Using Positionality and Theory in Historical Research: A Personal Journey

Debra A. Hardy.
The Ohio State University

ABSTRACT

As histories within art education expand to cover topics outside of the majoritarian narrative, historians need to take into consideration the ways in which their positionality influences their relationship with their historical subjects. This paper is a meditation on the experience of a White female researcher studying the life of Margaret Burroughs, a Black art education and institution-builder from Chicago. By focusing on positionality in both theoretical positionality and researcher positionality, a case is built for historians to interrogate the relationship between researcher and subject, even when living participants are not involved in the study.

KEYWORDS: History, Black history, art education history, Black women, whiteness, Margaret Burroughs, Critical Race Theory, Black Feminist Theory, Positionality, Identity

Using Positionality and Theory in Historical Research: A Personal Journey

In 2019, I attended a research conference panel of art educators discussing their work around the histories of art education. The moderator asked the question to the panel, "How do you use theory within your work?" The White female professor on the panel answered first, stating that she didn't think theory was necessary when researching history, despite her presentation covering the work of a Black man. The next panelist, a Black female professor, responded to the initial question, "Theory is everything."

Histories have always been a way for me to explore and explain the systems we humans find ourselves in. Historical narratives give those of us in the present a way to understand the progression to where we are today; a blueprint for further understanding who we are, how we got here, and where we can go. In the field of art education, I have been intrigued by the ways that particular histories of certain White male figures have been reified and the mechanisms that have similarly kept important Black, Indigenous, and people of color's (BIPOC) names away from textbooks. The naming of and calling out racism in historical writing is important, but the mechanisms within methodology that exist to support White patriarchy are just as important to explore. As I worked to challenge and insert the histories of Black art educators into a historical context in my own research, I began to realize that not only does the inclusion of BIPOC voices matter, but the ways that I approach my work and myself as a researcher matter just as much. While BIPOC subjects continue to be underexplored in art education (Acuff, 2013; Bolin & Kantawala, 2017), it is important for White historians to begin to do the work of understanding and untangling our positionality in our research in order to curb the "epistemic violence" (Dozano, 2020, p. 4) that occurs through a largely absent narrative of who is undertaking the research.

Within my experience of researching the narrative of Dr. Margaret Burroughs, a Black female art educator from Chicago, I realized how little consideration White historians have put into considering their positionality within and around their research, and how this lack of consideration has continued to replicate White supremacy. As historians and educators attempt to un-frame and re-frame histories in art education (Kantawala, 2020), it is paramount that historians re-consider the ways that historical research is undertaken. By locating my own positionality within my research, I saw ways that I could be in conversation with my subject rather than dictating her narrative, and how historians can include rather than ignore how positionality influences their research. By reflecting on my own journey, I hope to demonstrate the importance of understanding positionality within historical research, and assist other White historians to similarly consider how theory and positionality impact their subjects.

Personal Narrative

My interest in Black histories within art education started during the first semester of my master's program at the University of Texas. In my History of Art Education course, my first research project led me to Mavigliano and Lawson's (1990) The Federal Art Project in Illinois. The book, a slim read primarily filled with tables detailing the work of Federal Art Project (FAP) employees throughout the state, intrigued me. Having lived in Illinois most of my life, I was surprised and excited when my small hometown's post office mural neatly catalogued alongside hundreds of pieces of art in the Chicago area. While the book itself was interesting, one section caught my eye in particular. Six paragraphs detailed the founding of the South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC) at 3831 S Michigan Avenue in Chicago. The SSCAC was the only completed art center funded by the FAP in Illinois and was explicitly founded to help support the arts in the growing Black neighborhood of Bronzeville on Chicago's South Side (Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990). After realizing that the SSCAC continues to exist today, I became fascinated by this story and needed

Throughout my master's program, I became invested in the SSCAC's narrative, curious about its founding and the ways that it has continued to thrive (Hardy, 2017; Hardy, 2018). I also quickly

realized that my writing would be incomplete without a thorough examination of race within art education generally and within the particularities of the SSCAC's founding. The SSCAC's existence was defined by the fact that it was made explicitly for Chicago's Black community and many of the struggles it faced were due to the lack of support for Black artists during the 1940s and 1950s. My experience of race had been one of almost complete Whiteness up until this point and, while I challenged that experience in college, I knew that my ignorance would make my research inadequate and fail to capture the real experience of those who founded the SSCAC. I could not believe how correct I would be. My understanding and conceptualizations around the SSCAC's existence expanded dramatically as I became exposed to authors like DuBois (1903), Hartman (2007), and Collins (2009). I was able to examine closely the ways that a gap of archival data could give key insights into the middle class Black women who took over the SSCAC during its darkest periods (Hardy, 2018). However, during my initial investigation, I did little to examine my own positionality within my research. While I was aware of my outsider position and my little knowledge of the community I entered into for my research, I did not go far enough in examining the ways that my position as a White female scholar could simultaneously inflict harm.

As my research for my dissertation moved from looking at the SSCAC to looking at the work of one figure within it, my own internal work similarly moved from considering the overall image to deeply interrogating myself and my field prior to the beginning of my research. I wanted to learn more and write about the life of Dr. Margaret Burroughs, a Black art teacher from Chicago who helped establish the SSCAC and eventually also founded the DuSable Museum of African American History. I wanted to dig into her life narrative more to understand the ways that she used her art teaching to empower her students and helped her in founding the first Black history museum in the US. The evolution of my own project led me to want to consider how my interpretation of her life may not capture its true nature. Are there ways that my Whiteness can fail to interpret important events in her life? What blinders do my Whiteness give my interpretation, and what are the ways to minimize them? As I dug, I realized this was a larger conversation than simply an internal one. I am invested in and want to fix the ways that historians approach their research subjects in ways that help bring their subjects into the conversation. I believe that historians need to reflect on their own positionality within their research in order to fully understand the impact of how they write narratives. Most importantly, as White historians begin to fully take on and investigate non-White histories, it is especially important for us consider the ways that our work may continue to inflict harm if we are not careful or considerate to their needs.

Historians and Positionality

Positionality and theoretical stances are often important in work dealing with participants and is a key cornerstone of methodologies such as action research (Knight & Deng, 2016). Some historians, including oral historians (Henry, 2018; Thompson, 1978) and public historians (Neufeld, 2006; Osterud, 2018) also consider their own positions as researchers within the context of their research, as who they are can impact the narratives they receive and interpret. Methodologies without direct participants, however, have spent less time discussing what it means to be aware of one's own positionality or being culturally responsive. Within traditional archival histories, the position of the historian as influencing the research is rarely touched on at all. While it is often remarked that historians are influenced by the contemporary time that they are working in (Bolin, 2017; Conrad, 2016), there is less explicit work written on the position of the historic researcher and the impact that positionality has on the interpretation of data.

Positionality here will be discussed in two fronts: t*heoretical positionality*, which utilized critical theories to interrogate historical events in context of theories, and *researcher positionality,* which takes the form of critical self-reflection, understanding one's position in relation to their subject, and the histories that surround and inform both actions and perceptions between the researcher and subject. Both theoretical and researcher positionality are linked, and adopting a critical theoretical position that aligns with and highlights the experiences of the historical subject directly feeds into a need for researcher positionality. While theoretical positionality has been traditionally embraced by art education historians, researcher positionality has gone under-examined.

Theoretical Positionality

In contrast to the broader field of history, theoretical positionality has been utilized in art education historical research for some time, particularly in relation to postmodern

(Bolin et al, 2000; Garnet, 2017) and feminist theories (Stankiewicz, 1997). More recently, Kantawala (2012) has worked to bring postcolonial theory and the concept critical cultural framing (Kantawala, 2020) into research. Centering BIPOC subjects in historical literature enables new and challenging narratives to occur. However, few of the currently-written histories about Black art educators state a particular theoretical position. Even many historians of Black history outside of art education disagree with the use of theory or positionality, pointing out that histories should be free from any bias on the part of the author (Thorpe, 1971; Taylor, 2008). While there has been a rise of Black art education narratives (see Bey, 2011, 2017; Hardy, 2017, 2018; Holt, 2018; Peete, 2020), outside of Lawton (2017), few have yet to identify particular theoretical lenses they used to unearth these narratives.

Within my own investigation into the life of Dr. Burroughs, I chose to employ critical race theory (CRT) paired with Black feminist theory (BFT) to better understand the systems of oppression that she dealt with as a Black female educator. Both CRT and BFT work to center marginalized voices through understanding the overlapping and interconnected oppression of individuals through race and gender. CRT's implementation of counter-narrative, paired with BFT's centering of Black women's embodied experiences as a site of knowledge, help to disrupt and critique the White male-dominated conceptualization of art education histories. By centering a Black woman's narrative, a whole new world of knowledge opens up; one where it is clear to see that resistance to racism has always been at the center.

CRT employs the use of narrative, and particularly counter-narrative, as a way to highlight the voices of marginalized individuals within racially oppressive systems and question what Delgado and Sefancic (2012) call "majoritarian interpretations of events" (p. 24). While the majoritarian interpretations presents "the ways things are as inevitable" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2417), counter-narratives are stories that reveal what is often hidden in plain sight. Revisionism and counter-narrative developed as a way to amplify the voices of people of color, particularly within legal settings where false narratives around race often result in dire legal consequences. CRT has been underutilized within histories, despite its ability to fit in well with historical subjects. Within educational settings, counter-narrative has been framed as a successful approach to complicating and disrupting implicit bias within the educational system (see Milner & Howard, 2013; Miller et al, 2020). As counter-narrative "holds promise to expose, analyze, and critique the racialized reality in which… experiences are contextualized, silenced, or perpetuated" (Miller et al, 2020, p. 273), I believe that CRT and counter-narrative are particularly useful for reinterpreting histories. Especially in entrenched histories where BIPOC rarely if ever make an appearance, CRT can help extract the structures that have kept narratives hidden for so long.

The explicit implementation of CRT into historical studies is currently sparse (see Coloma, 2011) but yields interesting ways of re-articulating other forms of narrative to fit historical research of marginalized individuals. Lawton (2017) described her investigation into the life of Thomas Watson Hunster, a trailblazing Black art educator in Washington, D.C., using what she has named *critical portraiture*. By combining CRT and portraiture, she was able to both look at Hunster as an individual who worked and resisted systems of oppression while simultaneously contributing greatly to the field of art education for Black youth. Similarly, Kelly (2013) articulated the ways that he investigated the life of Marion Thompson Wright, a Black sociologist, educator, and historian, as *critical race biography*. Wright's life, looked at through an explicitly racial lens, gained insight into the ways that gave a "nuanced understanding of a life lived strategically in quiet struggle" (Kelly, 2013, p. 58), dealing with both racism and sexism from her colleagues. Both Lawton (2017) and Kelly (2013) use CRT as a way to further understand and explore the ways that their particular individuals had to navigate the United States' educational systems as Black teachers. By incorporating the tenets of CRT into historic narrative styles, more light can be shed on the ways that racism has been endemic to the structures of educational systems.

Similarly, BFT has begun to slowly become recognized within art education literature. Acuff's (2018a) call to embracing BFT within art education encourages "[challenging] traditional conceptions of methodology and methods" (p. 206). Using BFT and centering the lives and experiences of Black women in histories of art education automatically challenges the current majoritarian narrative that asserts that the most important

figures are White lawmakers and scholars. Instead, BFT allows for a view in which the power of art education is situated with Black teachers, who used art to empower Black students. In Dr. Burroughs' case, art education became a vehicle for her to talk to her students about Black history and help them gain confidence in themselves as Black young adults in a pre-civil rights world. By situating art education with Dr. Burroughs, art education can see beyond the Lowenfeld-Barkan dichotomy that often dominates conversations about mid-century art education.

BFT has often been used to explore and interpret histories of Black women and theorists such as Collins (2009) have considered the ways that Black women have been shut out of history. Scholars like Hine (1989) and Hartman (2007; 2008) have explored the limits of traditional history and have embraced the use of BFT as a way to bring into focus the narratives that have been hidden or erased. The privileging of empirical data for historians fails to consider the ways that Black women's narratives were either never recorded or were kept away from public view. Hine (1989) argues for the concept of "dissemblance", where Black women shielded themselves and their narratives through a practice of secrecy "to protect the sanctity of inner aspects of their lives" (p. 915). Dissemblance led to "the appearance of disclosure, or openness about themselves and their feelings, while actually remaining an enigma" (Hine, 1989, p. 915). Between the archival silences that Hartman (2007) encountered to the culture of dissemblance described by Hine (1989), the methods of traditional White history simply fail to work. Instead, BFT can help to challenge and reinterpret the ways that histories are written. Understanding the archival gaps created by systems of racial oppression gives historians opportunities to interpret the silences and gaps in different ways. Hine (1989) defines it as "historical reclamation" (p. 919), where historians should focus on the ways that Black women were able to find and create agency in systems that dehumanized them.
Theoretical positionality is both a choice of using a tool that best works for the story being told and also a stance in what matters to the researcher. When it comes exploring the lives of Black women, failing to consider the ways that their lives were shaped by the particularities of their race and gender and failing to center that experience means missing some of the key reasons why information may be hard to find or missing. While theoretical positionality here helps connect Dr. Burroughs' narrative to larger ideas around Black women's agency, it similarly questions and critiques a White majoritarian narrative that has failed to recognize Black art educators. As a White historian, I have benefited from this majoritarian narrative.

Researcher Positionality

When I began my research, I wanted to find information pertaining to the struggle of researcher positionality as a historian. I felt deeply that I had to consider my own positionality within my research in order to see and correct to the best of my ability any possible blind spots when it came to my interpretations of Dr. Burroughs' legacy. Although I found a significant number of White historians writing and producing histories about Black historical events in Chicago (see Hagedorn, 2020; Knupfer, 2006; Mullen, 1999; Rocksborough-Smith, 2018), their writings were not accompanied by any type of analysis into their own subjectivity as White researchers. A certain subset of historians value empirical research over other forms of knowledge and therefore reject researcher positionality outright (see Coloma, 2011, 2018; Partner & Foot, 2013). This privileging of gathered archival data above all else seems to lead to a lack of disclosure of positionality, as supposed "objectivity" de-emphasizes the role of the researcher. The value that many historians place on the objectivity of history often means a rejection of any bias that may be inherent in the researcher, including the use of theory or an admission of one's own positionality.

Knight and Yeng (2016) note that researchers "cannot escape the influence of our positionality" (p. 108). Our positionality inherently impacts who and how we research. While there have been many critiques of histories within art education (Acuff, 2013), there is still a lack of research around how to challenge and reconceptualize histories. A growing number of historians are interested in the ways that their own positionality affects their work. Scholars such as Crane (1997), Coloma (2011), Long (2005), and Roediger (2007), have been taking steps to acknowledge their positionality while writing history and the way that their position affected their entrance into their research. Crane (1997) argues that the addition of researcher positionality into histories "serves as a marker of the author's acceptance of subjective responsibility as well as a caution

against assuming the authority to speak for others" (p. 1384). While a growing number of historians are interested in putting their positionality forward as an additional layer of subjectivity, it is still rare for White historians to consider the impact of their own race or their complicity within a racialized system on how they interpret and understand Black history.

The only White art education historian I found writing about the issue of race in history was Stankiewicz (2013). Stankiewicz' investigation into the life and pedagogy of Frances Euphemia Thompson, a Black art educator and graduate from the Massachusetts Normal Art School, gave her insight into blind spots in her own interpretation of who art education is for and the ways that Thompson had to navigate her own identity. Stankiewicz' (2013) meditation on her own positionality as a White historian and its influence on her work begins the labor of untangling one's own assumptions, but I would argue it does not go far enough. Understanding ones' complicity with White supremacy also means engaging with the complicated relationship between White women and Black women.

The Limitations of White Womanhood

What does it mean for the future of black feminist studies that a large portion of the growing body of scholarship on black women is now being written by White feminists and by men whose work frequently achieves greater critical and commercial success than that of the black female scholars who carved out the field? (DuCille, 1994, p. 87)

In my own research, interrogating my positionality has meant uncovering and unpacking the complicated relationship between White women academics and Black women. There are specific limitations around my knowledge and understanding that are complicated by my status as a White woman. Rather than just being a White person, the specifics of White womanhood compounds my outsider status when attempting to theorize and craft a narrative about Black women, primarily due to the histories of tension between White feminism and Black feminism. Black women's voices have been historically excluded in academic feminist discourse through a failure of White women to recognize or challenge their own inherent racism (Alexander-Floyd, 2012). Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a Woman?" speech (1851, quoted in Siebler, 2010), Ida B. Wells-Barnett's exclusion from White women's suffrage movement (Parker, 2008), and the Combahee River Collective's (2017) statement are just a handful of the myriad demonstrations that Black women have had to confront White women's lack of understanding of the intersections of race and gender (see also Brown, 2018; Lugones, 2003; Ortega, 2006). In art education, a field that comprised mostly of White women, scholars of color have been forced to confront and challenge the normative Whiteness that often goes unstated and unexplored by both White scholars and White students (Acuff, 2018; Wilson et al, 2016). The co-opting of Black women's language and scholarship by White women without deep interrogation of their own complicity within White supremacy has left Black feminist scholars exhausted and frustrated (see Alexander-Floyd, 2012; DuCille, 1994; Lugones, 2003; Ortega, 2006; Wilson et al, 2016).

Whiteness shields White women from having to experience the overlapping and reinforcing marginalization of race and gender that Black women face. The protections offered under the law to White women have continuously failed to protect Black women (see Crenshaw, 1989; 1993), demonstrating the continued power imbalance that exists, even between shared genders. However, this has not stopped White women scholars from believing themselves experts on Black women, and appropriating the language of Black feminists due to the false equivalency of gendered oppression. DuCille's (1994) caution to how Black feminist studies has begun to be co-opted by White women researchers and Ortega's (2006) deconstruction of White female ignorance both point to the ways that the specific knowledge of Black women have become academic fodder for researchers within the dominant group. Ortega (2006) described the "lovingly, knowingly ignorant" (p. 61) ways that White women have listened to and use women of color's theorizations, without fully comprehending the real, lived experiences or stopping to think about the impact of their work. This knowing ignorance, therefore, continues to presuppose the White woman as a knowledge-producer over the woman of color, even when White women are using the language from Black feminists and feminists of color. For Ortega (2006), the issue of most White women feminists writing about women of color is in the desire to control "which woman of color gets to be let in the club, being able to speak for women of color, being able to feel that she is the one responsible for their salvation" (p. 68), and continuing to exert power of how women of color

use their voices. This ironic type of love, then, is the love of being able to occupy and use otherness without inhabiting it.

In relation to my work, I see myself as another White woman researcher in a line of White women researchers (see Cain, 2018; Hagedorn, 2020; Knupfer, 2006; Schlabach, 2013) attempting to define one particular Black woman's experience while unable to truly comprehend it. For both DuCille (1994) and Ortega (2006), White women must be cautious in our undertaking of Black women as individuals of study, as it is too easy for us to make sweeping generalizations rather than understanding the individual complexities of the narratives we explore. Historians need to make sure that their work is "not just thinking about race and racism but doing something about it" (Ortega, 2006, p. 71). In a primarily White field like art education, historians hoping to disrupt the majoritarian narrative need to deeply consider how they approach their research and the relationship between their positionality and their subjects'. Without this type of consideration, further knowingly ignorant research will be produced, possibly continuing to replicate power structures instead of doing something about it.

Reconsidering Positionality

After the panel discussion I mentioned in the opening of this article, I found myself frustrated at the ways that White women historians could so easily deemphasize their own theoretical and researcher positionalities and its impact within their work. I started this journey of interrogating my positionality in relation to my work because I knew that I did not want to reproduce and replicate harm onto Black historical subjects whose histories are still far too rare within art education. Additionally, many of the questions I have around Dr. Burroughs, the SSCAC, and Black art education in general have to just as much with the structures surrounding their obfuscation within the literature as they do with the details of their lives and legacies. While traditional histories within art education do need to be tackled and interrogated, I also believe there is another alternative methodology which actively encourages the use of the researcher's positionality within the project: that of microhistory.

Microhistories are small narratives of one particular individual, moment, or even object, that the historian examines in order to make broader observations about the time period (Stern, 2020). Microhistorians are not interested in writing *the* history of a particular moment; rather, they are interested in the ways that a history can illuminate greater understanding. Paul (2018) notes that microhistorians use small interactions and experiences to craft "an observational lens, or a point of view, onto larger landscapes and structures of history" (p. 64). Rather than the assumption of objectivity, microhistorians are very aware of the limitations of their work and frame these limitations—such as researcher positionality, time period, and scale—throughout the process of writing. As "this method clearly breaks with the traditional assertive, authoritarian form of discourse adopted by historians who present reality as objective" (Levi, 2001, p. 10), microhistorians are able to embrace theoretical and researcher positionalities while exploring the "micro-macro link" (Peltonen, 2001, p. 355) between a subject and the ways that their lives exemplified larger phenomena.

In doing the internal work of articulating my own theoretical and researcher positionality within my study, I realized the ways that a traditional historical narrative cannot truly encapsulate what I find so fascinating about Dr. Burroughs or her legacy. The bounds of typical historical studies have created a Bronzeville trapped under the weight of its own history, exhumed for its cultural memory but not seen as a living community (see Baldwin, 2016; Boyd, 2008). Does repeating Dr. Burroughs' story through another White lens just replicate this same power imbalance? A strict biographic interpretation also fails to consider the ways that Margaret likely kept parts of her narrative hidden and unknown as one way to protect herself and her agency. The concept of the singular individual as a historical subject fails to properly articulate the myriad of influences that Margaret herself articulates as important to her development as a community leader (Burroughs, 2003). In order to account for my new understanding, my approach had to change.

My research has since shifted from a biographical understanding to instead focusing on interpreting Dr. Burroughs' pedagogy as part of an educational lineage still underexplored within the histories of art education. Using microhistory, I am able to craft a macro-micro link between Dr. Burroughs' pedagogy, the history of Chicago, and Black art education. Focusing on what I can learn about her pedagogy

means using her words and actions to better understand her educational philosophies, and continually centering her own words and how she chose to define herself. By articulating the ways that Dr. Burroughs' teaching was informed by early and mid-twentieth century Black intellectual thought and her physical location within Chicago's Bronzeville neighborhood, connections can be made between the art classroom and the work of Black educational scholars such as Carter G. Woodson. Instead of an individual, I have begun to see Dr. Burroughs as a link that demonstrates the ways that Black art educators have always used art as a way to create and sustain cultural pride. Individualizing her narrative made Dr. Burroughs an outlier; by interpreting her through a new lens, many new possibilities of understanding many more Black art teachers emerges.

When considering the legacy of White women's failures to understand or stand in solidarity with Black women, it is crucially important that White historians in the female-dominated field of art education both acknowledge and actively confront this relationship. It is important to make sure that the histories of art education do not continue to push a White supremacist notion of education, even implicitly, through a lack of researcher self-reflection. The omissions of Black art educators from contemporary histories is silence that continues to marginalize and has the ability to continue to damage until corrected. Being able to see further examples of Black women art educators working in public and community settings further negates and challenges the belief that Black art educators were only important after the development of multiculturalism. By beginning to articulate both theoretical and researcher positionality, historians can begin to interrogate the ways that histories are constructed and actively engage with their own possible biases. While it is important for us to diversify our narratives and seek to highlight the legacies of BIPOC art educators, it is crucial that White historians do so in ways that interrogate ourselves first and foremost. In so doing, I hope to bring to the fore that within histories, theory should be everything.

References

Acuff, J. B. (2013). Discursive underground: Re-transcribing the history of art education using critical multicultural education. *Visual Inquiry, 2*(3), 219-231.

Acuff, J. B. (2018a). Black feminist theory in 21st-century art education research. *Studies in Art Education, 59*(3), 201-214.

Acuff, J. B. (2018b). Confronting racial battle fatigue and comforting my Blackness as an educator. *Multicultural Perspectives, 20*(3), 174-181.

Alexander-Floyd, N. G. (2012). Disappearing acts: Reclaiming intersectionality in the social sciences in a post-Black feminist era. *Feminist Formations, 24*(1), 1-25.

Baldwin, D. L. (2016). "It's not the location, it's the institution": The new politics of historical preservation within the heritage tourism economy. *Buildings & Landscapes, 23*(2), 6-22.

Bey, S. (2011). Aaron Douglas and Hale Woodruff: African American art education, gallery work, and expanded pedagogy. *Studies in Art Education, 52*(2), 112-126.

Bey, S. (2017). Augusta Savage: Sacrifice, social responsibility, and early African American art education. *Studies in Art Education, 58*(2), 125-140.

Bolin, P. E., Blandy, D. E., & Congdon, K. G. (2000). *Remembering others: Making invisible histories of art education visible*. National Art Education Association.

Bolin, P. E., & Kantawala, A. (2017). *Revitalizing history: Recognizing the struggles, lives, and achievements of African American and women art educators*. Vernon Press.

Boyd, M. (2008). *Jim crow nostalgia: Reconstructing race in Bronzeville*. University of Minnesota Press.

Brown, S. J. (2018). *I keep writing about White women's fragility and dog whistle aggression because they keep proving my point*. Black Youth Project. http://blackyouthproject.com/i-keep-writing-about-White-womens-fragility-and-dog-whistle-aggression-because-they-keep-proving-my-point/

Cain, M. A. (2018). *South side Venus: The legacy of Margaret Burroughs*. Northwestern University Press.

Collins, P. H. (2009). *Black feminist thought*. Routledge

Coloma, R. S. (2011). Who's afraid of Foucault? History, theory, and becoming subjects. *History of Education Quarterly, 51*(2), 184-210.

Coloma, R. S. (2018). Setting theory to work in history of education. *History of Education Review, 47*(1), 40-53.

Combahee River Collective (2017). A Black feminist statement. In K-Y. Taylor (Ed.), *How we get free: Black feminism* and

and the Combahee River Collective. Haymarket Books.
Conrad, S. (2016). *What is global history?* Princeton University Press.
Crane, S. A. (1997) Writing the individual back into collective memory. *American Historical Review, 102*(5), 1372-1385.
Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989*(1), 139-167.
Crenshaw, K. (1993). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*, 1241-1299.
Crowe, C. (1989). Black culture and White power: Notes on the history of historical perceptions. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly, 73*(2), 250-277.
Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review, 87*(8), 2411-2441.
Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (1995). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. Temple University Press.
Dozono, T. (2020). The passive voice of White supremacy: Tracing epistemic and discursive violence in world history curriculum. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies, 42*(1), 1-26.
Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folk*. Chicago, IL: A. C. McClurg & Co.
DuCille, A. (1994). *Skin trade*. Harvard University Press.
Garnet, D. (2017). Historying the past: New histories in art education. *Studies in Art Education, 58*(1), 39-50.
Hagedorn, O. M. (2020). "Chicago's Renaissance woman": The life, activism, and diasporic cultural feminism of Dr. Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*. DOI: 10.1080/17528631.2020.1726577
Hardy, D. A. (2017). The detrimental effects of McCarthyism on African American art institutions. In P.E. Bolin & A. Kantawala (Eds.) *Revitalizing history: Recognizing the struggles, lives, and achievements of African American and women art educators*. 141-152.
Hardy, D. A. (2018). And thus we shall survive: The perseverance of the South Side Community Art Center as a counter-narrative, 1938-1959. In A. Kraehe, R. Gatzambide-Fernandez, & B. Carpenter (Eds.) *Palgrave handbook of race and the arts in education*. (pp. 119-135). Palgrave Macmillan.
Hartman, S. (2007). *Lose your mother: A journey along the Atlantic slave route*. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux: New York.
Hartman, S. (2008). Venus in two acts. Small Axe 26 12(2), 1-14.
Henry, A. (2018). Power, politics, possibilities: Thoughts toward creating a Black digital oral history archive. *Language and Literacy, 20*(3), 89-99.
Hine, D. C. (1989). Rape and the inner lives of black women in the middle west. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14*(4), 912-920.
Holt, A. (2017). Mary E. Godfrey (1913-2007): Penn State's first African American full-time faculty member. *Studies in Art Education, 58*(3), p. 234-245.
Kantawala, A. (2012). Art education in colonial India: Implementation and imposition. *Studies in Art Education, 53*(3), 208-222.
Kantawala, A. (2020). Re-framing the past: Framing as a stance in the writing of history. *Studies in Art Education, 61*(3), 254-266.
Kelly, H. (2013). Toward a critical race biography of Marion Thompson Wright (1905-1962): Finding facts, pivoting race. *Vitae Scholasticae, 2013*, 43-65.
Knight, W. & Deng, Y. (2016). N/either here n/or there: Culture, location, positionality, and art education. V*isual Arts Research, 42*(2), 105-111.
Knupfer, A. M. (2006). *The Chicago Renaissance and Black women's activism*. University of Illinois Press.
Lawton, P. H. (2017). Hunting for Hunster: A portrait of Thomas Watson Hunster, art education pioneer in the District of Columbia. *Studies in Art Education, 58*(2), 100-114.
Levi, G. (2001). On microhistory. In P. E. Burke (Ed.) *New Perspectives in Historical Writing* (97-119). University Park: Penn State University Press.
Lugones, M. (1987). Playfulness, "world"-travelling, and loving perception. *Hypatia, 2*(2), 3-19.
Mavigliano, G. J., & Lawson, R. A. (1990). *The Federal Art Project in Illinois*. Southern Illinois Press.
Miller, R., Liu, K., & Ball, A. F. (2020). Critical counter-narrative as transformative methodology for education equity. *Review of Research in Education*, 44, 269-300.
Milner, H. R., & Howard, T. C. (2013). Counter-narrative as method: Race, policy and research for teacher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 16*(4), 536-561.
Neufeld, D. (2006). Ethics in the practice of public history with aboriginal communities. *The Public Historian, 28*(1), 117-121.
Ortega, M. (2006). Being lovingly, knowingly ignorant: White feminism and women of color. *Hypatia, 21*(3), 56-74.
Osterud, G. (2018). Doing grassroots public history. In J. A. Gallagher & B. Winslow (Eds.), *Reshaping women's history: Voices of nontraditional women historians*, 153-165. University of Illinois Press.
Parker, M. (2008). Desiring citizenship: A rhetorical analysis of the Wells/Willard controversy. *Women's Studies in Communication, 31*(1), 56-78.
Partner, N., & Foot, S. (2013). T*he SAGE handbook of historical theory. SAGE.*
Paul, J. (2018). What is microhistory? *Social Evolution & History, 17*(2), 64-82.

Peete, I. A. (2020). *A historical study on the implications of* Brown v. The Board of Education *on Black art educators* [unpublished master's thesis]. The Ohio State University.
Peltonen, M. (2001). Clues, margins, and monads: The micro-macro link in historical research. *History and Theory, 40*(3), 347-359.
Rocksborough-Smith, I. (2018). *Black public history in Chicago: Civil rights activism from World War II into the Cold War.*
Roediger, D. R. (2007). *The Wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. E-book, Verso.
Schlabach, E. S. (2013). *Along the streets of Bronzeville: Black Chicago's literary landscape.* University of Illinois Press.
Seibler, K. (2010). Far from the truth: Teaching the politics of Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a woman?". *Pedagogy: Critical Approaches to Teaching Literature, Language, Composition, and Culture, 10*(3), 511-533.
Stankiewicz, M. A. (1997). Historical research methods in art education. In S. LaPierre & E. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Research methods and methodologies for art education* (57-73). National Art Education Association.
Stankiewicz, M. A. (2013). Negotiating historical interpretation and White privilege in histories of art education. *Visual Inquiry, 2*(3), 207-218.
Taylor, U. (2008). Women in the documents: Thoughts on uncovering the personal, political, and professional. *Journal of Women's History, 20*(1), 187-196.
Thompson, P. (1978). The voice of the past: Oral history. Oxford University Press.
Thorpe, E. E. (1971). Black historians: A cultural critique. William Morrow.
Wilson, G. J., Shields, S. S., Guyotte, K. W., & Hofsess, B. A. (2016). Desirable difficulties: Toward a critical postmodern arts-based practice. *Journal of Social Theory in Art Education, 36*, 114-125.