



ELSEVIER

Review

From primary to pluralistic: A typology of intersectionality

Ashleigh Shelby Rosette¹, Xiaoran Li^{1,a}, Naomi Samuel^{1,a} and Christopher D. Petsko²

Intersectionality has emerged as an important theoretical concept for examining overlapping social hierarchies and has garnered varying interpretations and applications in scholarly discourse. To help organize varied definitions of intersectionality that are commonly used in the social sciences, we propose a typology that distinguishes between *primary*, *pragmatic*, and *pluralistic* intersectionality. In this typology, primary intersectionality centers on Black women and has a social inequity focus, pragmatic intersectionality includes various groups with flexible applications, and pluralistic intersectionality encompasses a broad inclusion of categorizations without an inequity focus. This typology can be used to clarify research focus, enhance theoretical rigor, and prevent misinterpretation, thereby advancing understanding of intersectionality within social psychology and micro-organizational behavior.

Addresses¹ Duke University, USA² The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USACorresponding author: Rosette, Ashleigh Shelby (arosette@duke.edu)^a These two authors contributed equally to this work. The authors would like to thank Matt Rogers for aiding in the illustration of Figure 1.**Keywords**

intersectionality, Black women, subordinate groups, typology, diversity, social hierarchies, marginalization.

The concept of intersectionality, originally introduced to highlight the unique marginalization and oppression of Black women [1,2], has garnered substantial scholarly attention in recent years and has been widely incorporated into research across various disciplines, including social psychology and micro-organizational behavior [OB;

see Refs. [3,4], for review]. This increased attention has led to ongoing discussions about the emphasis, scope, and application of intersectionality. Some scholars suggest that intersectionality should remain true to its original focus on social justice and race [5–7], whereas others propose a broader lens that considers various demographic distinctions that extend beyond the study of justice and discrimination [e.g., Ref. [8]]. These differences seem to revolve around the prescriptive boundaries of what is considered appropriate for intersectionality research. A potential pathway to reconciling these different perspectives may lie in developing a typology of intersectionality definitions. That is, the core issue may lie not just in differing views on the scope of intersectionality research—what it should encompass—but in the lack of a consistent definition of intersectionality itself, without which it becomes difficult to reach consensus on the breadth and focus of the research.

Most contemporary conceptualizations of intersectionality in social psychology and OB share a common foundation in their definition—the interaction of multiple social identities or social categories. However, they differ in the specific groups emphasized and the extent to which they focus on social inequity. For example, Moody, Lewis, and Owens' definition focuses on Black women's unique experience of gendered racism [9], while Kark and colleagues' definition emphasizes the relationships among women from diverse identity sub-groups, encompassing all women [10]. Bhattacharyya, Erskine, and McCluney highlight the impact of intersecting systems of power on marginalized groups, focusing on oppression [11], whereas Desai and Gunia adopt a broader approach, defining intersectionality simply as multiple social category memberships without explicitly addressing oppression or systemic inequity [12]. Given these diverse perspectives, it becomes clear that intersectionality is not defined homogeneously. Each of these definitions extracts and emphasizes different aspects of intersectionality, reflecting the concept's adaptability, appeal and the diverse ways it can be applied. However, this diversity in definitions can also lead to confusion about the application of intersectionality, as researchers may struggle to reconcile these varied interpretations in their work.

Based on the ongoing debates and varied definitions of intersectionality, we propose a typology that researchers

Current Opinion in Psychology 2025, **61**:101944

This review comes from a themed issue on Diversity in Organizations 2025

Edited by Astrid Homan and Lisa Leslie

For complete overview about the section, refer [Generation COVID: Coming of Age Amid the Pandemic \(2024\)](#)

Available online 16 November 2024

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2024.101944>

2352-250X/© 2024 Elsevier Ltd. All rights are reserved, including those for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies.

can use to make sense of how intersectionality is being defined in a given analysis. We focus on the definition (as opposed to the application or conducting of the research) because the definition serves as the foundation upon which all subsequent research and applications are built. Without a clear and shared set of definitions, debates about the scope of intersectionality become fragmented and ambiguous. Developing a typology of intersectionality definitions could further clarify these discussions by categorizing different interpretations of intersectionality, allowing scholars to specify which type they are addressing. In contrast, if we focus primarily on the scope without first agreeing on the definition, we risk inconsistencies in how intersectionality is interpreted and applied [5], leading to disjointed and potentially conflicting research results [13]. Ultimately, a well-defined concept of intersectionality, supported by a clear typology, enables more precise and impactful research, making it possible to explore this concept's full potential for addressing complex social dynamics.

We suggest dividing intersectionality definitions based upon where they fall along two primary dimensions: (1) social inequity focus (present, absent) and (2) demographic content (Black women, subordinate groups, assorted groups). In the sections below, we elaborate on these dimensions and we discuss a typology that follows from them. In the final segment of this article, we discuss a review we conducted of the extant research literature, which illustrates the utility of our typology for organizing common ways by which intersectionality tends to be defined.

Intersectionality dimensions

The term “intersectionality” was initially introduced to highlight the unique marginalizations faced by Black women, which were both similar to and distinct from the oppression experienced by Black men and White women [1,2]. This framework emphasized the need to consider how differing social structures, such as racism and sexism, intersect to create complex patterns of oppression [14]. It necessitated a consideration of social inequity, drawing attention to injustice and discrimination. As the concept of intersectionality has evolved and been adopted across various disciplines, including social psychology and micro-organizational behavior, contemporary conceptualizations of intersectionality sometimes omit the notion of social inequity, diverging from the original focus [5]. In some cases, the emphasis on social inequity has been diluted or omitted entirely from intersectionality definitions. Instead, these interpretations may focus on analyzing or comparing multiple identities or social categories without explicitly addressing the skewed power dynamics or underlying discrimination that contributed to the differences observed in the research. To both embrace the original intent and the modern expansions of the definition, we propose the first dimension in our

typology: *social inequity focus*. This dimension refers to whether the broad notion of inequity—which can include injustice, oppression, or discrimination—is or is not incorporated into a given definition of intersectionality.

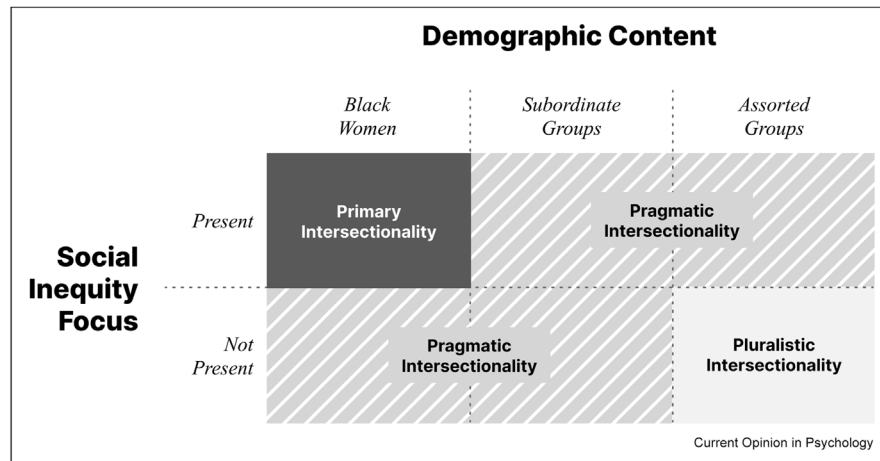
Contributing to the debate regarding what constitutes intersectionality research, Cole (2020) [5] argues that intersectionality in psychology often fails to fully account for the experiences of Black women, instead prioritizing more generalized applications of the concept. She stresses the importance of grounding intersectionality in its Black feminist roots, which prioritize the lived experiences of Black women and other women of color. In contrast, a recent comprehensive review of intersectionality research in organizational behavior reveals that the term tends to be interpreted quite broadly as “the intertwined and multiplicative effects of multiple identity groups” p. 710 [3]. Moreover, this review identified 17 distinct demographic categories that tend to be emphasized, including occupation, parental status, education, and foreigner status [3]. These different perspectives about which identities ought to be centered in intersectionality research underscore the need for the second dimension in our typology: *demographic content*.

We propose that our second dimension, demographic content, can be organized into at least three approaches. The first demographic content approach focuses on *Black women*. It emphasizes the unique experiences of Black women as central in the study of intersectionality and gives a respectful nod to intersectionality's Black feminist roots. This is not to say that Black women would be the only social group mentioned in the definition, but they would be the central focus. The second demographic content approach, *subordinate groups*, focuses on any two (or more) social groups that occupy lower positions or social standings when compared to dominant groups, excluding Black women. We use the term subordinate rather than marginalized because the term subordinate suggests a difference in social hierarchy or status without implying social inequity. The third demographic content approach, *assorted groups*, entails the inclusion of any social group and includes at least one dominant social group—regardless of whether this dominant group intersects with dominant group(s) or subordinate group(s). This distinction is important as it broadens the definition of intersectionality, not limiting its consideration to only Black women or subordinate groups.

Intersectionality typology

Having proposed that social inequity and demographic content are key dimensions to include in a typology of intersectionality definitions, we now use the varying combinations of these two dimensions to suggest that there are three types of intersectionality: primary, pragmatic, and pluralistic (see Figure 1). Distinguishing between these three types of intersectionality allows

Figure 1



A typology of intersectionality: Primary, pragmatic, and pluralistic intersectionality.

researchers to choose the most appropriate intersectionality definition for their specific research questions and objectives. *Primary intersectionality* centers on Black women and emphasizes social inequity, staying true to Crenshaw's original conceptualization [1,2]. The term 'primary' signifies this foundational and traditional interpretation.

Pragmatic intersectionality includes various combinations of the two dimensions within our typology: Black women examined *without* a social inequity focus; subordinate groups irrespective of a social inequity focus; or assorted groups with a social inequity focus. Pragmatic intersectionality, as a middle ground, offers a broader perspective than does primary intersectionality while still maintaining connections to social inequity considerations when applicable. By expanding beyond Black women to include other groups, it enables a more comprehensive and flexible exploration of intersecting identities and facilitates practical, context specific applications. At the same time, most combinations of social inequity and demographic content within pragmatic intersectionality retain a foundational element of primary intersectionality, preserving its core. The term "pragmatic" highlights its flexible, practical approach, adaptable to diverse research needs. *Pluralistic intersectionality* applies to studies of assorted groups without a social inequity focus. It represents the most divergent viewpoints, offering a broad lens that moves away from social inequity as a central focus. The term 'pluralistic' was selected to emphasize the diversity and breadth of this type of intersectionality, which accommodates a broader spectrum of social categories and differences.

In our proposed typology of intersectionality definitions, we recognize several boundary conditions and

assumptions that are essential for its proper contextualization and application. First, our typology assumes that the social categories or social identities under consideration (e.g., race, gender) exist within larger, interlocking social systems. This assumption is fundamental, as it recognizes that interconnectedness forms the basis for the inception and creation of intersectionality [8,1]. Second, it is important to acknowledge that our typology does not negate the significance of other dimensions not included here [e.g., intersectionality as methodology; Refs. [15,16]]. Our approach is designed to complement, rather than replace, existing discussions and analyses within the broader study of intersectionality. Third, we do not position ourselves to weigh in on the complex debate about the tenets of intersectionality rooted in feminist and gender studies [5–7,17], but we do acknowledge its relevance for those in social psychology and micro-organizational behavior who utilize intersectionality as the theoretical foundation for their work. Therefore, we intentionally focus on the applications of intersectionality within OB and social psychology. This focus allows us to address specific nuances and implications, providing more precise insights and practical applications for scholars and practitioners in these areas.¹ Fourth, we fully acknowledge that within a given research article, there may be a disconnect between the demographic content and/or social inequity focus dimensions included in a *definition* and the subsequent *operationalization* of intersectionality. To examine the operationalization and effects of intersectionality in the extant literature on intersectionality is beyond the scope

¹ It is important to note that we are not the first to propose a typology for intersectionality (see, for example: Refs. 2, 16, 29, 30). Nevertheless, our typology differs from earlier typologies in that it clarifies how the concept of intersectionality tends to be applied specifically within OB and social psychology.

of this work. For a review of the effects and the various ways in which intersectionality has recently been operationalized, see Thatcher et al., 2023 [3].

Applying the typology

To determine whether the typology we proposed maps onto existing definitions of intersectionality, we reviewed leading social psychology, management, and specialty journals published between 2020 and April 2024, focusing on articles that either explicitly defined intersectionality or emphasized it by including it as a keyword, in the abstract, or in the title.

Social inequity focus

Our review reveals that although the majority of the definitions identified still define intersectionality with a focus on inequity, there remains a significant portion of the definitions that are not inequity-focused. As an example of having a definitional social inequity focus, Sim, Almaraz, and Hugenberg (2022), in their study of Black men's obesity, emphasize how "systems of oppression and privilege create overlapping and interlocking effects that are unique at the intersection of identities" [18, p. 99], highlighting distinct outcomes shaped by these intersecting systems and pointing to inequity as a central concern. Similarly, Dhanani, Totton, Hall, and Pham (2024), when examining racial and sexual harassment, frame intersectionality as focusing on "demographic attributes and how unique social identities, experiences, and disadvantages may emerge at the intersection of multiple demographic characteristics" [19, p. 3], noting that disadvantages can arise from multiple marginalized identities.

In contrast, some definitions shift away from an explicit focus on inequity. For example, Petsko and Vogler (2023), when studying perceptions of Black and White men's sexuality, first acknowledge the origins of intersectionality in Black feminism but then emphasize a different focus within psychological science. They characterize intersectionality as the "epistemological stance that basic psychological phenomena, like how one is perceived, can depend on the multiple social groups to which one belongs" [20, p. 2]. Here, the focus is on how intersectionality affects intergroup perception without regard to social inequity, broadening the scope of the definition.

Interestingly, some scholars acknowledge both perspectives within their work. Dupree (2024) exemplifies this by first recognizing that intersectionality is not always viewed through an inequity-focused lens: "Intersectionality is broadly defined as the notion that people who share one demographic category (e.g., gender) but differ on another category (e.g., race) experience different outcomes" [21, p. 272]. However, Dupree goes on to assert that intersectionality is also

about understanding how social stratification creates power dynamics where certain groups are disadvantaged: "Certain groups are disadvantaged or devalued in our society, while others are advantaged or valued and thus experience greater access to resources, rewards, and opportunities. Intersectionality captures and adds nuance to our understanding of these power dynamics" [21, p. 274].

Demographic content

All identified definitions of intersectionality aligned with one of our three demographic content approaches. For example, Matsuzaka and colleagues (2022) defined intersectionality as a tool to illustrate "Black women's intersecting social identities" [22, p. 519], and Johnson and Pietri (2024) similarly describe intersectionality as presumptive of "Black women's unique combination of social identities" [23, p. 2]. These examples reflect a focus on the intersection of race and gender, fitting into our first demographic content approach, Black women. In contrast, taking a subordinate groups approach, Kark et al. (2024) defined intersectionality as concerned with "women from diverse identity sub-groups" [10, p. 283], and Chatman and colleagues (2022) noted that intersectionality is "typically at the intersection of different fixed, stigmatized identities" [24, p. 20]. These definitions concentrate on the interactions of groups that occupy lower-ranked positions within societal structures. Finally, taking an assorted groups approach, Petsko and colleagues (2022) describe intersectionality as related to "people who possess different combinations of social identities" [25, p. 764]. Similarly, Hudson and Ghani (2024) included varied identities as their demographic content by keeping it general, defining intersectionality around "the interconnected nature of social identities" [26, p. 57]. These two assorted group exemplars highlight a broad interpretation of intersectionality that encompasses various social group combinations without prescribing their relative social status.

Unpacking intersectionality

Among the articles reviewed, each of the three types of intersectionality—primary, pragmatic, and pluralistic—are represented. For instance, Moody and colleagues exemplify primary intersectionality, describing it as "employed to understand Black women's unique experience of gendered racism" [9, p. 198]. This definition specifically focuses on Black women, highlighting a form of social inequity that combines racial and gender discrimination.

Representing pragmatic intersectionality, Dhanani et al.'s definition notes that "intersectionality centers its attention on demographic attributes and how unique social identities, experiences, and disadvantages may emerge at the intersection of multiple demographic characteristics (Liu et al., 2019)" [19, p. 3]. Unlike

primary intersectionality, this definition does not specify a focus on Black women, but includes a relatively broader range of social groups, while maintaining a focus on social inequity implied by the explicit acknowledgment of disadvantage which is embedded in a context of “workplace discrimination” [19, p. 3]. Bhattacharyya and Berdahl (2023)’s definition of intersectionality also constitutes pragmatic intersectionality, by considering “marginalized intersectional identities as an analytical starting point for studying the ways that multiple identities interact to shape people’s experiences,—indicating demographic content of subordinate groups while addressing social inequity via the term “marginalized” [27, p. 1075].

An illustrative example of pluralistic intersectionality comes from the definition provided by Bergstrom and colleagues (2024), who described intersectionality as a state by which “each person simultaneously belongs to multiple social categories that are mutually constitutive (Cole & Zucker, 2007)” [28, p. 351]. Definitions like this, alongside previously provided examples from Petsko and colleagues [20,25], imply that the inclusion of both subordinate and dominant social categories as the demographic content, while focusing on the unique perceptions and experiences rather than on social inequity per se, is not uncommon in contemporary research.

Future research and limitations

We posit that different research questions and objectives necessitate specific definitions of intersectionality. By distinguishing between primary, pragmatic, and pluralistic intersectionality, researchers can select and communicate the most appropriate type for their own research. This helps to ensure that analyses are theoretically sound and aligned with research goals. Further, scholars should identify which type of intersectionality best describes the phenomenon they are studying and ensure their theory, methodology, and operationalization are consistent with the chosen definition. This alignment may prevent the misinterpretation of research findings. However, one limitation of our review is that we did not incorporate how intersectionality is operationalized in empirical research. As alluded to previously, it is quite possible that the way authors define intersectionality is not always consistent with how they apply it in their research. Understanding this potential gap between definition and operationalization is a subject ripe for future research.

Despite this limitation, the typology we propose offers significant value beyond categorizing different forms of intersectionality. It provides a clear framework that allows for more precise and meaningful communication within social psychology and micro-organizational behavior research. At the same time, each type of intersectionality carries potential challenges. Primary

intersectionality risks excluding other marginalized groups by focusing narrowly on Black women, potentially limiting its applicability to broader contexts. Pragmatic intersectionality may create tensions between preserving key aspects of Crenshaw’s initial conceptualization and adapting to meet the practical demands of addressing varied contexts and identities. Pluralistic intersectionality risks becoming an overall broad catch all and failing to engage with the structural and systemic forces that shape intersecting identities. Each type has its strengths and challenges with utility depending on the goals of the research, the context, and the populations under study. Even with these considerations, the typology can be a valuable tool for identifying gaps in existing research, facilitating cross-disciplinary conversations, and driving innovation in how intersectionality is integrated into new fields of inquiry. Ultimately, this typology can serve as a guide for future research, encouraging consistency and clarity in how intersectionality is conceptualized, operationalized, and applied.

Credit author statement

Ashleigh Shelby Rosette: Conceptualization, Review compilation, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing. Xiaran Li: Review compilation, Writing - Review & Editing. Naomi Samuel: Review compilation, Writing - Review & Editing. Christopher Petsko: Writing - Review & Editing.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors have no known conflicts of interest to disclose.

Data availability

No data was used for the research described in the article.

References

References of particular interest have been highlighted as:

** of outstanding interest

1. Crenshaw KW: **Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: a Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics** [internet] *Univ Chicago Leg Forum* 1989:139–167. Available from: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8;1989>.
2. Crenshaw KW: **Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color**. *Stanford Law Rev* 1991, 43:1241–1299, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
3. Thatcher SMB, Hymer SMBCB, Arwine RP: **Pushing back against power: using a multilevel power lens to understand intersectionality in the workplace**. *Acad Manag Ann* 2023, 17:710–750, <https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2021.0210>.
4. Sabik NJ, Versey HS: **A reconsideration of group differences in social psychology: towards a critical intersectional approach**. *Soc Pers Psychol Compass* 2024, 18, e12928, <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12928>.

5. Cole ER: **Demarginalizing women of color in intersectionality scholarship in psychology: a Black feminist critique.** *J Soc Issues* 2020, **76**:1036–1044, <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12413>.
6. Rice C, Harrison E, Friedman M: **Doing justice to intersectionality in research.** *Cult Stud ↔ Crit Method* 2019, **19**:409–420, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708619829779>.
7. Warner LR, Settles IH, Shields SA: **Intersectionality theory in the psychology of women.** In *APA handbook of the psychology of women: history, theory, and battlegrounds*. Edited by Travis CB, White JW, Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association; 2018:521–539.
8. Collins PH, Bilge S: *Intersectionality*. 2nd ed. 2020. Cambridge, UK.
9. Moody AT, Lewis JA, Owens GP: **Gendered racism, coping, and traumatic stress among Black women: the moderating roles of the strong Black woman schema and womanist attitudes.** *Psychol Women Q* 2023, **47**:197–212.
10. Kark, Yacobovitz N, Segal-Caspi L, Kalker-Zimmerman S: **Catty, bitchy, queen bee or sister? A review of competition among women in organizations from a paradoxical-coopetition perspective.** *J Organ Behav* 2024, **45**:266–294, <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2691>.
11. Bhattacharyya B, Erskine SE, McCluney C: **Not all allies are created equal: an intersectional examination of relational allyship for women of color at work.** *Organ Behav Hum Decis Process* 2024, **182**, 104331, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2024.104331>.
12. Desai SD, Gunia BC: **The interplay of gender and perceived sexual orientation at the bargaining table: a social dominance and intersectionalist perspective.** *Organ Behav Hum Decis Process* 2023, **179**, 104279, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2023.104279>.
13. Cole ER: **Intersectionality and research in psychology.** *Am Psychol* 2009, **64**:170–180, <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564>.
14. Crenshaw KW: **From private violence to mass incarceration: thinking intersectionally about women, race, and social control.** *UCLA Law Rev* 2011, **59**:1418.
15. Else-Quest NM, Hyde JS: **Intersectionality in quantitative psychological research: II. Methods and techniques.** *Psychol Women Q* 2016, **40**:319–336, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316647953>.
16. McCall L: **The complexity of intersectionality.** *Signs: J Women Cult Soc.* 2005, **30**:1771–1800, <https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>.
17. Davis K: **Who owns intersectionality? Some reflections on feminist debates on how theories travel.** *Eur J Wom Stud* 2020, **27**:113–127, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506819892659>.
18. Sim M, Almaraz SM, Hugenberg K: **Stereotyping at the intersection of race and weight: diluted threat stereotyping of obese Black men.** *J Exp Soc Psychol* 2022, **99**, 104274, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104274>.
19. Dhanani LY, Totton RR, Hall TK, Pham CT: **Visible but hidden: an intersectional examination of identity management among sexual minority employees.** *J Manag* 2024, **50**:949–978, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01492063221121787>.
20. Petsko CD, Vogler S: **Is men's heterosexuality perceived as more precarious than women's? An intersectional, race-by-gender analysis.** *Pers Soc Psychol Bull* 2024, **50**:766–779, <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672221143839>.
21. Dupree CH: **Words of a leader: the importance of intersectionality for understanding women leaders' use of dominant language and how others receive it.** *Adm Sci Q* 2024, **69**:271–323, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00018392231223142>.
22. Matsuzaka S, Jamison L, Avery LR, Schmidt KM, Stanton AG, Debnam K: **Gendered racial microaggressions scale: measurement invariance across sexual orientation.** *Psychol Women Q* 2022, **46**:518–530, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843221118339>.
23. Johnson IR, Pietri ES: **Signaling safety and fostering fairness: exploring the psychological processes underlying (in) congruent cues among Black women.** *J Pers Soc Psychol* 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000466>.
24. Chatman JA, Sharps D, Mishra S, Kray LJ, North MS: **Agentic but not warm: age-gender interactions and the consequences of stereotype incongruity perceptions for middle-aged professional women.** *Organ Behav Hum Decis Process* 2022, **173**, 104190, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2022.104190>.
25. Petsko CD, Rosette AS, Bodenhausen GV: **Through the looking glass: a lens-based account of intersectional stereotyping.** *J Pers Soc Psychol* 2022, **123**:763–787, <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000382>.
26. Hudson SKT, Ghani A: **Sexual orientation and race intersectionally reduce the perceived gendered nature of normative stereotypes in the United States.** *Psychol Women Q* 2024, **48**: 56–79, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843231187851>.
27. Bhattacharyya B, Berdahl JL: **Do you see me? An inductive examination of differences between women of color's experiences of and responses to invisibility at work.** *J Appl Psychol* 2023, **108**:1073–1095, <https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0001072>.
28. Bergstrom VN, Cadieux J, Thakkar D, Chasteen AL: **Same view, different lens: how intersectional identities reduce Americans' stereotypes of threat regarding Arab and Black men.** *Group Process Intergr Relat* 2024, **27**:348–365, <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302231153802>.
29. Gines KT: **Black feminism and intersectional analyses: a defense of intersectionality.** *Philos Today* 2011, **55**:275–284.
30. Ruíz E: **Framing intersectionality.** In *The routledge companion to the philosophy of race*. Edited by Alcoff L, Anderson L, Taylor P, Routledge; 2017:335–348.

Further information on references of particular interest

3. An in-depth review of intersectionality research within the management field, highlighting key studies and theoretical developments.
4. A review that advocates for a critical intersectional approach in social psychology, emphasizing the need to address both the systemic causes and effects of inequality and discrimination.
9. An investigation of how gendered racism impacts Black women's mental health, specifically examining the effects of coping mechanisms, traumatic stress, and the role of the "strong Black woman" schema. The definition provided in the article constitutes an exemplar of primary intersectionality. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843221143752>
20. An exploration of the perception of heterosexuality as more precarious for men than women, using an intersectional framework to analyze the influence of both race and gender. The definition provided in this research embodies pluralistic intersectionality.
18. An examination of the effect of weight in diluting the threat stereotypes related to Black men which includes a definition that serves as an exemplar of pragmatic intersectionality.
27. An analysis of how women of color experience and respond to workplace invisibility, highlighting distinct types of invisibility and corresponding responses, includes a definition that depicts pragmatic intersectionality.