).

4.2.2. Equity Index in New Zealand

Between 2016-18, the Ministry of Education in New Zealand undertook evaluations of its funding system for ECEC, primary and secondary education. The evaluation showed that one of the most pressing issues was the risk of underachievement among young people (Ministry of Education, 2022[226]). Consequently, the government decided to review how disadvantages stemming from socio-economic background are addressed. This resulted in the Ministry of Education proposing to replace the decile system with the Equity Index as a way of funding schools in the country.

The Equity Index is calculated in two steps (Ministry of Education, 2022[226]). The first step establishes the relationship between 37 variables used to measure socio-economic background and educational achievement in upper secondary education examinations. These relationships have been established based on children born in 2000-2 for whom educational outcomes are already available. The 37 variables include parental socio-economic indicators (e.g., education level, income, prison custody, mother's age at her first child), child socio-economic indicators related to poverty, abuse or neglect (e.g., care and protection placement/notification/investigation of the child), national background variables (e.g., country of birth) and transience variables related to moving home or school (e.g., number of home and school changes). While the primary purpose of the Equity Index is to respond to the challenges stemming from a disadvantaged socio-economic background, the model considers a wider range of student characteristics (e.g., immigrant background). Furthermore, during the evaluation process, it was acknowledged that many disadvantaged schools have large shares of Indigenous populations (Ministry of Education, 2019[227]).

After the first step, the model is applied to current student populations. To avoid large disruptions between years, the three most recent years of data are considered. Student-level data are aggregated to the school level on a 225-point scale.

There are several advantages of this new system compared to the former decile system (Ministry of Education, 2019[227]):

- Values are calculated based on student-level data and aggregated to the school level rather than based on neighbourhood-level characteristics;
- It can be updated annually rather than every five years;
- It is more comprehensive as it is composited based on 37 variables rather than just 5 values;
- The Index takes into account all students rather than just students below a threshold;
- It removes the stigma of the "low decile schools"; and
- It is more nuanced because it works on a 225-point numerical scale rather than in 10 decile bands.

The Index will replace the decile system starting in 2023 and its value will determine the amount of equity funding. It is projected that more than 2 000 schools will receive more funding under the new system and less than 300 schools will see a reduction in income from this source (Ministry of Education, 2022[226]).

New Zealand's experience shows that new approaches can take intersectionality into account (implicitly or explicitly) even in cases where the priority is not intersectional *per se*. In this case, the aim of equity funding is to address the barriers stemming from a disadvantaged socio-economic background, but in practice a wide range of student characteristics are considered.

4.3. Developing capacity for managing intersectionality

In order to successfully address the diverse needs of all students, it is necessary that teachers, school leaders and other stakeholders are equipped with the necessary knowledge and competencies. Initiatives that aim to develop capacities within the education system have the potential to target some of the challenges stemming from intersectionality. Including intersectionality in national frameworks and the training and professional development of school staff as well as the recruitment of a diverse teaching force are practices with the potential to improve the well-being of students with intersecting identities.

Developing capacity for managing intersectionality is also about how to build awareness of it in education among all students and across society. Raising awareness can be an important aspect in gaining support for the implementation of intersectional policies in education. Raising awareness can take place through information campaigns, which can help fight negative attitudes, stereotypes and prejudices. Awareness-raising campaigns can also focus on the challenges as well as opportunities that intersectionality brings to education, and on the responses to the needs of specific student groups.

4.3.1. Raising awareness

The **Council of Europe** has launched a campaign to "raise public awareness about intersectional discrimination", particularly in the area of intersecting discrimination against women (Council of Europe, 2022[228]). In addition to a social media campaign, the Council has also created a website that defines the term, explains why stakeholders (e.g., journalists) should be aware of it, provides links to relevant literature and videos and even allows users to take a quiz that lets them explore the concept of intersectionality and reflect on their own views and experience (ibid.).

The **Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies** at Columbia University in the United States fosters co-operation between researchers in the area of intersectionality (Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies, n.d.[229]). Its mission is "to explicate, reveal, analyze, and intervene in systems of racial, economic, gender, disability, ethno-religious, age-based, and sexual subordination that generate population vulnerability, limit opportunities for legal or social redress, and contribute to collective failures to recognize and confront intersectional harm" (ibid.). In education specifically, the centre focuses on intersections between education and legal systems. By networking and facilitating a dialogue between researchers from labour, work and economy; violence and exploitation; education; international law and policy; and health, disabilities, and health disparities, the centre draws attention and raises awareness of intersectionality, particularly in the academic sector.

Interactive intersectional tools are also available on various websites to raise awareness of the concept. The Intersectionality Score Calculator (n.d.[230]) allows users to calculate an "intersectionality score". The aim is to highlight that individuals can face systematic oppression and discrimination due to their multiple identity factors. The Intersectionality Test by IDRlabs (2022[231]) estimates how "privileged" an individual is based on several questions related to gender, gender identity, ethnic background and other characteristics. While there is a question as to whether it is possible (or desirable) to calculate "values" of oppression or

privilege, these tools can be useful to raise awareness about the fact that individual identities and experiences are complex and multidimensional.

Finally, Kimberlé Crenshaw, the scholar who developed the term intersectionality, also hosts the podcast "Intersectionality Matters!", where she invites activists, scholars, lawyers and others to discuss the various aspects of intersectionality in everyday life (The African American Policy Forum, 2022[232]). For example, several of the episodes discussed how the COVID-19 pandemic disproportionately affected socio-economically disadvantaged communities in the United States (ibid.).

4.3.2. Teacher professional learning

A highly qualified and trained teaching force is crucial to adequately support students' intersecting identities. However, teachers in OECD countries have reported a need for greater training in areas related to teaching diverse students. In 2018, on average across OECD countries, more than one in five (22%), one in seven (15%) and one in eight (14%) teachers participating in the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) reported a high level of need for professional development in the area of teaching students with special education needs, teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting and approaches to individualised learning respectively (OECD, 2019[233]). In fact, teaching students with special education needs was the highest rated area of professional development in which teachers reported a greater need for training, despite the fact that almost half (42%) reported that this topic had been included in their professional development activities (ibid.). While it cannot be deduced to what extent teachers also need training in intersectional topics, many experience challenges associated with teaching diverse students. As individual students can simultaneously embody multiple dimensions of diversity, professional learning in the area of intersectionality may be helpful.

Several researchers have discussed how intersectional professional development programmes could be designed and implemented (Grant and Zwier, 2011[34]). Ensign (2009[234]) calls for a purposeful support of pre-service teachers' learning in explicitly discussing and in-class modelling of how to work with diverse students. This can lead to fostering critical consciousness of the reasons that may be behind a student's low academic performance, which shifts the focus from "blaming" students to a more overt programmatic outlook on diversity and social justice (ibid.). Others have noted that pre-service teachers' curricula could be transformed to include more of the history of intersectionally marginalised groups and a larger portion of engagement with diverse communities (Grant and Zwier, 2011[34]). Researchers have also called for training to foster greater introspection among pre-service teachers as to how their identities have shaped their educational experiences (ibid.). For instance, pre-service teachers' curricula could initiate the unlearning of their stereotypes and assumptions around marginalised groups (ibid.). These practices led prospective teachers to the realisation of how a narrow understanding of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and ability can limit opportunities for expression in schools (Gist et al., 2021[235]). This is further explored by Case (2017[236]), along with how intersectional pedagogy (across a range of dimensions of diversity including gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity and other intersections) can be implemented through classroom practices. Some of these practices are also presented in one of the inclusive teaching practice modules at the ***University of Denver*** in the United States (University of Denver, 2022[237]).

Teachers are also crucial stakeholders in identifying the needs of students and referring students for additional support. However, research shows systematic gaps in this respect in certain cases. For instance, students with minority ethnic backgrounds are underrepresented in gifted education programmes due to not having been identified as such (section 3.5.3) – which further highlights the importance of teacher training on topics related to intersectionality. Multicultural education can, for example, help teachers understand the needs of students at the intersections of diversity (Ford et al., 2013[238]; Ford, 2014[190]). However, on average across OECD countries, only 22% of teachers participating in TALIS reported that teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting had been included in their professional development activities in 2018 (OECD, 2019[233]). An understanding of cultural differences can help teachers overcome

deficit thinking patterns[13], particularly if it is complemented by training that equips teachers to be aware of their own biases (Ford et al., 2013[238]).

Indeed, by following multicultural education activities in professional development, teachers' views of their classrooms can change significantly. Some reconsidered the categories based on which they group students, and moved away from deficit thinking about student groups (Parkhouse, Lu and Massaro, 2019[239]). Others interacted more with individuals, learned how to better incorporate students' home cultures and languages, and considered diversity in the selection of educational materials (ibid.). The evaluation of the **EDUCAMIGRANT**, a professional development project in Türkiye that focused on intercultural education for primary and secondary school teachers and promoted integration of students with an immigrant background, found that it helped teachers foster positive relationships with the students (Biasutti et al., 2021[240]). Many of these changes focus on adjustments in teachers' thinking about the unique needs of each student, one of the central tenets of intersectionality in education.

Similarly, in **Sweden**, the "Coaching for Teaching" programme aimed, among other things, to enhance teachers' skills in the area of teaching strategies to students with an immigrant background (Hall, Lundin and Sibbmark, 2020[241]). The teachers also participated in coaching sessions aimed at increasing their self-confidence. Schools with high proportions of students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds were targeted. The evaluation of the programme showed that it had a positive impact on English performance and students' perceptions of classroom climate and teaching.

In **Peru**, the *Colegio de Alto Rendimiento* (Academy for High Achievers), schools for high-achieving students from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds, developed a training programme for new staff. Each teacher has to become certified by the International Baccalaureate Organisation in addition to completing elective workshops such as robotics, oratory or dance (Blumen, 2021[242]). The academies also provide psychological services, tutoring and development of other non-cognitive skills (ibid.).

Finally, the **Human Rights Campaign Foundation** in the United States created a resource guide for teachers and other stakeholders on what to consider when creating individualised education plans for LGBTQI+ individuals with disabilities. The resource contains basic definitions, an overview of the most relevant legislation, and strategies to follow when supporting LGBTQI+ students with disabilities (Human Rights Campaign Foundation, 2020[243]).

4.3.3. Attracting a diverse teaching workforce

Attracting a diverse teaching force can have positive effects on student learning outcomes and in reducing absences, suspensions and dropouts (Brussino, 2021[244]). Evidence indicates, for instance, that similar teacher-student ethnic backgrounds can improve academic achievement (Egalite, Kisida and Winters, 2015[245]), as well as have long-lasting effects on upper secondary graduation rates and higher education enrolment (Delhommer, 2022[246]). Teachers can also serve as role models and help instil a sense of belonging among students from similar backgrounds (Brussino, 2021[244]). Several countries have policies in place that aim to attract teachers from diverse settings. For instance, in the **United States**, there are initiatives that provide support for African American applicants to enter the teaching workforce (ibid.). In the **United Kingdom**, several projects aim to attract more teachers with an immigrant background to the profession (ibid.). In various **European countries**, campaigns to attract students from diverse backgrounds into studying teaching were run (ibid.). While information regarding initiatives specifically targeting potential teacher candidates with intersecting identities is difficult to find, the above-mentioned

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[13] The notion that students' low performance is a result of students' and their families' internal deficits that hinder the learning process (e.g., lower motivation, limited educability) (Valencia, 1997[298]).

initiatives can provide a forward-looking perspective on how teacher diversity in recruitment can help in incorporating greater awareness and application of intersectionality in education.

Another area where teacher diversity is important is the identification of student needs. While research in the area of intersectionality is not well-developed (see section 4.4.2), there are single dimension examples. For instance, referral rates of ethnic minority students into gifted programmes were shown to be significantly higher when their teacher shared their ethnic background (Grissom and Redding, 2016[181]; Grissom, Rodriguez and Kern, 2017[247]). Consequently, an increase in teachers from ethnic minority groups can improve the identification of gifted students from similar backgrounds (ibid.).

4.4. Promoting intersectionality through school-level interventions

Addressing the diverse needs of students' intersecting identities ultimately happens in individual classrooms by teachers and other school staff. It is therefore important to provide stakeholders in the education sector with adequate resources and support to be able to implement school-level interventions to support diverse students. Such strategies aim to address some of the pressing challenges elaborated on in section 3. such as differences in learning outcomes or challenges in the identification of student needs. This section elaborates on four main types of school-level interventions.

It describes some of the common learning strategies that are used in diverse classrooms to support and include all students. While not specifically tailored for intersectionality, these strategies can be applied to all students, including those with intersecting identities.

A recurring effect of intersectionality in education is that some student groups are systematically underrepresented or overrepresented among some targeted educational provisions. For instance, students from Indigenous populations or ethnic minorities are often underrepresented among gifted students. Students with some ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Roma) are overrepresented among some typologies of SEN. The second section therefore describes how diagnostic assessment can be improved to address the uneven representation of some student groups in various educational provisions.

Non-instructional support is equally important to foster an inclusive school climate. Designated support spaces can help students with intersecting identities to feel more welcome at schools. The last two sections therefore conclude with a description of how counselling services and community engagement can help with psychological well-being and better identification of students' needs.

4.4.1. Learning strategies

Inclusive pedagogies aim to address the needs of each individual student equally (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011[248]) and can be effective in supporting students' intersecting identities. This is in contrast to bell-curve thinking that promotes school organisation and teaching based on the needs of the majority (at the centre of the bell curve) with some students (at the fringes of the curve) requiring something additional or different from the rest of the class (Brussino, 2021[244]).

When applied, the inclusive pedagogy approach is often narrowed to focus on single dimensions of diversity individually, particularly special education needs. However, researchers have called for its application to be broadened to a wider range of students and to consider the intersecting dimensions of diversity (Bešić, 2020[249]). This is being done in certain education systems, which require teachers to recognise heterogeneity in students' needs (European Commission, 2017[250]). For example, the **Australian Professional Standards for Teachers** require prospective teachers to develop a solid understanding of diversity and inclusion and preparedness for differentiated instruction to address students' diverse needs and learning styles (Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, 2017[251]). While inclusive pedagogy, as a theoretical concept, is well-suited to be applied to consider

intersecting dimensions of diversity, more research needs to be conducted on how this can be done in practice, with lessons shared across schools and countries.

Another teaching strategy that encourages consideration of students' intersecting identities and experiences is culturally responsive pedagogies (Box 4.1). For instance, culturally relevant school projects can be used in classes including students with an immigrant background (Fruja Amthor, 2017[78]). Such projects combine curricular requirements with the personal experiences and identities of participating students. These activities can thus adapt the material being taught at school to be culturally relevant to the individuals present in the classroom. During these projects, students with immigrant and refugee backgrounds share their experiences and thus illuminate how they view their social locations and status identities, such as race, class, national origin, religion and legal status, particularly as they pertain to education. Fruja Amthor (2017[78]) suggested that such projects can encourage the acknowledgement of intersecting identities if students are invited to present their personal cultural experiences and help teachers understand students' needs. Examples include projects where students (with the help of parents) cook for the rest of the class and thus share part of their identity. In one school, meals were primarily based on dumplings – an ingredient found in many cultures and yet used to create a diverse range of meals (Keller and Wild, 2022[252]).

Box 4.1. Components of culturally responsive pedagogies

Culturally responsive pedagogy is a practice of teaching that draws on students' interests and backgrounds to make curriculum content personally meaningful and improve learning outcomes. Seven components describe culturally responsive pedagogies (teachers' lenses; knowledge; experience; challenging, relevant content; modes of expression; differentiation; and critical consciousness and engagement):

- **Teachers' lenses**: Teachers develop an asset-based view of students and their families by viewing students as resources, focusing on their lived experiences, and valuing their culture and cultural practices;

- **Knowledge**: Teachers are aware of the history and culture of student groups, connect to youth culture and pop culture, and are in touch with relevant technological and socio-political knowledge to be responsive to their students;

- **Experience**: By engaging and connecting with students' communities, teachers gain experience in how to better connect with their students;

- **Challenging, relevant content**: Teachers can help students succeed in education by adapting and challenging the standard curriculum and including, for instance, more participatory action research and intersectional theory;

- **Modes of expression**: Teaching can be more engaging by including multiple modes of expression including music, code-switching between standard English and vernacular, and sharing educators' stories about their life experiences;

- **Differentiation**: Differentiation can be implemented by adapting processes, content, products and the learning environment. Teachers can, for example, use learning activities and experiences that incorporate students' different learning styles while meeting common standards, or provide different ways for students to demonstrate learning; and

- **Critical consciousness and engagement**: Teachers engage in activities that respond to social justice issues in their lived context and critique the social injustices that constrain students' educational journeys.

Source: Grant and Zwier (2011[34]), Intersectionality and Student Outcomes: Sharpening the Struggle against Racism, Sexism, Classism, Ableism, Heterosexism, Nationalism, and Linguistic, Religious, and Geographical Discrimination in Teaching and Learning, 10.1080/15210960.2011.616813.

Similarly, Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy is a participatory and youth-driven pedagogical approach that utilises the hip hop music genre as a tool for social justice, particularly at the intersection of race, class, gender and sexual orientation (Akom, 2009[253]). Students are asked to analyse a diverse set of data, such as field notes, video footage, web research, artifacts of popular culture, interviews, archival research, oral history, and surveys, to examine deep-rooted ideologies to social inequities (ibid.).

Lastly, collaborative teaching, i.e., teaching where general education teachers work in tandem with special education teachers, can help with individualised learning. This strategy utilises the presence of a special education teacher to plan lessons, teach and evaluate student progress while holding all students to the same educational standards. While all students learn the same content, teachers have more leeway to address students' specific needs (Morin, n.d.[254]). Indeed, one of the central tenets of intersectionality is the uniqueness of each student's needs – collaborative teaching could therefore be used as a suitable strategy that considers students' intersectional needs. The **Federation University** in Australia provides a resource pack for teachers who wish to adopt this teaching style with a colleague. They provide guidance on how to formulate clear teaching team roles and responsibilities, develop effective communication strategies to maximise teaching and identify complexities in managing team teaching workflows (Federation University, 2022[255]). In the **German-speaking Community of Belgium**, joint teaching is applied in the *Gemeinsame Grundschule Bütgenbach* (Joint Primary School in Bütgenbach). For instance, in one of the pre-primary classes that caters to the needs of children with multiple disabilities or autism, teachers use a variety of strategies (including differentiation) to respond to the needs of all students (OECD, 2022[256]). Additionally, the teachers are supported by a team of speech therapists, special education needs teachers, therapists and a paramedical co-ordinator (ibid.).

4.4.2. Diagnostic assessment

Diagnostic assessment to identify SEN, giftedness or other needs can have profound effects on the future education paths of students. Imperfect diagnostic tools can result in misdiagnosis, which can lead to outcomes such as improper placements in special schools (Rutigliano, 2020[81]). In the area of giftedness, performance assessments that are used to identify gifted students are often culturally insensitive and one-dimensional (Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021[21]). Moreover, the assessments rarely apply definitions of giftedness that are culture-specific (Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]). Even performance assessments that claim to be bias-free can lead to results that differentiate by ethnicity, gender or socio-economic status (Carman and Taylor, 2010[179]).

To address these shortcomings, a social and cultural frame of reference can be helpful in analysing gifted education needs for students at the intersections of diversity. For instance, students who live in poverty may lack resources to learn, and minority students may face discrimination and prejudice. These factors affect their performance and, consequently, their chances of being identified as gifted (Ford, Grantham and Whiting, 2008[176]). These issues could be remedied by lowering standardised test score requirements as well as implementing non-verbal or integrative assessments that reflect cultural differences between students (Goings and Ford, 2017[191]).

Drawing from giftedness identification practices, several countries have implemented frameworks for identification strategies of diversity in student populations. The Ministry of Education in **New Zealand**, for instance, provides a framework with indicators and questions to recognise giftedness in Māori students (The Ministry of Education, 2012[205]). In New South Wales, **Australia**, the selection process to high ability schools was reformed to target the barriers faced by socio-economically disadvantaged students, Indigenous peoples, students with SEN and others (NSW Department of Education, 2018[199]). For students with disabilities, plans have been put in place to address the need for assessments in familiar locations. Standardised tests have been redesigned to be psychometric in nature (which assess ability) and more precise, among other changes (ibid.).

The *Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Students Education Program* in the United States provides funding for evidence-based research in the area of identification of gifted students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds or who also have SEN (U.S. Department of Education, 2019[257]). Funded projects have included developments in dynamic testing methods. Dynamic testing methods are better at identifying giftedness among minority populations. These strategies utilise several assessments, rather than one-off tests to determine the learning potential of the test-taker. Teachers are thus able to identify "underachievers" among minority populations (Chaffey, Bailey and Vine, 2011[258]).

Finally, the Achievement Integrated Model developed by Munro (2011[259]) is a self-assessment diagnostic tool schools can use to determine how well they are providing for gifted students from minority cultures. This model provides a holistic approach to address the needs of all underachieving students, from identification to changes in curricula and differentiated learning activities (Bousnakis et al., 2011[177]). This model has been recommended for use in the identification of gifted students among Indigenous peoples because it performs well in cases where one-off tests of cognitive ability fail to consider cognitive as well as socio-emotional factors.

4.4.3. Support groups and services

As mentioned in section 3. LGBTQI+ students with SEN and/or from ethnic groups are often discriminated against and victimised. It is important that they can seek help in environments where they do not feel safe and accepted. Support groups and services can thus play an important role in helping students who are discriminated against or victimised, although caution needs to be exercised so that these services do not become "exclusive" to just one dimension of diversity, and can thus support students' intersecting needs. Some support groups and services also focus on specific intersections of dimensions of diversity. Such targeted support services are frequently provided by non-governmental organisations. In Bologna (Italy), for instance, the "Jump" group hosted by the *Cassero* organisation provides safe spaces for LGBTQI+ youth with disabilities to meet and socialise (Lavizzari, 2015[260]). In the *Netherlands* (Stoffelen et al., 2012[214]) and the *United Kingdom* (Abbott and Burns, 2007[261]) similar programmes were developed for adults and were received positively by the research participants with mental health conditions. However, young people are often unaware of the existence of such programmes (Stoffelen et al., 2012[214]). Moreover, these initiatives are often only accessible at a regional level and thus only have a limited impact.

Students with an immigrant background may also need counselling services, particularly if they have SEN. In several provinces in *Canada*, school boards have specialised services in place for students with an immigrant background to help them integrate into their new environments and, if needed, identify any education needs (Education International, 2017[262]). Similarly, the *MigraBO* association in Bologna (Italy) assists sexual minorities with an immigrant background with their integration process (MigraBO, 2022[263]).

4.4.4. Parent and community engagement

Parents, family and community members can assist educators in the identification of students' needs. For example, case studies from several countries have shown that strong community links can help to improve performance and attendance among Roma students and are important in the process of desegregation (Rutigliano, 2020[81]; Ryder, Rostas and Taba, 2014[264]).

Community engagement can be helpful for the identification of giftedness among Indigenous cultures. For instance, Christie (2010[265]) found that there was a big disconnect between the Yolŋu communities in Australia and schools in terms of their definitions of giftedness. By co-operating with parents, schools can be helped in identifying gifted students among Indigenous peoples. Engagement with Indigenous communities and families was also explicitly considered in the First Nations education transformation 2016-18 in *Canada*. The government engaged with the Indigenous populations to support education reform and improve student learning outcomes. The engagement process consisted of five parts:

community-level discussions, online surveys, task teams, leadership dialogues and regional technical discussions (Government of Canada, 2021[266]).

Similarly, a guide published by the Ministry of Education in **New Zealand** provides schools with tools to support gifted students to reach their full potential (The Ministry of Education, 2012[205]). It conceptualises giftedness while acknowledging that in their definitions, schools need to co-operate with the whole community given the diversity of cultures in New Zealand. It also elaborates on principles and methods for identification and potentially necessary changes to curricula, with emphasis on an individualised approach given the multicultural aspect of giftedness in New Zealand.

4.5. Monitoring intersectionality

While datasets with education outcomes disaggregated by dimensions of diversity remain limited (UNESCO, 2018[267]), several exist that include detailed information from the population, allowing for the possibility of analyses of intersections of dimensions of diversity on a larger scale.

The first section summarises some of the national surveys in OECD countries that can be used in intersectional analyses. The second section provides an overview of similar efforts, but on an international scale. However, while these instruments provide a wealth of data, they often refrain from collecting sensitive information, such as ethnic background and sexual orientation. The overview provided here is a selection of datasets that contain disaggregated data on various dimensions of diversity. It is not an exhaustive list but can provide researchers and policy makers with an overview of datasets that can be used to expand intersectional literature in education. The last section provides an example of how cross-tabulated data of more than two dimensions can be presented in a user-friendly format.

4.5.1. National surveys

Several OECD countries have developed surveys that have the potential to be used for intersectional analyses. Data sources allowing for an intersectional analysis are summarised in Table 4.1.

In **Australia**, the Longitudinal Study of Australian Children contains information on all dimensions of diversity except giftedness, and the Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth on all dimensions under consideration except sexual orientation, SEN and giftedness (Table 4.1). Both surveys are rich data sources with high potential for intersectional analyses. In **Canada**, both the student census and the Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth collect information on several of the dimensions of diversity, though giftedness is missing. The Canadian Student and Parent Census is the only analysed nation-wide data source that contains information on sexual orientation. The New Brunswick Student Wellness Survey is the only analysed data source that contains information on all dimensions of diversity considered by the Strength through Diversity project apart from geographic location.

In European Union countries, **Germany** and the **Netherlands** have datasets that allow for an intersectional analysis. Both the German National Educational Panel Study and the Netherlands Cohort Study on Education cover areas of immigrant and socio-economic backgrounds, gender and special education needs (SEN). Obtaining a wide range of data points on specific population subgroups can support researchers in intersectional analyses and help draw more reliable conclusions from given data to develop appropriate policies.

In the **United Kingdom**, the Equality Act 2010 laid emphasis on the promotion of equality of opportunity. The obligations included a duty to collect relevant data to monitor the progress of this policy (Farkas, 2017[268]). Furthermore, the United Kingdom has organised its data collection efforts into a centralised hub. The UK Data Service collects major government-sponsored surveys, longitudinal studies, cross-national surveys and census data, and presents a centralised access point for academics and policy makers (UK Data Service, 2022[269]). Researchers interested in intersectional questions can thus find disaggregated

data that can help in analysing the impact of intersectionality on the education outcomes of students in the United Kingdom. The National Pupil Database is the most comprehensive administrative source that contains information on all dimensions of diversity apart from immigrant background (Table 4.1). Other sources, such as the Millennium Cohort Study, Next Steps and Our Future, do not include some student characteristics, but provide a wider range of student well-being outcomes. Similarly, in the **United States**, several surveys continuously collect data on various dimensions of diversity (Table 4.1). The High School Longitudinal Study is the most comprehensive data collection regarding the analysed dimensions of diversity.

Table 4.1. Data sources with intersectional potential in selected national surveys

	Immigrant background	Ethnicity	Gender	Sexual orientation	Special education needs	Giftedness	Socio-economic background	Geographic location
Australia								
The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
The Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth	X	X	X				X	X
Canada								
Canadian Student and Parent Census (Toronto)		X	X	X			X	
National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth	X	X	X		X		X	
New Brunswick Student Wellness Survey	X (1)	X (2)	X	X (3)	X	X	X (4)	
Germany								
German National Educational Panel Study	X		X		X		X	X
Netherlands								
Netherlands Cohort Study on Education	X		X				X	X
United Kingdom								
Millennium Cohort Study	X (5)	X	X	X (6)	X (6)		X	X
National Pupil Database		X	X	X (7)	X	X	X	X
Next Steps (LSYPE1)		X	X		X			X
Our Future (LSYPE2)		X	X		X			X

	Immigrant background	Ethnicity	Gender	Sexual orientation	Special education needs	Giftedness	Socio-economic background	Geographic location
United States								
Current Population Survey	X (8)	X	X				X	X
High School Longitudinal Study	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
National Longitudinal Survey of Youth	X	X	X				X	X
National School Climate Survey	X (9)	X	X	X			X	X

Note: (1) = whether born in Canada, (2) = Indigenous peoples, (3) = sexual orientation as well as gender identity, (4) = Youth reporting "Always" or "Often" going to school or to bed hungry because there is not enough food at home, (5) = second-generation immigrants only, (6) = indirect identification based on mistreatment due to membership in the group, (7) = higher education students, (8) = only available for some waves, (9) = citizenship status.

Data for New Brunswick Student Wellness Survey relate to lower and upper secondary education.

Source: Australian Government Department of Education (n.d.[270]), Longitudinal Surveys of Australian Youth, https://lsay.edu.au/ (accessed on 25 September 2023); Australian Institute of Family Studies (n.d.[271]), Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children - Data Dictionary, https://growingupinaustralia.gov.au/sites/default/files/release_9c1_data_dictionary.pdf (accessed on 22 February 2022); Berlin Social Science Center (n.d.[272]), Inclusively Educated Students with SEN in the National Educational Panel Study (IntFös), https://www.wzb.eu/en/research/dynamics-of-social-inequalities/educational-panel/projects/integrationsschuler-im-nationalen-bildungspanel-intfos (accessed on 22 February 2022); Centre for Longitudinal Studies (2022[273]), Next Steps, https://nextstepsstudy.org.uk/ (accessed on 22 February 2022); Centre for Longitudinal Studies (n.d.[274]), Millennium Cohort Study, https://cls.ucl.ac.uk/cls-studies/millennium-cohort-study/ (accessed on 22 February 2022); CLOSER (n.d.[275]), Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England: Cohort 2, https://www.closer.ac.uk/study/lsype-2/ (accessed on 22 February 2022); Department for Education (2022[276]), Complete the school census, https://www.gov.uk/guidance/complete-the-school-census (accessed on 22 February 2022); Kosciw et al. (2020[136]), The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer youth in our nation's schools, https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/NSCS19-FullReport-032421-Web_0.pdf (accessed on 22 February 2022); National Center for Education Statistics (n.d.[277]), Questionnaires, https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/hsls09/questionnaires.asp (accessed on 22 February 2022); NEPS (n.d.[278]), Data and Documentation, https://www.neps-data.de/Data-Center/Data-and-Documentation (accessed on 22 February 2022); Netherlands Initiative for Education Research (2020[279]), Codebook Netherlands Cohort Study on Education, https://www.nationaalcohortonderzoek.nl/uploads/2020/08/NCO-codeboek-2020-def-EN.pdf (accessed on 16 December 2022); New Brunswick Health Council (2022[280]), New Brunswick Student Wellness Survey, https://nbhc.ca/surveys/new-brunswick-student-wellness-survey (accessed on 13 April 2022); Statistics Canada (2012[281]), National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth - Cycle 8 Survey Instruments 2008-2009 - Book 2 - Youth Questionnaires, https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3Instr.pl?Function=getInstrumentList&Item_Id=88289&UL=1V& (accessed on 22 February 2022); Toronto District School Board (2017[282]), Student & Parent Census Overall Findings, https://www.tdsb.on.ca/portals/0/research/docs/2017_Census.pdf (accessed on 22 February 2022); United States Census Bureau (2022[283]), Current Population Survey (CPS), https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps.html (accessed on 22 February 2022); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (n.d.[284]), National Longitudinal Surveys, https://www.bls.gov/nls/ (accessed on 22 February 2022).

4.5.2. International surveys

International large-scale datasets dealing with policy-relevant topics, such as education, can be used by policy makers, researchers and practitioners to look beyond their national contexts (Schleicher, 2012[285]). Cross-national datasets also allow for comparisons across countries that consider differences in institutional settings. The analysis of the connection between institutional factors, diversity variables and education outcomes is key for an intersectional perspective, making international datasets a valuable resource. However, most of these datasets do not include variables that are considered sensitive – typically ethnic background, SEN, giftedness and sexual orientation (Table 4.2).

The most comprehensive data collection from the selected list, in terms of the dimensions of diversity considered by the Strength through Diversity project, is the EU LGBTI II Survey, which contains information on ethnic background and sexual orientation. All the other surveys considered here contain information on immigrant and socio-economic background, gender and geographic location (all surveys can be disaggregated by country and some countries by region).

Some countries also include questions on ethnic background in their national questionnaires of international large-scale assessments (OECD, n.d.[286]). For instance, Canada and New Zealand have utilised the PISA assessment to collect information on Indigenous peoples based on student self-identification. Moreover, the Canadian 2018 national questionnaire also included an outside category for the gender question. Apart from the standard "Female" and "Male" choices, they also offered "I identify myself in another way" and "I prefer not to say" options. In the United States, several categories of race were collected (ibid.). Data collected from these items are not available for public use.

Table 4.2. Large-scale datasets with intersectional potential

	Immigrant background	Ethnicity	Gender	Sexual orientation	Special education needs	Giftedness	Socio-economic background	Geographic location (2)
EU LGBTI II Survey	X (1)	X (1)	X	X			X	X
International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS)	X		X				X	X
International Computer and Information Literacy Study (ICILS)	X		X				X	X
Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)	X		X				X	X
Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC)	X		X				X	X
Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)	X		X				X	X
Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)	X		X				X	X

Note: (1) = immigrant and ethnic background cannot be disaggregated, (2) = all surveys can be disaggregated by country and some countries by region
Source: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2020[287]), A long way to go for LGBTI equality Questionnaire, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2020-questionnaire-eu-lgbti-ii-survey_en.pdf (accessed on 22 February 2022); IEA (2016[288]), ICCS Data Repository, https://www.iea.nl/data-tools/repository/iccs (accessed on 22 February 2022); IEA (2018[289]), ICILS Data Repository, https://www.iea.nl/data-tools/repository/icils (accessed on 22 February 2022); IEA (2016[290]), PIRLS Data Repository, https://www.iea.nl/data-tools/repository/pirls (accessed on 22 February 2022); IEA (2019[291]), TIMSS Data Repository, https://www.iea.nl/data-tools/repository/timss (accessed on 22 February 2022); OECD (2018[56]), PISA 2018 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2018database/ (accessed on 22 February 2022); OECD (n.d.[292]), PIAAC Data and Tools, https://www.oecd.org/skills/piaac/data/ (accessed on 22 February 2022).

4.5.3. Data presentation and visualisation

Presenting results on intersecting dimensions of diversity can be challenging. It can become complex to present a cross-tabulation of more than two characteristics in one table or figure. Furthermore, dissecting results by multiple dimensions can lead to small sample sizes and thus unreliable outputs.

Online interactive tools can be utilised to present results for multiple dimensions of diversity. The ***Gender Equality Index*** – which measures outcomes between men and women including in terms of labour market participation, knowledge (education) and health status – explicitly considers intersecting inequalities (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022[293]). Each European Union country can obtain education outcomes by gender in addition to family type, age, level of education, country of birth and disability (Figure 4.1). Consequently, countries can analyse several intersecting dimensions of diversity with respect to tertiary education graduation rates, participation in formal and non-formal education, and tertiary students in education, health and welfare, humanities and arts. Moreover, they can add a time horizon to their analyses to observe trends and compare their own results to other countries or the EU average.

If results are unreliable, they are flagged and unpublished. This feature is important given that small sample sizes are inherent to intersectional analyses.

Figure 4.1. Gender equality index overview

Attainment and participation

Country	Graduates of tertiary education (%)							
	Native born		Foreign born		EU-born		Non-EU born	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
EU	26.0	25.0	26.0	25.0	28.0	28.0	25.0	23.0

Country	People participating in formal or non-formal education (%)							
	Native born		Foreign born		EU-born		Non-EU born	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
EU	18.0	17.0	15.0	14.0	12.0	10.0	16.0	15.0

Source: Adopted from European Institute for Gender Equality (2022[208]), Gender Equality Index, https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2021/domain/knowledge/birth (accessed on 22 February 2022).

5. Conclusions

Different aspects of individuals' identities are not independent of each other

The concept of intersectionality promotes the understanding that different aspects of individuals' identities are not independent of each other. Instead, they interact to create unique identities and experiences, which cannot be understood by analysing each dimension separately or in isolation from their social and historical contexts (Bowleg, 2012[12]). Intersectionality also highlights that we live in broader systems of power that shape our social positions and experiences (Hill Collins and Bilge, 2016[4]). These macro-environments can be characterised by systems of discrimination, sexism, racism, and other forms of oppression or marginalisation. Intersectionality thus draws our attention towards "the complex ways in which multiple and interlocking inequities are organized and resisted in the process, content, and outcomes of policy" (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019, p. 2[10]). This is in contrast to more traditional siloed policy approaches that often focus on one dimension of diversity at a time disregarding the broader context in which individuals reside (Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]).

Considering intersectionality can lead to unique and tailored results

This working paper's focus is on intersectionality in education. Research in this area shows that considering intersections can reveal important differences within and between different diverse student groups in terms of participation, learning outcomes or students' attitudes towards the future (Sections 3.1 and 3.2). In each of these domains, adopting an intersectional lens reveals that student outcomes differ and that policy makers can use them to better target policies. In the area of giftedness and special education needs (SEN), for instance, many ethnic minority students are underrepresented or overrepresented, often a result of biases in the assessment and identification process (Sections 3.4 and 3.5). Several countries are already combating this issue by developing diagnostic instruments that explicitly recognise diverse and intersecting student backgrounds (section 4.4.2).

Intersections with sexual orientation have also revealed aggravated student psychological well-being outcomes (section 3.3). LGBTQI+ students with an ethnic minority background or with SEN face higher rates discrimination and victimisation. LGBTQI+ students with SEN may also face difficulties in accessing information regarding their sexuality, with this often failing to be included in curricula. These students can also feel excluded from support spaces that primarily target only one dimension of their identities. Some initiatives, albeit small in scale, exist to tackle these issues, for instance for LGBTQI+ students with an immigrant background (section 4.4.3).

While explicit consideration of intersectionality in policy development remains rare, the concept is recognised in some countries, being defined or referred to in official government publications (section 4.1). There are also examples of initiatives that aim to enhance teacher professional learning to develop inclusive teaching strategies that are effective in supporting students' intersecting needs (sections 4.3 and 4.4).

Despite the added value of intersectionality, challenges in application remain

Despite the added value of an intersectional approach, significant gaps remain in its application. Research is often unbalanced, limited and fragmented. Some dimensions of diversity are covered much better than others. Much of the work is centred around North American and Western European contexts (Bauer et al., 2021[13]; Hankivsky and Jordan-Zachery, 2019[10]), possibly due to the fact that there might be issues with the translation of the term into other languages.

In many policy areas, examples of an application of an intersectional lens are difficult to find. Education systems rarely explicitly consider intersectionality. Curriculum strategies often have an inclusive lens, but do not consider intersectionality *per se*. Resourcing approaches to support intersectionality were few and limited in scope. While practices around intersectional pedagogy exist (section 4.3.2), they remain rare and more research is needed on how to best train teachers to reframe curricula and pedagogies, foster critical consciousness, counter problematic ideologies, and engage with diverse communities. Moreover, there is a lack of research on how to best support teachers to effectively tailor their teaching approaches to support intersecting identities.

Policy makers often struggle to operationalise intersectionality and advancements in public policy are slow (Manuel, 2019[30]). In education, there is a lack of specialised intersectional frameworks, even though other frameworks, with a proven track record in other domains (e.g., public health) could be adopted (section 2.4). In the words of Dubrow and Ilinca, "intersectionality complicates everything, including the choice of survey data, the measure of empowerment, and even what countries we study" (Dubrow and Ilinca, 2019, p. 208[294]).

Applying intersectionality often requires collecting data that are not easily available, meaning that policy makers often need to balance the privacy concerns in regard to dimensions of diversity, and the common requirement to produce quick and cost-effective solutions (Manuel, 2019[30]). Some surveys have made progress in creating scope to apply an intersectional lens at least theoretically, but many national as well as international datasets lack information on a variety of students' characteristics, rendering an intersectional approach impossible. Quantitative analyses based on surveys with sampled data often lack a sufficient number of observations in various intersecting categories to draw robust conclusions. Administrative data are also often not designed with an intersectional lens in mind (Dubrow and Ilinca, 2019[294]). Qualitative analyses are in many ways more suitable for an intersectional analysis, but their results are impossible to generalise to the wider population. However, by recognising and acting on the importance of disaggregated data collection, researchers and policy makers could receive valuable data points to be able to consider lived experiences. Such evidence could close previous research gaps and provide policy makers with valuable insights for the design and improvement of policies.

How policy makers could apply an intersectional lens

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is an important concept to consider when conducting an intersectional analysis: policy makers need to investigate their own social positions, values, assumptions, interests and experiences, and how they shape who they consider to be advantaged and disadvantaged. These considerations are important in any type of intersectional research, whether quantitative, qualitative or mixed. Some intersectional frameworks already embed reflexivity to guide policy makers on how to apply the concept.

Policy frameworks

Setting up an evaluation framework with a clear definition of intersectionality is also key. Section 2.4 presented several frameworks that can be used to apply an intersectional lens. The Intersectional Policy Process Analysis can be easily embedded in the standard policy cycle. This is its main advantage as well as its disadvantage – in the sense that it frames intersectionality as a simple add-on to the standard policy-making process. The Multi-Strand Approach overcomes this drawback, but its implementation can be challenging, given that it recommends training representatives of different diversity groups on issues of inequality, human rights and policy, which can be time-consuming and costly. The Intersectionality-Based Policy Analysis framework provides a large pool of guidelines and questions for policy makers to consider intersectionality. Nevertheless, its adoption may require new types of expertise or evidence which can be costly to attain or unavailable. A common theme across these frameworks is the consideration of broader contexts, including macro-level systems of power and oppression. Intersectional inequalities impact the lives of individuals, but also operate at the group, institutional, societal, national and international levels (Unterhalter, Robinson and Balsera, 2020[33]). Moreover, these frameworks all encourage the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders.

Data

Where possible, using administrative datasets is important to conduct quantitative intersectional analyses, even though caution needs to be exercised when using data with a wide range of dimensions of diversity. After all, data may be misused to maintain or deepen power relationships between majority and minority population groups. However, generally, administrative data have the advantage of not suffering from unrepresentativeness. For some dimensions of diversity (e.g., sexual orientation), administrative data are not suitable. In such cases, anonymous surveys with a range of dimensions of diversity based on self-identification could be used. To avoid the issue of small samples, while maintaining the representativeness of the whole population in quantitative research, it is possible to pool across several years, limit the number of intersections or use stratified random sampling (Dubrow and Ilinca, 2019[294]; Scottish Government, 2022[24]). For qualitative studies, purposive, quota and snowball sampling techniques can be used.

International large-scale assessments can also be expanded at the national level to collect sensitive information, such as ethnic background or gender identity. Moreover, these surveys are already equipped with information on broader environments in schools, such as school climate.

Sharing experience

Finally, the topic of intersectionality in education suffers from the lack of evaluations and practical examples. For the field to advance further, sharing experience to build the knowledge base in this area would be highly beneficial.

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Annex A. : Reading performance by gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background

Table A.1. displays reading performance by gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background based on a three-way interaction analysis of the PISA 2018 database. Values for the OECD average are displayed in Figure 3.2 in the main text.

Table A.1. Reading performance by gender, socio-economic status and immigrant background

	Disadvantaged native boys		Disadvantaged native girls		Disadvantaged migrant boys		Disadvantaged migrant girls		Advantaged native boys		Advantaged native girls		Advantaged migrant boys		Advantaged migrant girls	
Australia	447.1	(3.69)	480.2	(4.10)	448.2	(5.57)	476.4	(4.02)	535.9	(4.71)	561.2	(4.28)	545.5	(5.04)	562.1	(4.52)
Austria	442.4	(6.58)	476.5	(4.78)	420.9	(5.33)	429.0	(6.80)	524.2	(4.44)	555.5	(3.99)	497.3	(10.90)	536.9	(7.05)
Belgium	444.4	(5.28)	463.0	(4.75)	418.4	(6.26)	439.3	(4.66)	546.8	(3.81)	568.2	(3.42)	512.5	(8.05)	541.8	(6.68)
Canada	470.3	(3.54)	500.6	(3.45)	482.9	(4.42)	495.2	(4.69)	539.9	(4.21)	568.2	(4.21)	541.4	(4.09)	568.8	(4.28)
Chile	410.2	(4.26)	424.8	(3.42)	402.3	(15.22)	427.9	(11.93)	497.5	(4.66)	510.6	(3.81)	490.3	(12.36)	498.2	(14.05)
Colombia	368.4	(4.66)	380.3	(3.49)			348.3	(15.82)	451.0	(6.33)	472.2	(5.03)	441.3	(17.17)	482.4	(21.58)
Costa Rica	388.6	(3.99)	402.5	(3.61)	380.6	(4.87)	387.6	(5.11)	468.2	(4.44)	484.4	(6.16)	465.7	(9.52)	488.5	(8.36)
Czechia	433.1	(5.25)	458.4	(5.48)	409.9	(9.26)	422.1	(12.05)	533.0	(4.61)	562.5	(3.84)	481.4	(13.69)	549.5	(10.60)
Denmark	458.1	(4.87)	489.6	(4.49)	428.9	(5.64)	452.1	(4.48)	528.1	(4.32)	561.0	(3.94)	511.7	(9.16)	541.1	(9.02)
Estonia	492.3	(5.87)	513.1	(5.03)	457.7	(8.16)	495.3	(7.06)	554.1	(4.71)	586.4	(3.85)	491.4	(10.39)	542.0	(8.52)
Finland	465.2	(4.14)	522.5	(4.36)	412.3	(12.00)	454.4	(9.56)	545.6	(4.94)	589.4	(4.05)	506.2	(11.33)	547.9	(10.79)
France	435.1	(5.56)	458.9	(5.14)	434.5	(6.57)	448.5	(5.70)	545.2	(4.28)	566.1	(4.46)	513.9	(11.31)	549.6	(9.22)
Germany	451.4	(7.50)	485.1	(6.68)	430.6	(6.66)	450.3	(7.74)	555.5	(7.04)	584.3	(4.14)	541.3	(12.15)	559.2	(9.89)
Greece	400.0	(4.98)	442.6	(5.37)	388.3	(7.03)	441.5	(6.49)	491.9	(5.73)	522.4	(4.42)	462.4	(9.30)	503.6	(9.50)

	Disadvantaged native boys		Disadvantaged native girls		Disadvantaged migrant boys		Disadvantaged migrant girls		Advantaged native boys		Advantaged native girls		Advantaged migrant boys		Advantaged migrant girls	
Hungary	413.1	(4.66)	427.5	(4.47)			436.6	(14.66)	517.7	(5.06)	550.8	(4.50)	532.4	(14.42)	535.4	(10.20)
Iceland	422.3	(5.62)	466.8	(5.05)	393.0	(10.60)	435.7	(8.60)	490.8	(6.12)	523.5	(6.26)	502.3	(15.33)	536.4	(11.37)
Ireland	471.1	(4.57)	496.8	(4.57)	476.3	(6.56)	485.6	(6.33)	543.7	(6.21)	571.3	(4.65)	550.3	(6.86)	561.2	(4.58)
Israel	381.7	(7.16)	425.1	(5.38)	412.8	(8.93)	449.7	(8.32)	514.8	(8.57)	538.9	(4.93)	510.2	(11.41)	557.0	(6.61)
Italy	426.3	(5.02)	450.3	(5.01)	431.7	(7.89)	444.3	(7.13)	504.4	(5.29)	528.2	(4.65)	485.4	(12.05)	505.5	(10.13)
Japan	452.0	(5.29)	479.4	(4.37)			454.4	(17.20)	530.2	(5.96)	544.3	(4.17)	496.3	(25.91)		
Korea	468.3	(5.57)	490.9	(4.56)					544.9	(6.36)	558.4	(4.51)				
Latvia	432.6	(4.40)	462.7	(3.70)	428.6	(8.18)	452.5	(8.13)	496.1	(5.18)	529.4	(4.51)	492.5	(8.79)	521.1	(9.92)
Lithuania	414.2	(3.79)	452.5	(3.41)	401.7	(10.77)	457.5	(14.60)	507.2	(3.85)	541.0	(3.11)	483.4	(10.93)	524.5	(9.82)
Luxembourg	410.6	(13.49)	481.3	(9.47)	399.4	(3.42)	425.6	(3.46)	513.6	(6.36)	551.3	(6.24)	525.8	(4.72)	553.5	(5.92)
Mexico	379.2	(3.72)	389.8	(3.70)			357.0	(12.60)	457.8	(5.25)	477.0	(5.53)	401.1	(20.37)	453.9	(21.44)
Netherlands	452.5	(7.62)	479.4	(5.11)	407.9	(9.31)	429.0	(7.49)	530.6	(6.02)	556.7	(4.14)	483.9	(12.38)	539.8	(10.58)
New Zealand	445.8	(5.83)	474.3	(4.65)	455.8	(5.96)	480.1	(6.83)	540.1	(5.87)	572.3	(5.08)	550.4	(5.85)	572.1	(5.74)
Norway	444.7	(5.64)	492.8	(4.36)	420.5	(6.78)	468.3	(7.15)	510.6	(4.92)	561.6	(4.49)	490.8	(10.20)	556.4	(9.00)
OECD average	435.8	(0.94)	464.8	(0.81)	423.3	(1.51)	444.0	(1.59)	520.7	(0.90)	549.1	(0.77)	504.1	(2.04)	538.2	(1.77)
Poland	453.0	(4.70)	487.7	(3.22)					542.9	(5.35)	579.7	(4.60)				
Portugal	444.1	(4.94)	458.5	(5.34)	429.0	(10.31)	444.1	(9.73)	532.6	(5.04)	553.4	(4.62)	530.1	(7.29)	555.8	(6.67)
Slovak Republic	396.0	(4.41)	419.1	(5.12)	366.1	(15.12)	402.3	(17.35)	493.3	(5.27)	530.1	(4.39)	484.1	(16.54)	518.2	(13.60)
Slovenia	451.2	(4.04)	491.5	(4.23)	419.9	(6.63)	460.7	(6.30)	524.8	(4.53)	562.7	(4.27)	501.6	(14.47)	552.4	(12.37)
Sweden	478.5	(6.53)	499.7	(5.37)	420.3	(6.52)	441.9	(8.08)	539.5	(6.11)	576.9	(5.67)	506.6	(10.20)	543.2	(9.23)
Switzerland	440.0	(7.68)	474.2	(8.29)	416.3	(5.79)	442.1	(5.07)	533.9	(6.76)	558.7	(6.79)	518.4	(9.31)	547.7	(7.28)
Türkiye	423.3	(5.69)	450.3	(4.56)					501.9	(4.65)	525.6	(4.63)	502.7	(11.29)	539.8	(12.38)
United Kingdom	467.5	(5.10)	484.3	(3.99)	448.5	(7.74)	480.4	(6.00)	539.1	(5.66)	557.5	(4.82)	540.5	(10.05)	569.7	(7.40)
United States	450.2	(6.14)	466.0	(5.24)	454.6	(6.69)	479.0	(7.56)	538.1	(7.14)	573.7	(5.56)	551.4	(11.80)	585.3	(7.11)

Note: The table shows reading performance of 15-year-old students by gender, socio-economic background and an immigrant background. Compared to traditional PISA analyses, the definition of students with an immigrant background was widened to include students who have families with a mixed background (students who have one native-born parent and one foreign-born parent) in line with the approach of the Strength through Diversity project (Cerna, Brussino and Mezzanotte, 2021[55]; OECD, 2018[50]). The socio-economic background of students is based on the PISA index of economic, social and cultural status. Advantaged students are defined as those in the top national quartile of the index and disadvantaged students as those in the bottom national quartile of the index. Some values are not reported as they did not meet the inclusion criteria. OECD average is calculated based on the displayed values. Standard errors are in parentheses.
Source: OECD (2018[56]), PISA 2018 Database, https://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2018database/.