

Anti-racism and pre-service teacher education: Advocating for intersectional privilege studies

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Abstract

A key aim for teacher education must be to bridge the divide between the backgrounds of pre-service teachers and the increasingly diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, gender and socio-economic backgrounds of the students they will one day teach. This paper discusses an anti-racism framework for teacher education that is underpinned by social justice principles and that aims to fulfil the dual goals of critical consciousness raising among pre-service teachers about issues of 'race', class and gender, and the development of socially just teachers in education settings. This paper reports on our experience, over eight years, of teaching a large pre-service teacher education course that advocates for social justice, anti-racism and intercultural awareness. We highlight pedagogical approaches and curriculum designs that have been productive. We make a case for foregrounding the interconnections between patterns of subordination and privilege across ethnic, cultural, social and gender divides and conclude by considering the benefits of adopting an intersectional approach to privilege studies.

Key words: Anti-racism; intercultural awareness; pre-service teacher education; Intersectionality; privilege education

Introduction

In a pre-service teacher education course delivered over the past 8 years at an Australian university, our teaching team have addressed anti-racism, multiculturalism, intercultural awareness and social justice education using a range of approaches. During this time we have worked with over 3,500 students and various course modifications have resulted from references to international social justice education literature and an ongoing dialogue between students and the teaching team. Central to our more recent work has been an intentional focus on how identities are constituted out of unacknowledged privilege across a range of fields including for example, racialisation, class and gender. We have observed that student resistance to the anti-racism component of our course has diminished over time as we have paid closer attention to what Rattansi (2007) describes as 'the bounded relationship between racism and myriad other divisions, especially those of class and gender' (p. 2). We remain challenged by issues similar to those identified by others working in this field over the past twenty years, including for example pervasive student resistance to social justice course content (Aveling, 2006; Chizhik and Chizhik, 2005; Mills, 2008); the application of uncritical and essentialist perspectives on social and ethnic diversity (Rattansi, 2007; Kumashiro, 2000) and a belief in individualism and meritocracy to explain differing educational and life outcomes (Whitehead, 2007; Causey et al. 2000; McIntosh 2013). Taking up these challenges in this paper we focus on the development of a

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conceptual framework for our curriculum and our teaching that foregrounds key concepts such as: identity construction, prejudice and stereotyping, unacknowledged privilege and oppression, and the related enactment of racism, classism and sexism. We argue that the adoption of an intersectional approach offers possibilities for a more nuanced and ultimately more relevant interrogation of racism and other forms of marginalisation within the education system.

Firstly, we briefly introduce the *Education Change and Society* course and chart some common approaches to anti-racism, intercultural awareness and multicultural education. Some contemporary policy factors impacting on the sustainability of anti-racism and multicultural content within pre-service teacher education programs in Australia are also outlined. Second, we chart the development of an intercultural awareness and anti-racism course which is organised around a conceptual framework centring on intersectional privilege studies. The paper concludes by considering the adoption of a multi-dimensional or intersectional privilege framework that has the potential for mobilising increased levels of pre-service teacher engagement with issues of racism and other forms of discrimination and marginalisation that threaten to derail the equity principles underpinning key Government education and multicultural policies.

The Education Change and Society course

The *Education Change and Society* course is a pre-service teacher education course that aims to promote 'socially just' orientations to professional development. Intercultural awareness and anti-racism education is accentuated through a consideration of ways that student diversity impacts on not only educational outcomes, but the education experiences of different groups of students. Course content incorporates an overview of historical and contemporary approaches to multicultural education, anti-racism education and the practical aspects of operationalising intercultural awareness across the curriculum. Over time the course has demonstrated transformative potential among graduate and pre-service teacher education students. The adopted approach includes ongoing investigations into patterns of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination and subordination across domains including among others, gender, ethnicity, disability and religion. A key objective is to clarify how stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination provide the building blocks or 'right conditions' for marginalisation of some students and their families, leading ultimately to a loss of human potential. We subscribe to the argument that disclosing the ways in which power and privilege are operationalised is central to the work of teacher educators. Meyer (2010) explains the relevance of privilege education to the development of educators as follows:

In understanding how the forces of oppression, privilege, and social power work, educators will be better equipped to create classrooms that enact the ideals of a public education system designed to teach all students. (p.22)

On this issue, Chizik and Chizik (2005) underline the importance of social justice programs recognising that discourse is essential to students' evolving understanding of identity. In their view, a willingness to engage in transformative education for social justice relies on the successful disclosure of processes associated with identity formation. The authors define social justice education as involving the examination of global, national, and local power relations, and suggest that proponents of social justice education often engage in a discourse that 'critiques actions that privilege the dominant group while oppressing others' (p.118). Pre-existing teacher education student beliefs are linked by Chizik and Chizik to their potential development as agents of change in education settings.

Students' beliefs and life experiences not only guide how they respond to multicultural education courses but also determine the likelihood of their participation to promote social justice education. Assessing and challenging students' prior beliefs and conceptions, as a result, becomes influential in a multicultural education course, as well as essential for effective social justice education. (p.138)

Put simply, the life experiences and pre-existing knowledge of many pre-service teachers provides an inadequate foundation for the deployment of critical pedagogies capable of confronting the reproduction of educational inequalities based on class, racialisation and gender. In the United States for example, Chizik and Chizik (2005) report on research revealing that pre-service teachers held unsophisticated notions about multiculturalism, diversity, and democracy, and that they understand multicultural education, almost exclusively in term of racism and ethnicity to the exclusion of class, gender, linguistics, sexual orientation, and disabilities (p.119). These findings accord with our own perceptions of our students' knowledge in this field.

Most social justice strategies embedded in teacher education programs share the focus of anti-racism strategies but see racism as just one of many discourses that rationalise and justify inequality (Everingham, 2003; Vigliante, 2007). Our review of alternative approaches reveals two options: (a) So-called 'single-axis frameworks': short and long courses focussing specifically on 'race' and racism have been successfully implemented in Australian higher education institutions in recent years. For example, adaptations of the *Courageous Conversations about Race* program developed in the United States by Singleton and Linton 2005; (b) The adoption of intersectionality as an organising principle that provides the opportunity for a more nuanced and critical approach to issues of racialisation, racism and oppression (Nash, 2008).

Over time, the *Education Change and Society* instructors have become more committed to the adoption of an intersectional approach to anti-racism, intercultural awareness and social justice education on the basis that a single focus on race and racism has proven counter-productive in the face of persistent and sometimes overt student resistance. In particular, a significant proportion of students continue to enact resistance to anti-racism content, and to content that challenges meritocratic explanations for differential student outcomes. Our decision to adopt intersectionality as an organising framework also represents a pragmatic response to increasing external pressures on the development of pre-service teacher education programs. The reality in the current Australian context is that single axis courses are less likely to be supported in a climate where the pre-service teacher education curriculum is becoming dominated by narrow, outcomes focussed and technocratic interpretations of national education policies such as the new national curriculum.

Policy and Curriculum interventions and social justice education

Pre-service Teacher education programs in Australia are currently undergoing significant re-structuring to accommodate the enactment of three key policy initiatives. These policies include reference to the important role of intercultural awareness, anti-racism and social justice education to: the professional development of teachers (new Professional Teaching Standards, AITSL, 2011); the successful implementation of the new national curriculum (ACARA, 2013), and to the enactment of Australia's new multicultural policy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2011b). Within this policy regime, significant tensions are being played out between those who promote technicist models of pre-service teacher preparation and related curriculum development, and those who argue for more socially just, flexible and integrated approaches to curriculum

and pedagogical approaches. In the following section we foreground some of the social justice and equity logics of the nominated policies.

The development of Teacher Education programs are guided by national professional knowledge and practice standards (AITSL, 2011) overseen by the Government funded body, Australian Institute of Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL). The following Standards nominate issues aimed at addressing social justice and equity imperatives:

Standard 1 — *Know students and how they learn* includes reference to:

Standard 1.3 Students with diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds requires teachers to: ‘Demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds’.

Standard 1.4 Strategies for teaching Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students requires teachers to: Demonstrate broad knowledge and understanding of the impact of culture, cultural identity and linguistic background

Standard 4 — *Create and maintain supportive and safe learning environments* includes reference to:

Standard 4.1 Support student participation requires teachers to: Identify strategies to support inclusive student participation and engagement in classroom activities on the education of students from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander backgrounds. (AITSL, 2011)

The new national curriculum framework (ACARA, 2013) is being rolled out nationally across eight key learning areas including: English, Mathematics, Studies of Society and the Environment, Science, Arts, Languages Other Than English, Technology and Personal Development, Health and Physical Education. Within the new national curriculum General capabilities are identified as Literacy; Intercultural understanding; Personal and social capability; Information and communication technology capability; Critical and creative thinking; Numeracy; Ethical Understanding. Three main Cross-curriculum priorities within the national curriculum framework include: Sustainability, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures, Asia and Australia’s engagement with Asia. Intercultural understanding and an understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories across the curriculum are important markers of a requirement for curriculum to be inclusive of diverse student populations. The common avenues for incorporation of these priorities in pre-service teacher education programs is through social justice, anti-racism and multicultural education. What is now not clear though is what will happen to the cross-curriculum priorities post the Review of the Australian Curriculum in 2014.

A third and very relevant national policy intervention stems from the Australian Federal Government document *Response to the Recommendations of the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council in the People of Australia* (2011) which formed the basis of *Australia’s Multicultural Policy* (Commonwealth of Australia 2011a). This policy is structured around five principles and a further five key initiatives. Education is located as the second key initiative. An approach involving the embedding of anti-racism education within a broader multicultural strategy was recommended by Berman and Paradies (2010) on the basis that:

Integration of anti-racist praxis into multiculturalism would allow an explicit recognition that social cohesion is not possible without actions to address various forms of racism together with evaluation to ensure that such actions are effective.(p. 227)

The following recommendation was endorsed by the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC):

That the Government establish an anti-racism strategy and adopt the recommendations of the Human Rights Consultations on a community-wide human rights campaign and an education program for all Australians, with particular reference to discrimination, prejudice and racism.

(Commonwealth of Australia, 2011a)

The identification of anti-racism education as a key initiative within *Australia's Multicultural Policy* fuelled optimism that institutional support for education programs underpinned by anti-racism education would be forthcoming. But since the election of a new Federal Liberal Coalition government in 2013, development of the promised anti-racism education component (including resources and community education initiatives) of *Australia's Multicultural Policy* has stalled.

The concurrent development of a new national curriculum, new Professional Teaching Standards and the role out of a national multiculturalism policy (and the deployment of anti-racism education resources) has given rise to somewhat predictable and complex tensions over the purposes for education and the requirements for participation in civil society. Contestation is integral to any policy reform process and the ideological battles being publicly waged over the purposes for education frequently highlight equity issues. A recent article denouncing a newly appointed consultant hired by the conservative liberal government to conduct a Review of the new national curriculum before it has been implemented, gives some insight into the nature of the debate. The consultant, Kevin Donnelly is publicly aligned with proponents of curriculum reform who aim to re-dress the so-called 'dumbing down' of the curriculum and fall in education standards. Donnelly's track record as a conservative opponent of social justice and inclusive education initiatives is referred to in the following media extract:

Donnelly claimed in 2000 that the Queensland curriculum - presumably before it was reviewed by Wiltshire in the mid 1990s - focused "on such issues as the environment, multiculturalism and social justice; all with a future perspective to ensure that students were ready to embrace the brave new world of the politically correct" (Beder, 2014, np).

By way of another example, in a commentary on the so-called 'education revolution' in Australia involving among other things the development of a new national curriculum, Reid (2009) raised concerns about the dominant government policy focus on education as a tool for economic development but applauded the focus on a stated concern for equity. He also noted that curriculum writers were not being provided with an adequate brief for the enactment of equity within and between various subject areas. More recently, Reid (2012) called for clearer policy enunciations of the 'public good' associated with the democratic purposes of education in both the Commonwealth Review of Funding for Schooling (2011) and ongoing national curriculum development. Reid defines these democratic purposes as being necessary '... to prepare all young people to be active and competent citizens in democratic life.' (p.6) Implicit in the articulation of a 'public good' imperative focusing on democratic purposes for education is the removal or reduction of barriers to participation in the education project by individuals who experience marginalization and discrimination on grounds including social, racial or cultural. Within the new National Teacher Standards a

democratic purpose for education clearly underpins nominated Standards requiring that teachers understand educational impacts of culture, cultural identity and linguistic background and that they be prepared to enact strategies that support minority group student participation in education.

A general trend across Western countries over the past decade or so has been the downplaying of the social and political contexts of education in pre-service teacher education programs (Whitehead, 2007). In Whitehead's view, this trend stands as a challenge to teachers and teacher educators who are committed to socially just education approaches. Predictions of a downward trend in support for social justice education initiatives are currently being played out in Australian higher education contexts. Some University managers are responding to political arguments for the primacy of so-called knowledge based strands within the new national curriculum and the imposition of new Professional Teaching Standards by withdrawing support for 'non-curriculum' focused courses. This narrow interpretation of policy raises questions about the capacity of pre-service teacher education programs to sufficiently prepare students to enact the equity and 'public good' policy objectives articulated in the new national curriculum, Australia's multicultural policy and the national Professional Teaching Standards.

Anti-racism education

The development of anti-racism education is influenced by local, national cultural, historical and political contexts. In Australia, Pederson and her colleagues (2003) scoped the range of approaches available to practitioners in a landmark review entitled '*Anti-Racism – What Works? An evaluation of the effectiveness of anti-racism strategies*'. In the Report conclusions, they suggest that changing behaviours is a more useful undertaking than changing attitudes. The authors suggest that this conclusion is supported by a whole body of social-psychological literature that shows only a weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour, and that the more specific the attitude, the more likely it is to relate to behaviour. In short, this Review strongly suggests that we take into account a range of different strategies to reduce racism and that strategies should be developed in accordance with the specific and local circumstances of the community for which it is intended (p. 5).

The potential to exacerbate inter-group tensions and thus further entrench negative attitudes toward minority or marginalised group members is a well-recognised concern for those working in the multicultural and anti-racism education fields (Abrams, 2010; Pederson et al 2003; Malin, 1997). Commenting on the adoption of appropriate pedagogical approaches in the diversity training field, Abrams (2010) explains that backlash from diversity training in these terms:

Confronted with their own prejudices, people are likely to become defensive and angry, or if they become guilty they may merely decide to avoid the issue. Nonetheless, some strategies seem more promising than others. (p. 72).

In the Australian context, Malin (1997) argues that in order to improve the intercultural awareness of teachers, better pre-service and in-service education is needed although she cautioned that this is easier said than done. In her view, courses that effectively deal with such issues as racism, multiculturalism and Aboriginal education in Australia are very difficult to develop and can be counter-productive unless they are carefully conceptualised and taught. Similarly, Nieto (2004) also cautioned that multicultural teaching may result in reinforcing prejudice and suggested that effective courses take time and require more than a single series of workshops.

Perrin and his colleagues (2013) provide a very timely exploration of the pedagogical implications for teaching courses that advocate for social justice by disclosing patterns of privilege and oppression. They identify privileged groups as including for example: Whites, heterosexuals, men, able-bodied persons, mainstream Christians and persons of high socioeconomic status (p.49). So called 'Privilege blindness' is a well-recognised issue for educators working in social justice courses to navigate (Whitehead, 2007; McIntosh, 2013). According to Perrin et al (2013) it is challenging to educate people from privileged groups about privilege and educational inequality and that this is because multiple aspects of identity often remain invisible. Within the teacher education program that our course is located, we have linked the maintenance of meritocratic explanations for differential education outcomes to a lack of student understanding about how privilege operates to reproduce educational and social inequality. On this theme, Perrin and his colleagues (2013) invoke the term 'privilege education' to refer to the challenge of redressing gaps in student understanding about the myriad impacts of unacknowledged privilege, and argue that privilege education demands, 'shedding its heavily dichotomous conceptualisations of privilege and oppression instead for one incorporating more nuance and intersections of identity' (p. 51). Concomitantly it follows that reducing the simple dichotomy between terms such as 'racist and non-racist' will enable significant disposition or attitude and behavioural change to result from anti-racism education.

Identity, Intersectionality and anti-racism education

Over the past two decades, researchers have increasingly acknowledged that social justice advocacy cannot be advanced by separating out issues of 'race', gender and class (Ferber and O'Reilly Herrera, 2013). Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) provides an exemplar for studying intersectionality based on the proposition that overlapping oppressions result from multiple forms of discrimination. Similarly, Nash (2008) describes Intersectionality as the notion that: 'subjectivity is constituted by mutually reinforcing vectors of race, gender, class, and sexuality' (p. 2). But adopting intersectionality as an approach to teaching anti-racism has its detractors, who argue that a multi-dimensional approach runs the risk of further marginalising the interests of comparatively powerless groups. For instance, Ferber and O'Reilly Herrera (2013) explain that advocacy for adopting a single focus for the anti-racism field for example, is supported because 'colour blindness' is now widely embraced, and an intersectional perspective could de-emphasise racism and hence run the risk of providing privileged white people with the opportunity to shift the discussion to other aspects of identity such as sexuality or class (p. 85).

While supporting the adoption of intersectionality to social justice education, Nash (2008) also raises concerns about the lack of methodological prescription inherent in such approaches. While intersectionality has become a significant analytic tool for feminist and anti-racist scholars for theorizing identity and oppression, there remains a theoretical, political, and methodological murkiness in intersectional studies (Nash, 2008). Nash (2008) proposes that clarifying intersectional approaches could provide more complex ways of theorising identity and oppression. Commenting on the deployment of intersectionality as an approach to promote equality across a range of fields, Bach et al (2009) remind us of the requirement for '... differentiated responses to different types of oppression, inequality and discrimination' (p. 32). Within the anti-racism field, Rattansi (2004) provides the following rationalisation for incorporating a range of vectors when teaching about 'race' and racism:

Racialisation tells us that racism is never simply racism, but always exists in complex imbrication with nation, ethnicity, class, gender and sexuality, and therefore a dismantling of racism also requires, simultaneously as well as in the long run, a strategy to reduce relevant class inequalities, forms of masculinity, nationalisms and other social features, whereby racisms are reproduced in particular sites (p. 296).

Talking about privilege and bias

McIntosh (2013) suggests that human oppression may be altered by recognition of the workings of privilege systems and provides a rationale for support of privilege studies as an important education approach.

We have not been taught to see privilege systems. In fact we have been rewarded not to see them and rewarded for not talking about them. But the myths of meritocracy, monoculture, manifest destiny, dominant group neutrality, and dominant group superiority lack explanatory power in accounting for suffering. (p. xvi)

In teaching the *Education Change and Society* course we have observed that without disclosing the logic of how both privilege and oppression serve to marginalise the interests of minority group members, we find students get stuck in their own identity narrative. Disclosing how privilege and oppression operate on a range of fronts is therefore central to our work. In terms of timing, we firstly provide opportunities for our students to critically analyse constructs such as identity, socio economic status, class, 'race', racialisation and gender to provide a platform for the sometimes difficult intellectual and emotional work associated with disclosing privilege in its many forms. We introduce the concept of 'privilege' about week eight of a thirteen week course. A key challenge from a pedagogical perspective is how to move students from accepting individualistic and meritocratic theories to understanding the structural processes of privilege systems. Borrowing from Nash (2008), the way in which privilege and oppression can be co-constituted on the subjective level is a question that remains unexplored by intersectional theorists.

That is, while intersectionality purports to describe multiple marginalizations (i.e. the spectre of the multiply-marginalized black woman that haunts intersectionality) and multiple privileges (i.e. the spectre of the (heterosexual) white man that haunts intersectionality), it neglects to describe the ways in which privilege and oppression intersect, informing each subject's experiences. (p. 11)

Commenting on the application of intersectionality within feminist and anti-racist theory, Nash (2008) also identifies the problem of treating historically oppressed groups as a unitary and monolithic entity (p.8). We acknowledge this challenge and therefore spend significant time at the front-end of our course troubling categories such as 'race', class and gender, and by problematizing attempts to homogenise categories such as 'Indigenous people', 'women', 'working class people'.

To introduce the concept of privilege we have adapted the activity, '*Walking Through White Privilege*' developed by Peggy McIntosh (1988). We take note of Pendry, Driscoll and Field (2007), who suggest that that while this activity makes majority group advantages manifest, it risks causing increased separation and resentment between groups. They observe that:

'... what we have commonly found is that participants with no prior exposure to such diversity issues will often get "stopped" by their anger and / or guilt response, and such defensive responses make it difficult to progress... Moreover, among minority group participants the exercise may simply reinforce the level of inequality and discrimination in society. (p. 16).

Our adaption of the ‘*Walking Through White Privilege*’ activity includes a range of privileges other than the mainly white ‘race’ privileges included in the original design. This adaptation was in response to student resentment at being labelled privileged because of the colour of their skin. The power of the Privilege line-up activity to unsettle people who are uncomfortable with the disclosure of unearned privileges is undeniable. As an example, in one particular class, a group of four Aboriginal teachers participated in the activity. For all the reasons we can predict some of these teachers ended up at the very back of the privilege line. A deputation of non-Aboriginal students came to see the teachers after class to demand we apologise to the ‘poor Aboriginal students’ who were undoubtedly embarrassed to be positioned at the back of the privilege line. The response of the Aboriginal students was to laugh and say that their relative disadvantage was not news to them. Adaptations of the activity now include using twenty five examples of gender, class, skin colour, religious, ability, socio-economic privileges and disadvantages. These lists change from semester to semester as we include suggestions made by students and we now alternate five versions of the activity. Group discussions about the activity are frequently emotional and elicit student narratives about the realities of exclusion and marginalisation in their own lives. After reading and interpreting theoretical explanations of privilege mechanisms (including both disadvantage and privilege as explanatory concepts) students watch and interpret a DVD which has proven very popular. “*A girl like me*” (Davis, 2005) traces the narratives of a group of African American teenagers who engage with complex notions of identity and the internalisation of oppression. The realisation that very young children respond to external messages about their self-worth provides a significant breakthrough in understanding for many of our students.

Conclusion

We have adapted a conceptual framework offered by intersectional privilege studies for the design and teaching of our pre-service teacher education course, *Education Change and Society*. We advocate for this approach on the basis that student engagement with complex ideas about educational and social equity increases when they engage with concepts of privilege and disadvantage. Although disclosing the ways that privilege operates across a range of domains is widely considered a promising approach to social justice education, a down-side is that in-depth study of specific ways that marginalisation and discrimination impact on student achievement (for example racism and sexism) is necessarily diluted in favour of illuminating a more generic framework for understanding how unacknowledged privilege and patterns of stereotyping and prejudice lead ultimately to discrimination and loss of human potential over time. In the Australian context, it is important to emphasise the potential pitfalls associated with de-centering issues of race when colour blindness is a persistent and un-resolved feature of inter group relations.

Public advocates for a return to teacher directed learning and content driven curriculum underpinned by Judeo Christian values must be reminded about the diverse makeup of the current student population in Australia and the fact that educational opportunity is not founded on a level playing field. At this critical phase of policy enactment, educators have an opportunity to articulate the relevance of intersectional privilege studies to the achievement of a range of objectives including intercultural awareness and anti-discrimination. A key argument is that this work is central to the enactment of core equity principles and ‘public good’ purposes for education nominated within both the National Teacher Education Standards and the new National Curriculum. Narrow and technicist interpretations of these policies that result in a downturn in material support for social justice courses could potentially result in pre-service teacher education programs being in breach of their remit to enact government education policy.

To advance work in this field, an overarching challenge for educators is to work toward clarifying what Nash (2008) describes as the 'theoretical, political, and methodological murkiness' associated with intersectional privilege studies with the aim of constructing a more complex way of disclosing the negative educational impacts of discrimination and oppression. A key issue is the development of methodological tools that are sufficiently flexible to attend to the myriad intersections that constitute identity. Case (2013) in her recent edited collection introduced by Peggy McIntosh, entitled *Deconstructing Privilege: Teaching and Learning as Allies in the Classroom* provides educators with timely guidance. In her introduction, McIntosh suggests that some critics of privilege studies will assert that the purpose of the university is to develop and pass on accurate bodies of knowledge and that the subject of privilege has nothing to do with this. She counters that:

On the contrary, studies of race that do not include studies of race privilege are simply inaccurate. The time will come when it is considered ludicrous to study gender without studying male privilege, to study sexuality without studying heterosexual privilege or to comprehend poverty without seeing class privilege as a major dimension of poverty (p.xiii).

Whether or not Intersectional privilege studies becomes an accepted approach to various strands of social justice education in Australia remains to be seen. At this point we contend that the unifying potential represented by this field of study should not be ignored.

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