CHAPTER 1

# (R)evolution of Qualitative Inquiry

*Rosa found herself alienated in research courses because she was hyperaware that traditional research practices did not fully consider her position as a marginalized person in society. The texts she was assigned to read were written mostly by white men (and some white women) and explored how to "capture" reality. The word capture has a differential meaning for many Black, Indigenous, and other people of color (BIPOC) whose ancestors were captured and either annihilated or enslaved. Rosa longed for a research approach that spoke to the ways in which research had been and continues to be weaponized against her and her community. When Rosa read about decolonized research, it made sense to her, and yet, she wondered if it was possible to actually do decolonized research within the walls of an institution that some of her ancestors may have built for free while enslaved. In theory courses, Rosa had been introduced to critical race theory and intersectionality and often wondered how these theories related to research and to the questions she was raising about the nature and purposes of research. She longed to know how to put everything together but, unfortunately, there was no class or book on how to do that.*

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The questions Rosa has been pondering in this current moment are questions that we, Jennifer and Venus, have asked ourselves throughout our careers as scholars and teachers of qualitative research. We became critical scholars upon being exposed to critical theories because these theories put into words what we had been experiencing in life. Intersectionality was one such theory. Intersectionality originated within Black feminism, and it asserts that there is no singular oppression. Instead, our race, gender, class, sexuality, and other identities are entangled and, thus, it is difficult to parse out why someone has been or continues to be oppressed. This theory is the crux of our book and we will define it more thoroughly soon. For now, we want to explain to you that if you are questioning things, the way Rosa is, you are not alone. We have asked similar questions for the past twenty years and, with each article or book we wrote or with each class we taught, we have generated partial answers.

Our careers (as detailed in Evans-Winters & Esposito, 2019) have been marked by this push and pull between true decolonization and keeping our jobs to

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sustain our livelihood. On the one hand, we read critical theories that interrogated the nature of race and racism as well as asserted the complexity of oppression. On the other hand, we pushed up against a traditional research system without ever dismantling it completely. We played by the rules, so to speak, by citing the lineage of researchers who we were taught had built the field. We knew there had to be a better way. Though we pushed against the system slowly, we remained confined within it. It is difficult to dismantle a system that you are actively a part of, and we were firmly entrenched in academia as we journeyed toward tenure and promotion. Both of us are full professors now and we have proven ourselves in many ways. We were successful in having been measured against traditional research and scholarship. Yet, we still are clawing our way out of traditional approaches to qualitative research because, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states,

> From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term "research" is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, "research", is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. (p. 1)

In this book, you will see us grapple with the traditions of research while centering intersectionality. Like all texts, this text is incomplete and there are things that we left out. Twenty years from now, when conducting intersectional research is as common as conducting an ethnography, people may look back on this text and point out gaps we didn't address or flaws in our thinking. We encourage that. We are writing in a moment when academic libraries are full of articles on the theory of intersectionality. But few scholars have attempted to turn the theory into a methodological approach. This book breaks ground in that we have tried to account for the "how to" of intersectional research. Many of you may be familiar with the theory but may never have learned how to put the theory in practice in the design and conduct of intersectional research. As the field of intersectional research deepens, so too will all of our understandings about best practices or ways to do this. For now, you will see some familiar elements of qualitative research (i.e., research design, data collection, data analysis) but you will see it discussed within the centering of intersectionality. At the root of everything we do in research, we need to be sure we are thinking/acting with intersectionality in mind and enacting intersectionality at all times.

The field of qualitative research is contested terrain and not everyone will agree with who we cite or what we say. You will face this issue as well and, thus, we encourage you to find like minds early on. When you read something that speaks to you, save it, make notes on it, cite it. As a researcher, it will be your job to teach us how to see you and how to interpret what you've done. If you see us citing someone multiple times, you can rest assured that their work spoke to us and continues to speak to us.


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In this chapter, we will define intersectionality more fully, trace the lineage of research in general and qualitative research more specifically, and discuss how intersectionality can and should be used in qualitative research. This chapter and the next one are pretty dense theoretically but that is only because we want you to understand that intersectionality means more than being a Black or Brown woman and being oppressed due to the entanglement of your race and gender. We take you through the evolution of both intersectionality and qualitative research. So, be patient with us as we lay out this landscape for you. After we are done laying this out, we will review common aspects of qualitative research that you must consider as you develop a research project. You will see chapters on ethics, methodology, data collection, data analysis, and writing it all up.

## Introduction to Intersectionality

Intersectionality evolved from several human struggles of resistance to domination, civil rights movements, social conditions, sets of social experiences, epistemological ruminations, and disciplinary camps, including the abolitionist movement, women's movement, civil rights movement, Afrocentric/womanist movement, Chicano movement, Black feminist theory, critical race theory, and so on. Women of color feminists throughout history have been concerned with how intersectional identities shape their own lives. For example, when Sojourner Truth asked "Ain't I a woman?" at the Seneca Falls Convention on Women's Rights, she was articulating how difficult it was to be both a woman and African. Black women could not be located within deliberations on civil or human rights. The African woman shackled by white supremacy, chattel slavery, and patriarchy was not considered a full human being nor an actual woman, legally or scientifically, which made it nearly impossible for anyone, except for herself, to articulate and justify her civil liberties.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when or where intersectionality was born, most critical theorists agree that Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term *intersectionality* in 1991 to describe how Black women experienced workplace racial and gender discrimination due to multiple intersecting identities. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) defines *intersectionality* as "the location of women of color both within overlapping systems of subordination and at the margins of feminism and antiracism" (p. 1265). Specifically, Crenshaw argued that Black women were not hired by industries that recruited women applicants because they were not white women; Black women were not hired by industries that recruited Black people because Black women were not men.

In other words, Black women were discriminated against by employees who privileged white women and those who privileged male workers. Crenshaw went on to argue that Black women received no special consideration before the courts, because the discrimination and forms of exclusion that Black women confronted in the labor force did not affect all women (i.e., white females) nor did it affect all


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Black people (i.e., their Black male counterparts). Black women workers such as Sojourner Truth, who were discriminated against for their race and gender status in the United States (U.S.), were falling between the cracks of racial and gender protections. Intersectionality as theory entails analysis that includes acknowledging that such a crack exists and how individuals and groups resist falling through the cracks and advocate strategically against power regimes that create such cracks.

Hence, theorists who embody an intersectional perspective consider how people are multiply situated and how coercive power and systematic oppression cannot be fully understood by asynchronous examinations of structural or relational power. Intersectionality recognizes that identities are mutually interlocking as well as relational (Berger & Guidroz, 2009; Collins, 1998). Prior conceptions of societal relationships regarded social identity as additive and ordinal, with one identity being the primary identity and most important identity while other identities were subsequent or secondary to the main identity (Evans-Winters & Esposito, 2019).

A singular analytical focus on one identity ignored and erased the multiple identities and lived realities of women of color and others who were impacted in multifarious ways by systemic inequality and thus were more vulnerable to structural violence. Intersectionality concerns itself with the multiple ways in which one's identity makes one simultaneously invisible and hypervisible. And born out of standpoint theory (Collins, 2000; Smith, 1983), intersectionality as an analytical and methodological tool presupposes that the multiple perspectives of the marginalized and oppressed offer unique and, at times, divergent viewpoints of the social world and thus research experience.

Accordingly, intersectionality as research methodology is about contemplating, interrogating, naming, and simultaneously reclaiming and rejecting that nexus between the *known and unknown*, *invisible and (hyper)visible*, and *humanizing and dehumanizing*. Further, besides intersectionality as advocacy and political strategy, intersectionality might be considered as a vantage point and embodiment. Intersectional viewpoints contemporaneously concern themselves with racial domination and gender-based oppression along with other forms of discrimination related to social class, sexuality, disability, language, citizenship status, religion, age, and so on.

Intersectionality goes beyond simplistic one-dimensional critiques and analyses of power and domination, such as traditional feminism's singular focus on gender oppression. Instead, intersectional methodologies juxtapose social categories to systems of power and social phenomena to power relations. Consequently, qualitative inquiry from an intersectional perspective unashamedly and ardently concedes that individuals can be multiply situated in the world and, thus, the researcher must be prepared to accept complexity as a part of the research process.

We present intersectionality throughout the book as a methodological matrix of analysis (which includes ethical considerations) and interrogations of relationships embedded in power and influence. Intersectionality has been described as a theoretical framework born out of the lived experiences of Black women and other critical race feminists of color. Intersectionality is both a theory and a methodology that recognizes that oppression cannot be understood as additive or in terms


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of a single axis. Single-axis methods and modes of analysis privilege one form of oppression over others and presumes that all members of one category of race, for example, will have the same experiences by virtue of being in the same group (Grzanka, 2014). These single-axis methods position racism, sexism, and classism as parallel instead of as intersecting.

As human beings, we have several markers of identities such as race, class, gender, and sexuality along with other individual and group identities that are then enmeshed within systems of oppression. These systems of oppression sustain social inequality at the systemic level. Collins (2000) refers to this as the "matrix of domination" and explains how interlocking and mutually reinforcing systems of domination sustain themselves. As an example, Crenshaw's (1991) analysis of Anita Hill as both Black and a woman (part of two oppressive regimes—racism and sexism) instead of as a woman (presumed white) or a Black person (presumed male) was integral to illustrating how multiple oppressions shape a person's legal outcomes. Oppression must be understood as intersecting, interlocking, and co-constitutive because that is how it is lived (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991).

We do not mean to give the impression that intersectionality began with Crenshaw's analysis of the Anita Hill case. This moment in history is important because it did allow intersectionality to move from a more specialized form in critical legal studies to a wider use across disciplines. However, intersectionality predates Crenshaw's and Collins's use of it. Intersectionality's origins are difficult to neatly map out, given that historically, the theory has been discussed in various ways in different social movements. The earliest forms of intersectionality date back to women of color activists in the 19th century (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Grzanka, 2014). Sojourner Truth, Maria Stewart, Ida B. Wells, and Anna Julia Cooper are only a few of the Black women activists whose writing and political speeches included attention to embodied ways of knowing as well as the systemic oppression they lived within given their race, class, and gender positions (Cooper, 2017).

The use of intersectionality within women of color's political and activist work continued. Because various U.S. social movements within the 1960s and 1970s were often framed around men's concerns, many women of color continually pressed for recognition of their unique contexts. Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga, who were early Chicana feminist intersectional scholars wrote important work (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015/1983) that allowed women of color to speak from their multiple positionalities. There were also other women of color scholars/activists who wrote from the standpoint of being multiply oppressed and argued directly against many of the single-axis social movements such as Black Power, feminism, and Asian American activism, to name a few (Lim & Tsutakawa, 1989; Smith, 1983).

Methodologically, intersectionality is presented throughout this book as a tool to examine the ways in which multiple oppressions manifest in a person's life (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991). From a critical race feminist perspective, intersectionality concerns itself with how racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and xenophobia, and other interlocking systems of oppression impede on the rights and dignity of women of color, Indigenous communities, queer women, youth of


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color, poor and working-class people, and other similarly situated subjugated people. The rest of this chapter provides a more in-depth discussion of the evolution of intersectionality theory.

Reframing critical qualitative inquiry from an intersectional perspective is a starting point in efforts to de-marginalize the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and decolonize our research methodologies (Smith, 2012). Intersectionality as a methodological tool in qualitative inquiry pursuits also serves as a conceptual device for the consideration and interpretation of how social forces construct theory and praxis and how theory and praxis construct political-economic forces and body politics.

As you think about conducting intersectional research, we invite you to reflect upon the following questions: How might qualitative research take up intersectionality in all its complexities? How can intersectionality as a critical methodology help critical scholars radically excogitate matrixes of domination across social contexts, relationships, and academic disciplines? As a praxis, how might intersectionality as a methodological device move qualitative inquirers toward critical action as we strive for humanization, democratization, and emancipatory pedagogies?

## Evolution of Qualitative Research

Some of you may be brand-new to the field of qualitative research, so we are going to start from the beginning. Qualitative research has been metaphorically described as a bricolage, a montage, quilt-making, and musical improvisation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and, more recently, as a mosaic (Evans-Winters, 2019). The dynamism and cultural malleability of qualitative research projects, approaches, and interpretative processes makes it nearly impossible to assign one single definition to qualitative research methods. We might agree that qualitative research is an interpretative project that produces text(s) as a set of representations, and it is these sets of interconnected representations that connect parts of the whole of qualitative research. However, an interweaving (Sherman & Torbert, 2013) of all of the threads of qualitative research shares a familiar relatedness in characteristics and features.

Qualitative inquiry typically encompasses an intentional contemplation of meaning making in the examination of human behavior and interactions across and within social contexts. Denzin and Lincoln (2000), in an attempt to synthesize the landscape of qualitative research, suggest that qualitative research moves toward interpretative theory; contends with politics of representation; partakes in textual analysis of literary and cultural forms, including their processes of production, distribution, and consumption; and explores novel pedagogical and interpretative praxes that serve to collectively instigate critical cultural analysis in our teachings inside classroom spaces. Qualitative research takes an interpretive and naturalistic approach to the study of social and cultural phenomenon and consists of a set of interpretive practices that endeavors to make social life more known through a series of analytical representations.


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Accordingly, the task of the qualitative researcher is to "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). Gubrium and Holstein (1997) succinctly articulated,

> The commanding focus of much qualitative research is on questions such as what is happening, what are people doing, and what does it mean to them? The questions address the content of meaning as articulated through social interaction and as mediated by culture. The resulting research mandate is to describe reality in terms of what it naturally is. (p. 14)

Further, qualitative research concerned with *how* questions emphasize the production of meaning and *how* the production of everyday life is accomplished in each setting (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997).

Qualitative researchers seek to assiduously investigate the everyday interactions and taken-for-granted happenings of individuals and groups while seeking to interpret what those conscious and dysconscious (King, 1991) happenings mean to the social actors themselves. Just as importantly, qualitative researchers attempt to comprehend the role of cultural forces on individuals' and groups' (a) behaviors and interactions, (b) interpretations of those behaviors and interactions, and (c) values, beliefs, and attitudes. Thus, qualitative research concern lies in the depiction of the reality of social life in what some might assume is in its "naturally" occurring state but also what seem to be patterns of social forces occurring in a setting. From an intersectional perspective, qualitative pursuits concern themselves with all the aforementioned but also with the political and/or intellectual intent to understand how people come to garner collective agency, resilience, and forms of resistance against oppressive institutions, policies, and practices.

Although there are a shared set of presuppositions that determine the theoretical and pragmatic work that qualitative researchers set out to accomplish as scientists, qualitative research as a field of inquiry is interdisciplinary, multifarious, and informed by many genres. Since the early 1900s, qualitative research, as we know it today, has endured through many evolutions. These evolutions within the U.S. have been conveniently explained as "moments" that occurred in a somewhat linear fashion and yet, Denzin (2001) notes, all moments "operate in the present" (p. 25). Not all qualitative researchers agree with the way these moments have been outlined and many would argue that they were never as linear as they are made to appear. We find this linear overview useful and we discuss each moment in further detail. The eight moments are outlined as follows (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 2004):

- **The first moment.** Represents the traditional moment (1900–1950) and is associated with the positivist paradigms and notions of objective science. Researchers (i.e., the lone ethnographer) wrote objective colonizing accounts of their observations in the field.


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- **The second moment**. Signifies the modern or golden age (1950–1970) phase in which qualitative researchers attempted to position their pursuits and research products as formalized and rigorous, similar to quantitative traditions.
- **The third moment.** Denotes blurred genres (1970–1986) and a time when the humanities became a resource for the critical interpretation and exemplification of qualitative research projects.
- **The fourth moment.** Characterizes the crisis of representation (1986–1990) and marks a point in qualitative history in which researchers called for systematic reflection of their own beliefs and values.
- **The fifth moment.** Characterizes the postmodern period of new ethnographies (1990–2000) in which researchers and audiences began to challenge grand narratives. There was an ideological turn toward multiple realities and socially constructed truths and research was characterized by specific, local, and historical representations.
- **The sixth moment.** Represents postexperimental inquiry (1995–2000) in which qualitative research was linked with democratic policies and no discourse had a privileged place. Qualitative researchers began to use performative strategies to communicate their findings.
- **The seventh moment.** Indicative of the methodologically contested period (2000–2004) and included more intentional conversations about the limitations and possibilities of qualitative research. Questions about race, class, gender, sexuality, and location arose in research pursuits.
- **The eighth moment.** Representative of the fractured future (2005–present) and includes interrogations into the innocence of qualitative research and research in general. Written cogitations about who is the known and who is the knower, the purposes of research, and pushback against authority and authorial voices are prevalent.

The traditional period of qualitative research begins in the early 1900s, with early iterations akin to anthropology and continued until World War II. During this period, researchers (primarily white European anthropologists) traveled to distant lands and set out to write "objective" accounts of their observations and interpretations of their encounters. However, many scholars of today, and some of the past—including Black scholars such as W. E. B. DuBois, Zora Neal Hurston, John St. Clair Drake, and Frantz Fanon—might describe their accounts as simply fragments of the colonizers' imagination. The purpose of the research was to justify and learn how to colonize better and more efficiently. Indeed, all research was a colonial project that relied on a deficit notion of the *Other* or the *Savage* (Bishop, 1998; Smith et al., 2002). Research became the groundwork for reporting and representing this Other and was intimately linked to the colonial project that

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sought to dominate and control. As Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith (2008) argued, "as agents of colonial power, Western scientists discovered, extracted, appropriated, commodified, and distributed knowledge about the indigenous other" (p. 5). In no uncertain terms, anthropology was an agent of Western domination. Falling under the positivist science paradigm, the white European colonizer anthropologist claimed to offer the scientific world valid, reliable, and objective firsthand accounts of his experiences in the field.

These lone ethnographers' colorful representations asserted laws and generalizations of the cultural Other, which became depicted as scientific truth. Of course, this is the history of anthropological research that many of us were taught. But, similar to much of the knowledge that is privileged in the academy, it is not the whole truth and this tale seeks to continue to privilege a Western way of knowing over an Indigenous way of knowing. Margaret Bruchac, an Indigenous anthropologist, used archival and oral history data to engage in what she termed *reverse ethnography*—the practice of reenvisioning relationships between anthropologists and their informants. Although much early anthropological work is characterized by the lone ethnographer's account, Bruchac's work revealed that "despite class, gender, and ethnic divides, anthropology was often a collaborative endeavor. Indigenous individuals were enlisted as guides, interpreters, artisans, procurers, and translators. These relationships began to blur the roles of anthropologist/informant, kin/outsider, and collector/collected" (2018, p. 9). The early anthropological accounts we read today were filtered through a Western lens and were written for an audience who expected and needed this exotic Other to be presented as savage to justify colonialization, religious domination, and scientific exploration. Bruchac uncovered personal letters that were written to anthropologists by Indigenous informants who criticized the Western interpretations. According to Bruchac, these Indigenous informants "rarely gained credit as intellectual equals. Their efforts were largely obscured by power relations and cataloguing practices that separated people from objects, objects from communities, and communities from their stories" (p. 10). The residual effects of the traditional moment are still very much present in qualitative research. Even today, anthropologists specifically and qualitative researchers in general grapple with the notion of telling a community's story without "othering their research participants, exploiting them, or leaving them voiceless in the telling of their own stories," (Liamputtong, 2007, p. 165).

Much of the traditional moment, which spilled over and influenced the second moment (or modern phase), is representative of present-day ethnographic texts and didactics. Building on the convention of the traditional period, the modernist phase yielded texts that appeared to provide insight not only into other cultural worlds but also introspective literatures of the author's worldview. These insights were posited as objective and rigorous studies of social life. The intent during this moment was to formalize qualitative research so it could be recognized as legitimate.

Described as postpositivism by Denzin and Lincoln (2000), the second moment of qualitative research was marked by standardization, generalization,


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frequency and patterns (of behavior), and causality. This period was noted for qualitative researchers of positivist and postpositivist leanings. On the one hand, qualitative researchers compared their cultural productions to quantitative research while on the other hand, they believed that their role was to represent the marginalized in society. At this time, sociologists also began to greatly influence the field of qualitative research (mainly the sociologists at the University of Chicago during the first half of the 1900s). These sociologists later became known as part of the "Chicago school."

As described by Cortese (1995),

> Chicago sociology methodological innovations occurred, chronologically, between earlier social surveys, aimed at social reform, and later highly scientific social surveys. Some of the distinctive research methods linked to Chicago sociology are personal documents, intensive field research, documentary sources, social mapping, and ecological analysis. (p. 238)

The Chicago school of sociology particularly influenced the field of qualitative inquiry. Sociologists who blended the social sciences and called for interdisciplinary approaches and reflexivity, drawing upon symbolic interactionism, sought to understand behavioral patterns. What distinguished members of the Chicago school from anthropologists at the time is that sociologists from the Chicago school decided to investigate the Other within their nation-state. Thus, instead of traveling to foreign lands, these sociologists investigated the colonized people living among them, including racialized minorities, ethnic and immigrant groups, sexual minorities, the southern poor, prostitutes, alcoholics, and urbanized cultures (Blumer, 1967; Bulmer, 1984; Humphreys, 1970; Wirth, 1928).

Taking the stance that reality was a social construction (Blumer, 2000), reminiscent of popular research methodologies of later qualitative phases, the Chicago school is known for the case study approach; historical analysis, which embraced the use of autobiographies, diaries, and personal letters; and the statistical method. There was a sequence in the use of methods during the process of a research project. An emphasis was placed on the study of subcultures and necessitated field research and participant observation. The Chicago school's prominence began to fade in the late 1960s and was followed by the *blurred genres* moment of qualitative research.

The blurred genres (1970–1986) moment stands out as a time in which the humanities became a resource for the critical interpretation and exemplification of qualitative research projects. During this period, researchers not only pushed back against "tales from the field," but they also constructed counter-narratives by presenting participation observation as stories, artistic formations, and literary representations of social life. In this phase, researchers such as Geertz (1973) called for "thick description"—thinking and reflecting on symbolic acts—and generalizations within cases as opposed to across cases. The focus on thick description in ethnographic work is still present in much of qualitative research as traces of the fourth moment.

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Whereas much of the responsibility of the researcher in the third moment was to provide a detailed account of what the researcher observed or the analysis of the artifacts collected, the fourth moment marked an emphasis on the researcher's values, beliefs, and understandings of what was under observation and their own set of lived experiences. During this period, qualitative researchers began to question their own assumptions and biases and explore how such preconceptions about the social world and social identities influenced their approaches to research and interpretations of what they saw, smelled, or heard. By the sixth moment, influenced by the fourth (1986–1990) and fifth moment (1990–2000), ideas regarding the role the researcher plays in the creation of the research became a part of research discourse. Terms such as *positionality* (the researcher's subject position especially in relation to the researched's position) and researcher *reflexivity* (self-awareness and criticality of the researcher's subjectivity) became commonplace topics of discussion for researchers. Revelations of one's own beliefs and experiences and how they (un)intentionally shaped the research became important expectations of the written record.

For example, in *Writing Up Qualitative Research*, Harry Wolcott (2001) pointed out that participant observation has become virtually synonymous with ethnography and fieldwork. Therefore, he argues that it is essential that the researcher details exactly how participant observation played out in the research process. Research became recognized for the embodied practice that it is, and with that recognition came an understanding of the need to interrogate the researcher's subjectivities because research is "fully embodied in the sense that all of who we are—spiritually, emotionally, physically, and intellectually—is part and parcel of the research process" (Edwards & Esposito, 2019). Many qualitative researchers began to explore their own proximity to privilege and power while others openly claimed the margins and/or (re)claimed the center (Lather, 1992; Tillman, 2002; Villenas, 2000). For example, Tillman (2002) describes culturally sensitive research as those approaches to the study of education "that place the cultural knowledge and experiences of African Americans at the center of the inquiry and emphasize the relationship of the researcher to the individual or the community under study" (p. 6).

With no distinct lines of demarcation, the seventh (2000–2004) and eighth (current) moments in qualitative research distorted the disciplinary/cultural boundaries between research and literature and performance and art (Bochner & Ellis, 2002; Ellis, 2004). At present, more qualitative researchers than ever grapple with the meaning of research in the first place: Who does research benefit? What is the role of research in larger freedom struggles? Who benefits and profits from research? And how might research be used to transform communities and counter hegemonic institutions? The role of research within academia has been necessarily interrogated for its role in propagating what Delgado Bernal and Villalpando (2002) termed an *apartheid of knowledge*. Chela Sandoval (2013) notes that this racialized apartheid between knowledges that are accepted in academia (Eurocentric epistemologies) and culturally informed knowledges continues to marginalize

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research produced outside of these Eurocentric ideological frames. While research based on Eurocentric theories is viewed as objective, Indigenous and racially sensitive research is viewed as inherently biased and non-rigorous (Buendia, 2003).

Critical qualitative researchers have actively located qualitative research within the colonial project, claiming that this research relies too much on a deficit perspective of the Other (see Bhattacharya, 2009; Bishop, 1998; Dillard, 2000). Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith (2008) place Indigenous and critical researchers in the eighth moment of qualitative research because researchers are "performing culture as they write it" (p. 4). As part of the eighth moment, intersectionality as a research methodology was born out of critical theories, activists' praxis, and multiple ways of knowing. It crosses cultural bridges and epistemological borders and recognizes that all critical research must be grounded within the specific cultural meanings, traditions, and understandings of the culture(s) under study. In the next section, we explore in more detail the evolution of intersectionality as both theory and methodology. By acknowledging that research is a significant site of struggle (Smith, 2012), we propose intersectionality as a tool of intervention.

## Centering Intersectionality in Qualitative Inquiry

Black feminist, mother, lesbian, and poet Audre Lorde once stated in a 1979 conference during a panel presentation:

> Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference; those of us who are poor, lesbians, who are black, who are older, know that *survival is not an academic skill*. It is learning how to stand alone, unpopular and sometimes reviled, and how to make common cause with those others identified as outside the structures, in order to define and seek a world in which we can all flourish. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at this own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. (p. 95)

We see Lorde's 1979 proclamation above as a call to action for qualitative researchers who seek to become change agents. Lorde emphasized that marginalization and the social status of the Other—and sometimes hatred of the Other—shapes the consciousness and actions of minoritized women. For Lorde, it is from lived experience and this consciousness that forms of resilience and resistance arise.

Lorde's insight raises multiple questions for qualitative research. First, how might one's lived experiences shape our research questions? How might a critical consciousness informed by one's multiple realities influence our relationships with research participants? How might an intersectional perspective inform research reflexivity or how we understand the role of personal taste, biases, struggles,


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identities, and privilege in the research process? How can we take into consideration differences in our research interpretations and analysis? As qualitative researchers investigating the social world from an intersectional perspective, we enter the research process with the intent to make any real or perceived differences between researchers and research participants a strength.

You may be wondering what Lorde means by "the master's tools" referenced above. The master's tools are state apparatuses of control, manipulation, and surveillance, including all forms of scientific investigation. This means that scientific research, including qualitative research, is a tool of the master. The proverbial "master's house" above refers to white supremacist patriarchal capitalism and its ghostly apparition in academic research and discourse. We discussed previously how research has functioned as a colonial project. It has been allowed to do so invisibly because when researchers of color have called it out, we have been silenced with claims regarding our biases or agendas.

> Because identity and/or body politics is our starting point, positivist researchers charge that our studies only work to explain what we already believe to be true. We push back on this perspective because it does not interrogate how "neutrality" itself is a particular standpoint steeped in relations of domination. (Edwards & Esposito, 2019, p. 49)

We will no longer remain silent. We will continue to call out research as a colonial project and continue to teach about ways to do decolonized research. Intersectional research is one such approach. Intersectionality as methodology attempts to directly take up the fact that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. Instead, we need new tools—in this case, new ways of conducting research—in order to call out and disrupt oppressive regimes. In order to think intersectionally and to use intersectional methodology and methods, we must accept the following claims:

1. Academe or formal education represents only one way of getting to know the social world. Assumptions and theories about social relationships and institutional authority are also born out of having to survive under hostile conditions and (unequal) power relationships.

2. We must accept our own lived experience and how it shapes our critical consciousness and approach to the research process.

3. We must embrace differences within and across communities to better understand the social world and how our research participants, especially those multiply marginalized, operate within and across communities.

4. Research is the opportunity to learn with and from the Other; we challenge the assumption that researchers only have something to give or take from participants.


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5. We seek a collaborative research experience in which our differences can help us imagine a better world where we all can do more than coexist; we can thrive together.

Intersectionality as methodology is a complementary tool—to other forms of knowledge—for combating white racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, elitism, ageism, xenophobia, ableism, and ethnocentrism in qualitative research practices and paradigms.

## Decolonizing Methodologies

By ignoring power differentiations across race, class, and gender and the effects of social exclusion on individuals' and groups' choices in our research paradigms and relationships, qualitative researchers inadvertently maintain the status quo under the guise of *mutually beneficial* (Coburn et al., 2013) partnerships. However, as Lorde expressed in her panel discussion, the master's (theoretical and methodological) tools

> may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support. (p. 95)

Not much can change when qualitative researchers only find comfort in age-old academic modus operandi built on segregation, marginalization, and hierarchy. With Lorde's main point in mind, we cannot expect societal transformation out of qualitative research if it only periodically invites researchers of color and other marginalized people to the table, if it is expected that we will continue to borrow the same old theories, if we engage in the same old methodologies, and if we embrace the same old buffet of protocols set before us by the beneficiaries of academic apartheid.

Presented as an oppositional paradigm, intersectionality begins with the standpoint that the marginalized and Othered have our own ways of knowing, doing, and interpreting our social and political circumstances. "It appalls us to know that the West can desire, extract, and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce," points out Smith (2012), "and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations" (p. 1). Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that academic research has historically erased Indigenous people from human history and scientific knowledge. Indigenous people, colonized people, enslaved people, poor people, immigrants, women, and prisoners across the world have been vetted as objects of science but not as meaningful producers of knowledge, culture, or scientific methodologies.

Academic research has a way of ordaining the qualitative researcher as "the expert" of a social group or cultural community but only if the researcher is not a


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member of that social group or cultural community. Indeed, academia still privileges researchers who study the proverbial Other, who cross race, class, and gender lines in order to make known and make palpable the dangerous Other. This qualitative researcher is rewarded (e.g., tenure, publications, keynote presentations, salary increases, etc.) for having extensively studied and *captured* in their research *exhibitions*[1] the practices, norms, rituals, and beliefs of a specific cultural group or cultural context. The assumption is that in their copious accounts of people, places, and things, the qualitative researcher has accurately portrayed the beneficial evidence (i.e., data, artifacts, etc.) needed to understand a group to solve a social problem—whatever that social problem might be—and its impact on the rest of the civilized world.

Such social problems are typically referred to as the *research problem*; other times, the problem is never specifically exposed but is implied as indicated by codified phrases such as *research implications*, *suggestions for policy or practice*, or *implications for future research*. The assumption is that the researcher is accessing the research context for the greater good of humanity or in the "spirit of scientific exploration" itself. In *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012), Smith writes,

> Many researchers, academics and project workers may see the benefits of their particular research projects as serving a greater good "for mankind," or serving a specific emancipatory goal for an oppressed community. But belief in the ideal that benefiting mankind is indeed a primary outcome of scientific research is as much a reflection of ideology as it is of academic training. It becomes so taken for granted that many researchers simply assume that they as individuals embody this ideal and are natural representatives of it when they work with other communities. (p. 2)

In the search for "serving the greater good," there is little or no acknowledgement of the labor and cultural insights shared by the community participants of the particular social phenomena studied. For example, how did the Samoan mothers and daughters of Margaret Mead's (1928) ethnography benefit from the study? This classical text was required reading in many undergraduate sociology and women studies courses and graduate research programs. Mead was lauded for doing the groundbreaking work of actually talking to women and girls instead of focusing on chiefs, political systems, and war/conflicts. While Mead's work is important for recognizing that women and girls had something important to say, the question remains as to what they gained for teaching Mead about their lives and culture. In the not-so-distant past, qualitative researchers loved to say (and still sometimes say) they "give voice" to their participants, as if the participants are voiceless. The girls and women in Mead's study were not voiceless but they were

[1] We have noted in italics the terms *captured* and *exhibitions* because, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, these are colonial terms that have become commonplace in qualitative research. We encourage you to become cognizant of how easy it is to emulate the colonial relationship in research and to continue to push against that practice.

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silent because their ways of knowing were not considered important until a white researcher validated them. Intersectional research understands from the beginning what is at stake in continuing to invalidate cultural knowledge while at the same time privileging Eurocentric knowledge.

In this current moment of qualitative research, many students of research might problematize the taken-for-granted observations and suppositions put forth in classical research texts, but hardly in our research graduate programs do we bring attention to the fact that the majority of our qualitative research theories, research how-to handbooks, and professors represent and are grounded in white Western middle-class culture. The descendants of the colonizers profit from their inheritance of stolen culture and consumption of Indigenous ethos.

Paradoxically, qualitative research is a knowledge economy at once built on distortions of Indigenous people, lands, and culture and draws upon the observable and shared ("discovered" during the research process) traditions of the Other. Rarely, if ever, are the cultural insiders themselves acknowledged, celebrated, or rewarded as the rightful authorities, producers, and bearers of the culture researched and presented before the scientific world. Somehow our ways of life, problems, and strategies of survival are examined under a microscope, presented to a world outside of our own, and archived as absolute and foreign (and important only because a researcher "discovered" them).

Consequently, our own cultures, dissected and parsed, presented as linear and formulaic—palatable to the Western academic gaze—become unfamiliar and distant even to us. Intersectional methodologies resist exorcising cultural insiders from conversations about (a) theoretical underpinnings of research, (b) research protocols, (c) considerations of what constitutes data, (d) data representations, and (e) ethical considerations of research. An additional aspect of intersectionality in qualitative research is to acknowledge the intellectual and emotional labor that Black, Indigenous, and other people of color (BIPOC) have contributed to understanding and documenting the lives of the marginalized and oppressed.

## Intersectionality and Identity Politics

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, traditional academic ponderings about systemic racism were also imagined to be additive or ordinal as opposed to interlocking, multifarious, and synchronous. Intersectionality shifts conversations on theory and practice beyond the simplistic confines of singular identities and instead toward conscientious reflections on how institutions, social structures, and policies construct specific identities and groups as disposable. Intersectionality reveals power relationships and individuals' and social groups' proximity to power.

Intersectionality prompts researchers interested in issues of discrimination, marginalization, abuse of power, and authority to contemplate their own interpretations of the self and Other in more nuanced as well as complex ways. There is a strong relationship between intersectionality and reflexivity; interlocking systems


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of oppression demand one to be self-aware as a survival strategy. In order to survive an openly unjust world, Black people, Indigenous people, women of color, and many other members of subjugated groups (e.g., gender nonbinary, trans people, etc.) are required to continuously think of their behavior and very presence in relation to those with power to control social norms and rules of regulation.

The act of people of African ancestry existing in the U.S. looking at themselves through a Black cultural lens and the white gaze was referred to by W. E. B. Du Bois (2008) in his 1903 autoethnography, *The Souls of Black Folk*, as a *double-consciousness*. Deborah Gray White (1999) later coined the term *triple consciousness* to describe how Black women, specifically, are forced to see themselves through a Black cultural identity, white supremacy, and patriarchy. Recently, *triple consciousness* has also been used to describe the histories and tensions that Afro-Latinxs encounter in the U.S. due to white racism, xenophobia, and linguistic discrimination within and outside the Black community (see Flores & Jiménez Román, 2009).

Especially from a critical race feminist perspective, such imparted or instinctual self-awareness of the "double jeopardy" (King, 1988, p. 42) of race and gender from the cradle to the grave in a white supremacist patriarchal capitalist society fosters a multiple consciousness that is associated with the development of critical theory (i.e., Black feminism). Below is a diagram that illustrates the interconnectedness of self-awareness, a group's shared collective consciousness, and ongoing strategies of resistance to hegemony and other forms of structural (and interpersonal) violence. Our methodologies can become a tool for resisting various forms of hegemonic power, including economic exploitation, patriarchy, racial domination, and gender oppression. Figure 1.1 illustrates an interconnectivity between our methodological underpinnings and larger social issues as individuals and members of various social groups.

Reflexivity is the practice and process of being aware of one's own values and personal tastes and purposeful examination of one's feelings, behaviors, and motives. Intersectionality calls for *critical reflexivity* in the research process, which is a conscientious effort on the part of the researcher to examine their own personal biases, motives, beliefs, and thought processes in relationship to the research study. Critical reflexivity as an intersectional methodological tool entails revealing how the researcher's own personal tastes, values, and belief system shapes their choice of research question, theoretical assumptions, research site, relationship with research participants, and interpretation and analysis. Critical reflexivity presumably discloses the researcher's proximity to power.

Below is a writing prompt for students considering intersectionality as a methodological approach. An intersectional approach in qualitative inquiry entails conscientious reflection on one's own value system, cultural upbringing, and experiences with unequal power relationships. Moreover, intersectionality calls for thoughtful consideration of how multiple and interlocking oppressions bear equally or differently for the academic researcher and research participants. Now, take a moment to think through and respond to the questions below to better

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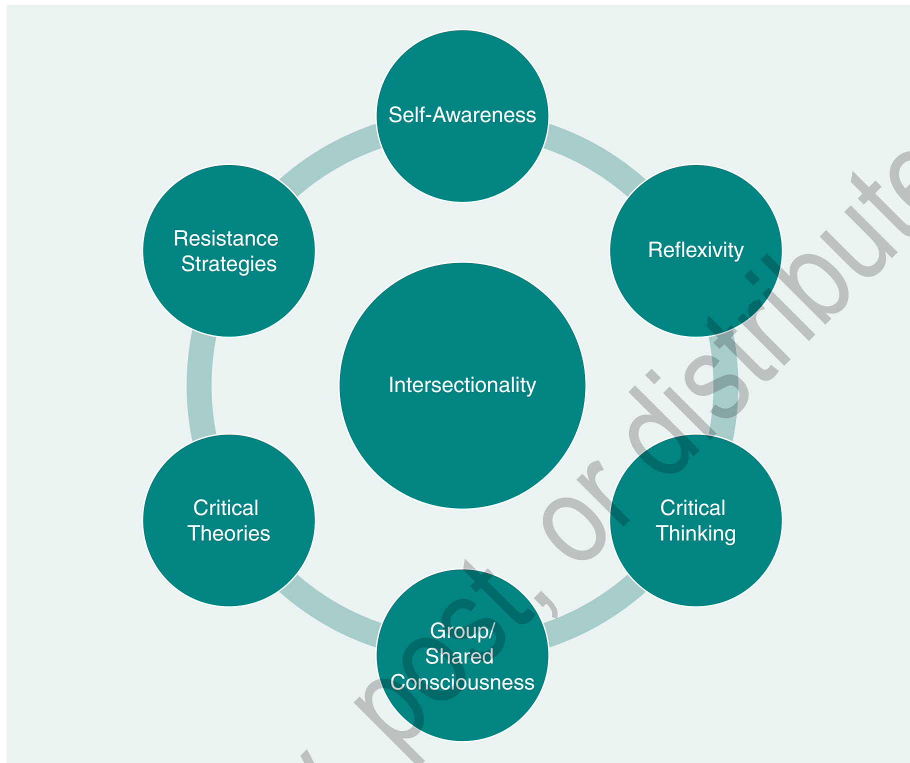
Figure 1.1 Intersectionality and Critical Reflexivity




The image represents the interconnectivity of critical reflexivity and intersectionality. Intersectionality is synchronously born out of a personal self-awareness and a shared consciousness with a cultural group(s) and interaction with a group's sociocultural context.

understand how culture and context have shaped your identity, research interests, and interpretations of the social world.

1. Identify three of your strongest personal values. In what ways did your family, community, and/or schooling shape your values and beliefs? In your own words, describe how these values shaped your ideas about the purpose of research and your research interests.
2. When did you develop your first understandings of what science entailed (e.g., television, social media, a textbook, a religious experience, etc.)? What was considered science or scientific? What individuals or groups of people were portrayed as scientists in books or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media? Were members of your own racial, ethnic, gender, or cultural group represented as scientists?

3. What do members of your primary cultural group think about science and/or research? Do they trust scientists and/or researchers? Why or why not? Do they view science as safe? Accurate? Do they consider research findings to be useful to themselves or the community? Why or why not? If you cannot recall any members of your cultural group discussing science or research, why do you think this is the case? Do you personally find research to be valuable to yourself or your respective communities? Why or why not?
4. Think of a life experience that challenged one or more of your deeply held beliefs about research or science. Describe that experience in detail. Who were the people present and what was the context? How did you respond when your beliefs were challenged?
5. How might you share information about your family, cultural upbringing, and other important lived experiences to help research participants and/or research audiences learn how you came to embrace your personal values and how they became a defining part of who you are and how you approach the study and interpretation of the social world?

The above prompts can help you begin to think like an intersectional researcher. Also, the questions demonstrate the role and usefulness of intersectionality in qualitative research by prompting the qualitative researcher to examine her own socialization and personal values. For example, Venus can recall when Pluto was no longer determined to be a planet; after much deliberation privately and publicly, scientists decided to demote Pluto to a dwarf planet. During all of her childhood and most of her college years, Pluto was considered a planet. We learned "**M**y **V**ery **E**ager **M**other **J**ust **S**erved **U**s **N**ice **P**ie" to remember all nine planets (Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune, and *Pluto*) in the solar system. Alas, it was in 2006 that it was announced that Pluto had been demoted!

Venus was not taken aback that Pluto was not a planet; instead, she simply became more cynical of scientific proclamations overall. The demotion of Pluto from planet to dwarf planet, along with the ongoing frantic debates from laypersons and career scientists alike, signified to her that science is a process of discovery, deliberations, negotiations, and compromises. Reflecting on question four above, Venus's views of science were changed when a group of scientists gathered around and decided together, and not without debate, that a long-standing fact ("Pluto is a planet") was no longer a scientific fact!

Jennifer's example of learning that scientific proclamations do not always hold up came when she studied for a master's degree in education. There, she learned that the blank slate theory (the theory that children were born as empty vessels

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waiting to be filled with knowledge) popularized by John Locke was simply not true. As we learn more about genetics, scientists are discovering that our ancestors' cultural and survival knowledge lives in our DNA. Since our DNA resides with us at birth, this means that we are not merely empty vessels or blank slates and that, instead, we have generations of knowledge waiting to be utilized.

Of course, Venus and Jennifer have had many other intellectual and nonacademic encounters before and after Pluto and the blank slate theory that have required them to question science, their relationship to science, and how they participated in scientific inquiry. We hope you use the questions above to evoke your own critical consciousness as a qualitative researcher. You may want to use a research journal to reflect on the questions with depth, scope, and clarity. Further, consider how your personal values influence why you think research is important and how (or if) qualitative research aligns with your value system. How might your values shape your ideas of scientific research, power and authority, truth, or intersectionality? We hope you will respond to the above in the written/oral/signed language that comes naturally to you!

## Intersectionality in Qualitative Research

The previous section raised important questions for examining one's own personal belief system. Now, we turn to a broader examination of institutionalized power and social justice struggles. We have raised the following questions elsewhere (Evans-Winters & Esposito, 2019): How does intersectionality in qualitative research further decolonial, anti-racist, and feminist social justice pursuits? Simultaneously, how does intersectionality in qualitative research expose sexism in anti-racist inquiry and make racial hierarchy in feminist qualitative inquiry visible? These questions serve as a catalyst for entering into discussions about racial and gender discrimination in academic hiring practices, epistemic apartheid in academic discourse, and debates about whose knowledge is of value.

> Whether we turn to anthropology, psychology, sociology, medicine, philosophy, literature, theology, history, or elsewhere in cultures of knowledge production, we find mounting dilemmas and controversies over whether there is only one way of knowing . . . the whole messy issue of what we know and, more importantly, how we know in an age in which hegemonic cultural authority is under unprecedented attack become even more confusing. (Stanfield, 1994, p. 167)

As pointed out by Stanfield (1994) above and emphasized throughout this chapter, science has found itself in "confusing" times as more scholars call for cultural, epistemological, and methodological representation(s). Certainly, calls for intersectionality from Black, Indigenous, and women of color has instigated such confusion and concurrently embraces such confusion in the social sciences.


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Qualitative researchers generally confess that the scientific method is intrinsically subjective and value laden. Yet, qualitative research deliberations neglect to consider how researchers and the research process can simultaneously *interrupt* and *perpetuate* cultural hegemony.

Intersectional methodologies are an intentional interruption to Western Eurocentric male-centered knowledge claims and productions because intersectional methodologies attempt to center the cultural experiences, values, and beliefs of the research participants, including the researcher herself. Inherent in intersectional methodologies is the desire to convalesce cultural pluralism within and across sociocultural contexts as well as in academic institutions and disciplines. Intersectionality is also born out of the recognition that some people's knowledge claims are taken more seriously and viewed as more objective than others' assertions and declarations. Therefore, intersectional methodologies challenge authoritarian (and majoritarian) conceptualizations of credibility and validity. Intersectional critical race feminist methodologies pursue research relationships and experiences that "educe" (Akbar, 1999) authentic representations of people, places, emotions, stories, texts, and the sacred. As once explained by Na'im Akbar, the true purpose of education (and in this case, research for consciousness raising) is to educe or bring forth one's true power.

Intersectional scholars unapologetically rely upon cultural knowledge and intuition (Ahmed, 2017; Delgado Bernal, 1998) to counter hegemony, cultural domination, and master narratives. Specifically, critical race methodologists actively endeavor to challenge misrepresentations of cultural outsiders; for instance, using research to challenge medical exploitation in the name of science (see Roberts, 1999; Washington, 2006), investigate violence against multiply marginalized youth in school environments (Evans-Winters & Girls for Gender Equity, 2017; Simson, 2013; Watts & Everelles, 2004), theorize necropolitics in U.S. urban schools and neighborhoods (Evans-Winters, 2019), openly confront the whitewashing of academic labor (Darder, 2012), and demarginalize the legal rights of women around the world by blurring the boundaries between research, legal practice, and social activism (Wing, 2000).

As both researchers and the researched, women of color, Indigenous people, racial and ethnic minoritized people, queer and gender nonconforming people, and the economically disenfranchised especially draw upon cultural intuition and collective knowledge as methodological tools to disrupt knowledge apartheid. With an intentional concern for social groups' relationship to power, scholars who embrace intersectional methodologies directly respond to the nearly three-decade-long apothegm, "what knowledge is and what knowledge should be" (Stanfield, 1994).

Intersectionality is an epistemological stance and modus operandi for the examination (and interpretation) of (a) complex relationships, (b) cultural artifacts, (c) social contexts, and (d) researcher reflexivity. Consequently, intersectionality acknowledges and affirms the knowledge productions of BIPOC. In our intersectional methodological performances/productions, we incessantly demonstrate that


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there are multiple ways of existing in the social world; therefore, there are multiple ways of knowing it—understanding, navigating, and interpreting the social world. Accordingly, intersectionality facilitates methodological procedures that account for complexities and obscurity in our research pursuits and cultural interactions.

An intersectional perspective in qualitative inquiry raises the question, "What is the researcher's sociopolitical proximity to the research topic or issue, the cultural context in which the study takes place, and to the research participants themselves?" This question prompts the researcher to examine their own relationship to power. Accordingly, we posit that intersectionality methodologies approach the research process by seeking to more effectively comprehend the following (see Evans-Winters & Esposito, 2018):

1. How power and authority are concurrently fixed and static within and across social contexts
2. How individuals and groups resist, confront, and/or placate oppressive authority and structural power
3. How space (social and spatiotemporal) affects how social actors perceive and enact power
4. How one's place in history and contemporary society influences their approaches to qualitative inquiry and forms of knowledge production

## Intersectional Research

In *Intersectionality: Key Concepts*, Collins and Blige (2016) assert that the core ideas of intersectionality are social inequality, power, relationality, social context, complexity, and social justice. To this point, intersectional methodological invocations grapple with the ways in which social inequality persists through the academic research process and in how research is disseminated. Intersectionality as a methodological (and ethical framework) mandates that we pause and reflect on how research protocols might evolve from "doing no harm" to furthering human and civil rights. To further human and civil rights, one will have to accept that resistance against inequality is an ongoing struggle, and researchers at any given moment are complicit in protecting the status quo or intentional in eradicating racism, sexism, classism, and xenophobia.

As methodology, intersectionality consistently engages in self-reflection as it relates one's power and proximity to power. Most—if not all—social actors, regardless of their race, class, and gender status, have the ability to possess power and the equal capability to abuse power. Of course, some people have ascribed (e.g., white, middle class, or intellectual privilege) or achieved (e.g., professor, president, social worker, etc.) power that gives them more control over the lives of others. In our roles as intersectional qualitative researchers, we engage in consistent


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cogitations with ourselves and others on our own (earned or unearned) power, empowerment, and shared powered in the research process.

We also acknowledge the agency of our research participants and/or collaborators; we also—to the best of our ability—make space for shared recognition, including financial gain, promotions, publications, and so on. This might require creativity on the academic researcher's part. For example, the authors of this textbook have coauthored publications with research participants, presented at conferences with research collaborators, created programs with research participants, and participated in fundraising activities at the close of research projects. Authentic collaborative relationships foster opportunities to become lifelong friends or organization partners. That is why it is important to understand the significance of mutuality, collective responsibility, and reciprocity in the research process. Intersectional qualitative researchers accept that power influences relationships in our research endeavors.

Power differentiations in research relationships determine types of human subject reviews (i.e., expedited, exempt, or full review), how we obtain consent and from whom (Bhattacharya, 2007; Limes-Taylor Henderson & Esposito, 2019), how and where we collect our data (Evans-Winters, 2005), what research questions are asked and how they are responded to (Green-Powell, 1997), and what research theories and methodologies we use to study social problems (Edwards & Esposito, 2019). Indubitably, intersectional methodologists' intentional stances for taking on research as a site of struggle means centering in the research process any ethical considerations that serve to (a) foster coalition-building and/or (b) threaten possibilities of meaningful symmetrical relationships with individuals, communities, or organizations while (c) recognizing the limitations and the possibilities of qualitative research for combating structural violence and hegemony.

In sum, intersectional methodologies are one more step forward in decolonizing methodologies and recentering the priorities, values, ontologies, and epistemologies of the historically oppressed and multiply marginalized.

## How to Read This Book

Because qualitative research is such an iterative and emerging process, it often can't be done in a neat and linear fashion. We wrote the chapters in the order we, as experienced researchers, would think about things as we design a study. However, we understand that people have different needs and desires as they conduct research. While the chapters build somewhat on each other, they can also be read as stand-alone chapters. Additionally, we open each chapter with a vignette. These vignettes are loosely based on the experiences of our former and current students. Each vignette is a story that poses a problem or challenge someone faced related to the chapter's topic. Chapter 2 provides a closer look at what theory in general is and how it functions in intersectional research. Chapter 3 explores ethics in qualitative research. Chapter 4 explores various methodologies and research


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design. You won't see all qualitative methodologies presented in this chapter. We chose to focus only on those that can be done in an intersectional manner. Chapter 5 explores methods of data collection. We dedicated two chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) to data analysis. Since we have taught research methods for almost 20 years, we have seen students struggle the most with analyzing their data. We try to walk you through coding and other forms of analysis. Chapter 8 is about writing. Once you have collected and analyzed data, you will need to know how to write up your results. We end the book with a short epilogue titled "The Reimagining and Possibilities of Qualitative Inquiry." Intersectional research is a relatively new field and our book attempts to incorporate this theory into all aspects of the research process. As a conclusion of sorts to an emerging field, we look back on our knowledge of qualitative research with an eye for the incredible possibilities the future holds.

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The authors state that they are still clawing their way out of traditional approaches to qualitative research. What does that mean exactly? Can any qualitative researcher ever be truly free from the constraints imposed by colonization? Why or why not?
2. Which of the eight moments in qualitative research spoke to you the most?
3. What is intersectionality? Trace its historical evolution and note which social movements may have impacted the theory. Who are the important theorists to cite and why?
4. In what other spaces have you heard of intersectionality (i.e., classrooms, popular discourse, books, etc.)? How have your understandings of the theory shifted?
5. What is the difference between intersectionality as a theory and intersectionality as a method/methodology of research?

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