

## Decolonization Vs. Westernization in Counseling

Edil Torres Rivera <sup>1</sup> , Susan Bray , Jason Li , Phillip Mullins , & Ekua Ayensua-Mensah  <sup>2</sup>

*Wichita State University, Wichita, Estados Unidos.*

---

### ABSTRACT

The authors of this manuscript conducted a content analysis of the counseling literature available, particularly those articles published in counseling journals that address decolonization and counseling. The first search was conducted using Google Scholar and then narrowed by the articles only in counseling journals. This yielded a total of 21 articles. The content analysis phase was done using AskPDF (AskPDF, 2024) to find the main themes of the articles, followed by another qualitative analysis of the themes and the citations in the articles to find scholars from the Global South, using HyperResearch version 4.5.6 (2023). The results indicated that only eleven articles mentioned people of color, while only one cited scholars from the Global South.

### Keywords

decolonization, westernization, Global South, counseling

### RESUMO

Os autores deste manuscrito realizaram uma análise de conteúdo da literatura de aconselhamento disponível, particularmente daqueles artigos publicados em periódicos de aconselhamento que abordam descolonização e aconselhamento. A primeira busca foi realizada usando o Google Scholar e, em seguida, reduzida pelos artigos apenas em periódicos de aconselhamento. Isso rendeu um total de 21 artigos. A fase de análise de conteúdo foi feita por meio do AskPDF (AskPDF, 2024) para encontrar os principais temas dos artigos, seguida de outra análise qualitativa dos temas e das citações nos artigos para encontrar estudiosos do Sul Global, utilizando o HyperResearch versão 4.5.6 (2023). Os resultados indicaram que apenas onze artigos mencionavam pessoas de cor, enquanto apenas um citava estudiosos do Sul Global.

### Palavras Chave

descolonização, ocidentalização, Sul Global, aconselhamento

---

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence about this article should be addressed Edil Torres Rivera: [edil.torresrivera@wichita.edu](mailto:edil.torresrivera@wichita.edu)

<sup>2</sup> **Conflicts of Interest:** The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

Descolonização vs. Ocidentalização no Aconselhamento

**The Westernization of the Decolonial Movement in Counseling**

While this study is concentrated on counseling as a unique profession and it is based on the profession as such departing from the United States of America, where counseling began in 1952 and has been recognized in all states and territories as a legit mental health profession (Gladding, 2020; Glosoff et al., 2017; Granello & Young, 2012; Nassar & Niles, 2018), it is important to mention that the development of the profession got its origins from the work of Carl Rogers. Furthermore, counseling as a profession is now recognized in 196 countries, with memberships ranging from 6,000 in Ireland to over 65,000 in the United States (<https://www.counseling.org/>; <https://www.iacp.ie/>; <https://iac-irtac-research.org/about/>). Thus, we intend to provide the Interamerican community with another study that supports the fact that many of the developments of the global south are usually ignored by Western scholars, and by making the result of this study public, we are promoting a more transparent dialogue to credit and collaboration.

With the short introduction as to why this study is submitted to the Interamerican Journal of Psychology, the authors move to recognize that a movement in all mental health fields has called for decolonization in the last ten years. Decolonization is a complex and multifaceted process that has occurred worldwide, particularly in the 20th century. Various theories and perspectives have been developed to help understand and analyze the process of decolonization. Counseling has been no exception to the call for decolonization; increasingly, calls are being made to decolonize counseling and mental health. The term is catching popularity in the field, as judged by the number of articles, chapters, and books about the subject. However, it is essential to point out that there is a tendency to westernize the movement, usually leaving behind the players of the global south. These scholars often need to be mentioned or addressed.

We begin by defining the decolonization theory. The decolonization theory is a framework that examines the historical process through which colonized nations gain independence and seek to undo the cultural, economic, and political legacies of colonialism. It emerged primarily in the mid-20th century as former colonies across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean gained independence from European imperial powers (Fúnez-Flores et al., 2025; Maldonado-Torres, 2017; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). Some of the key themes and principles within decolonization theory include:

1. Anti-imperialism - Decolonization theory critiques the ideologies and practices of imperialism, which involve the domination and exploitation of one nation or group by another. It emphasizes the right of self-determination for colonized peoples and opposes the imposition of foreign rule.
2. Cultural reclamation - Decolonization involves reclaiming and revitalizing indigenous cultures, languages, and knowledge systems suppressed or marginalized under colonial rule. This process often entails challenging Eurocentric narratives and representations of history and identity.
3. Economic justice - Decolonization seeks to address the economic inequalities perpetuated by colonialism by redistributing wealth and resources more equitably among formerly colonized nations and marginalized communities. This may involve land reforms, nationalization of industries, and initiatives to promote economic self-sufficiency.
4. Political sovereignty - Decolonization aims to establish genuine political sovereignty and autonomy for formerly colonized nations, free from external interference or control. This includes dismantling colonial institutions and governance structures and building inclusive, participatory government systems.
5. Social liberation - Decolonization encompasses broader struggles for social justice, including the eradication of racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression that were entrenched under colonialism. It calls for recognizing and validating diverse identities and experiences within postcolonial societies.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the scholars who have contributed to the development of decolonization theory mainly from the Global South include Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Edward Said, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and Walter Rodney, to mention a few. Their writings explore various aspects of colonialism, resistance, and the processes of decolonization in different contexts (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1963; Rodney, 2018; Said, 2023; Thiong'o & wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Based on the historical context of the decolonization theory, as briefly explained in the previous section, the authors conducted a content analysis of articles published using decolonization and counseling. They analyzed the content to see if it produced a considerable body of emerging knowledge, concepts, ideas, and theories distinct from those offered by United Statesian counselors. In addition, do these articles make visible and foreground the historical, cultural, and contextual factors that support and attend the

development of this decolonial knowledge? How does the articles' publication acknowledge those scholars from the Global South contribution?

### Method

The authors conducted a summative content analysis looking for keywords' decolonization and counseling that the authors pre-selected (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This content analysis used a two-tier procedure with several steps. The first step was to use the Google Scholar search engine to search for the articles containing the words “decolonization” and “counseling” from 2003 until the present. We utilized Google Scholar because it is a large and broader search engine across different disciplines. The search generated 180 articles and book chapters titles in this first step. The second step was to do a detailed visual review of the titles to determine if the publication was about counseling and decolonization. During this second step, the articles and chapters were reduced to 99, and the range of citations was reduced from 1370 to 10. A third review and analysis were conducted to ensure that the articles and chapters were in the counseling profession, not counseling psychology or psychology. That third review further reduced the pool of articles and chapters to 21, with the same citation range. This review also indicated that many of the references in counseling came from one textbook published in 2015 (Goodman & Gorski, 2015).

The next step of the summative analysis was to use AskPDF (AskPDF, 2024) to get a summary of the different articles and chapters, mainly looking for the pre-selected themes for this analysis. The pre-selected themes are: (a) liberation, (b) indigenization, (c) colonization, (d) consciousness, (e) racialization, (f) politics, (g) action, (h) praxis, (i) ethics, (j) history, and (k) and a different approach to understanding reality. Additionally, we searched for emerging knowledge, concepts, ideas, and theories that are distinct from those offered by United Statesian counselors and if they make visible and foreground the historical, cultural, and contextual factors that support and attend the development of this decolonial knowledge in particular how their publication acknowledged the contribution of those people in the frontend of the movement, specifically from the Global South beyond Frantz Fanon. It is essential to remind the reader that the decolonization movement began in the Global South (Mignolo, 2017; Mignolo & Walsh, 2018; Mignolo & Escobar, 2013). To achieve that goal, the authors aimed the content and citations on each one of the articles. This step was done using the software HyperResearch 4.5.6 (2023) to find the themes and compare to the previously

code themes, explicitly looking for references or mentions to Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Amílcar Cabral, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Walter Rodney, Homi K. Bhabha, Achille Mbembe, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Albert Memmi, Maria Lugones, Anibal Quijano, Walter Mignolo, Ramón Grosfoguel, Sylvia Wynter, Enrique Dussel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres among other Global South scholars (Torres Rivera et al., 2023).

The pre-selected themes that came from the work of Cabral, Chabal, Rabaka, Memmi, Martin Baró, Montero, and Enriquez, which are: (a) liberation, (b) indigenization, (c) colonization, (d) consciousness, (e) racialization, (f) politics, (g) action, (h) praxis, (i) ethics, (j) history, and (k) and a different approach to understanding reality (Cabral, 1979; Cabral et al., 2016; Chabal, 2003; Martin Baró, 1998; Memmi, 1957; Montero, 2009; Rabaka, 2014).

## Results

In Table 1, we present the results of the summaries of the 21 articles as per AskPDF. We are providing a first glance at the content of each article or chapter per AI.

**Table 1**

*Summary of findings per AskyourPDF (2024)*

Article	Summaries as per AskyourPDF
Conwill, (2015)	This document discusses the concept of de-colonizing multicultural counseling and psychology through the lens of intersectionality. It critiques essentialist notions of race, which view race as something individuals have, and argues that this perpetuates practices that support inequities and injustices stemming from institutionalized White racism and White supremacy. The document suggests that an intersectionality approach, which views race as a system of inequality and privilege, can be a decolonizing corrective to essentialist notions of race. It also emphasizes the need for a more critical and transformative multiculturalism in counseling and psychology. The document includes references to various sources that support these arguments.
Duran, & Firehammer, (2015)	This chapter discusses the limitations of using Western research methodologies in counseling and psychology research, particularly when studying indigenous communities. The authors argue that relying solely on empirical methods and disregarding indigenous research practices, such as storytelling, perpetuates a process of marginalization and colonization. They suggest that researchers should consider

Article	Summaries as per AskyourPDF
Gamby, Burns & Forristal, (2021)	<p>the needs and perspectives of the communities they study in order to acquire knowledge that is beneficial to them.</p> <p>The article discusses the history of wellness and challenges the mainstream understanding that wellness began in the United States in the 1980s. It argues that the counseling field often overlooks the historical roots of wellness, which leads to a lack of crucial information for counselors and their clients. The article aims to encourage social change by highlighting the missing history of wellness counseling literature and also explores wellness practices for historically marginalized groups.</p>
Gonzalez & Cokley, (2021)	<p>This article argues for the implementation of a core anti-racist course for counselors in training. The authors, Ileana A. Gonzalez and Raven K. Cokley from Johns Hopkins University, highlight the importance of addressing racism and promoting cultural competence in counselor education. They propose that a dedicated course on anti-racism would equip counselors with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively work with diverse populations.</p>
Goodman, (2015)	<p>The document discusses the socially produced nature of trauma and the importance of addressing its social roots in trauma counseling. It emphasizes the recognition of the negative and lasting effects of traumatic experiences on individuals' mental and physical health. The chapter also highlights the significance of considering environmental factors in clinical practice, rather than solely focusing on intrinsic causes of mental illness.</p>
Goodman, Williams, Chi-Ying Chung, Talleyrand, Douglass, McMahon & Bemak (2015)	<p>This chapter focuses on the importance of decolonizing traditional pedagogies and practices in counseling and psychology education. The authors argue that current educational approaches often reflect colonial ideologies and contribute to inequality. They suggest alternative approaches that prioritize cultural diversity, inclusivity, and empowerment.</p>
Guenette & Marshall (2008)	<p>The article discusses the challenges and importance of indigenizing education in universities and postsecondary institutions. It focuses on the implementation of curriculum changes in a counselor education program for Aboriginal communities. The article explores personal experiences of teaching the course, student responses to the adaptations, and themes identified from interviews with Aboriginal students. It addresses the resistance to including Indigenous Knowledge in the university structure and provides observations and recommendations. The article emphasizes the need to acknowledge and include Indigenous knowledge in academia as an exercise of self-determination and a movement towards emancipating such knowledge. It highlights the Eurocentric bias in current academic curriculum and the responsibility of universities to include Indigenous knowledge in the education process. However, it acknowledges that this task is challenging and requires a shift in the delivery of education.</p>
Hays (2020)	<p>The article discusses the significance of multicultural and social justice counseling competency in the professional identity of counselors. It emphasizes the importance of</p>

Article	Summaries as per AskyourPDF
Irvine, Labarta, & Emelianchik-Key (2021)	<p>conducting research to identify and address factors that hinder client well-being. The document also defines multicultural and social justice research as a purposeful approach to using culturally appropriate research designs and advocating for clients. The ultimate goal is to decrease societal barriers that result in inequitable mental health and public health service delivery.</p> <p>The articles discusses the importance of counselor education programs incorporating a diversity-infused curriculum and enhancing multicultural competencies. The authors propose a framework called the Relational-Cultural and Adlerian Multicultural Framework (RAMF) to address these gaps. This framework combines relational-cultural theory and Adlerian theory principles to provide a comprehensive perspective on multicultural and social justice issues. The article also defines multicultural competence as a counselor's understanding and knowledge of their own culture and their clients' cultures, enabling them to adapt counseling approaches to client cultural identities.</p>
Kira, Ashby, Omidy & Lewandowski (2015)	<p>The article is about a new model for trauma counseling that aims to address current, ongoing, and cumulative traumas. The model includes eight interventions such as prioritizing safety, behavior skills training, stimulating positive dispositional qualities, identity work, psychoeducation, stress inoculation, trauma narration, and social advocacy. The article provides evidence for each component and also discusses future directions for research and model development.</p>
Litam (2020)	<p>The article discusses the increase in discrimination and violence against Asians and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) following the outbreak of COVID-19. It explores the mental health disparities and race-based trauma experienced by AAPIs in the United States due to public fears related to the virus. The article also examines the effects of race-based discrimination on the well-being of people of color and Indigenous groups, and provides strategies for counseling AAPI clients and healing race-based trauma.</p>
Malott, Barraclough, & Yee (2020)	<p>The document discusses the global movement to modify or replace the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5). It explores alternative diagnostic models that are more contextually and culturally affirming. The authors also suggest steps to advance new practices, emphasizing the importance of client and counselor input in shifting away from the current system. The article highlights the growing recognition of the importance of client voice in defining personal distress and challenges associated with diagnostic labels.</p>
Reyes Cruz & Sonn (2015)	<p>This chapter explores the importance of taking a critical approach to understanding culture in community psychology. The authors highlight that community psychology is not only influenced by Western academic traditions but also power hierarchies. They suggest adopting a decolonizing standpoint to gain a deeper understanding of culture and to enhance emancipatory practices in community psychology.</p>

Article	Summaries as per AskyourPDF
Shin (2015)	This chapter discusses the impact of racial and ethnic identity development models in the fields of counseling and psychology. These models have been instrumental in understanding the experiences of people of color. However, there is a concern that these models may be influenced by dominant perspectives and not adequately challenge the Eurocentric viewpoint. The chapter explores the use of critical consciousness and intersectionality as tools to decolonize these models.
Shure, et al (2023)	The article discusses how Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ) responded to the racial violence and injustice that occurred in the summer of 2020. The article highlights the actions taken by CSJ leaders to address racial inequities and promote social justice. It also provides recommendations for decolonizing counseling practice, supervision, education, and research.
Singh, Appling, & Trepal (2019)	The document is about the Multicultural and Social Justice Counseling Competencies (MSJCC). These competencies highlight the need for counselors to recognize how their privileged or marginalized status affects their perspective. They also emphasize the importance of counselors taking action to address inequality and injustice. Additionally, the document emphasizes the need for counselors to develop a critical awareness of power dynamics in the counseling relationship.
Smith (2015)	The chapter discusses the concept of queering multicultural competence in counseling. In this chapter, the author shares a personal experience of conducting research with a heterosexual counselor named Nichole. Nichole claims to have positive attitudes towards individuals with LGB identities and has received training in multicultural counseling competence. The author also mentions that Nichole demonstrates strong therapeutic skills.
Smith & Chambers (2015)	This Chapter focuses on the decolonization of psychological practice in the context of poverty. It discusses how dominant-culture practices can be harmful to marginalized social groups and emphasizes the need to understand the multidimensional impact of poverty beyond material deprivation.
Smith & Geroski (2015)	In this chapter, the authors discuss the concept of decolonizing alterity models within school counseling practice. The chapter presents a case vignette of a predominantly White high school that formed a task force to examine issues of diversity, equity, and achievement. The school counselors, who were White and had training in multicultural counseling competencies, were surprised to discover significant disparities within the school based on race. The chapter emphasizes the importance of school counselors going beyond their training to address systemic inequalities within the education system.
L. C. Smith (2015)	This article discusses six different models of alterity that counselors use when working with clients from under-represented groups. These models include political correctness, difference blindness, multiculturalism, structural diversity, social justice advocacy, and decolonization. The article explores each model through vignettes and reviews



Article	Summaries as per AskyourPDF
Stewart (2023)	<p>relevant literature. The author argues that each model can be expressed in both positive and negative ways, aiming to provide a more nuanced understanding of how counselors engage with social and cultural differences.</p> <p>The article discusses the importance of self-care for mental health. It explains that self-care is any activity that helps to reduce stress and improve mental health and recommends activities such as taking a break from work, getting enough sleep, and engaging in physical activity. The article also suggests that it is important to practice self-care regularly to maintain good mental health and prevent burnout. The article focuses on family counseling as a decolonization process and examines an Indigenous social-constructivist approach in clinical practice.</p>

In Table 2, we also present the result of the first analysis, a word count using HyperResearch 4.5.6 (2023), which yielded that the most used words in the 21 articles were social justice, multicultural, research, and community.

**Table 2**

*Summary of findings per HyperResearch 4.5.6 (2023)*

Article	Themes and Citationss
Conwill (2015)	According to HyperResearch, the article's major themes were racism, intersectionality, and African American issues. The most cited person in the chapter was William Conwill.
Duran & Firehammer, (2015)	The themes in this chapter are Indigenization, Native research, and community. The most cited person in the article was Edward Duran; additionally, the publication cites Saed, who is one of the Global South scholars in decolonization, and the author is also a native American.
Gamby, Burns, & Forristal, (2021)	This article's major themes are wellness, mental health, and some mention of indigenous people. The most cited person is Jane Myers.
Gonzalez & Cokley, (2021)	The major themes for this article are counseling, anti-racism, multicultural counseling, and racism. The most cited author is Carlos Hipolito-Delgado.
Goodman, (2015)	The major themes in this chapter are trauma, community, system changes, and social justice. The most cited author is Yael Danieli.
Goodman, Williams, Chi-Ying Chung, Talleyrand, Douglass, McMahon & Bemak (2015)	This chapter major themes as per HyperResearch are social justice, education, community, and multicultural counseling. The most cited author is Fred Bemak.
Guenette & Marshall (2008)	The themes for this article are aboriginal, Indigenous, education, knowledge, and community. Marie Battiste in the most cited author in the article.
Hays (2020)	The themes of this article are Research, counseling, competencies, and multicultural counseling. Danica Hays is most cited author on the article.

Article	Themes and Citationss
Irvine, Labarta, & Emelianchik-Key (2021)	The themes of this article are multicultural counseling, social justice, cultural approaches, and education. The most cited author is Vong Ratts.
Kira, Ashby, Omidy & Lewandowski (2015). Litam (2020)	The themes for this article are social power, social justice, trauma, and identity. The most cited author is Ibrahim Kira. The themes are Asian American, trauma, discrimination, COVID, and mental health. The most cited author is Derald W. Sue.
Malott, Barraclough, & Yee (2020)	The major themes are DSM, diagnostic, Mental health, and decolonization. The most cited author is Barry L. Duncan.
Reyes Cruz & Sonn (2015)	The themes for the chapter are community, Culture, Critical thinking, power, research and Indigenous. The most cited author is Reyes Cruz.
Shin (2015)	The themes are racial and ethnic identity, and critical consciousness. The most cited author is Derald W. Sue.
Shure, et al (2023)	The themes for this article are Racial Justice, Social Justice Counselor for Social Justice, advocacy and action 35 The most cited author is Rachelle Goodman.
Singh, Appling, & Trepal (2019)	The themes for this article are power, Social Justice, and MSJCC. The most cited author is Anneliese A. Singh.
Smith (2015)	The themes for this article are heterosexuality, queer, heteronormality, and Multicultural Counseling Competencies. The most cited author is Lance C. Smith.
Smith & Chambers (2015)	The themes for this article are social class, poor or poverty and community. The most cited author is Lance C. Smith.
Smith & Gerosky (2015)	The themes for this chapter are school, social justice, colonization. The most cited authors are Lance C. Smith and Anne N. Geroski.
L. C. Smith (2015)	The themes for this article are social justice, alterity, and diversity. The most cited authors is Derald w. Sue.
Stewart (2023)	The themes for this article are family, indigenous people, knowing, and decolonization. The most cited author is Suzane Stewart.

The total number of words detected by the software was 13,325. When compared with the terms presented by Cabral, Memmi, Montero, and other scholars from the Global South, the count looks like this:

1. Liberation or liberatory appeared 89 times. Unfortunately, many of these counts count as being in the heading and not necessarily in the text of the article.
2. Indigenization or other derivatives of the word appeared 78 times. Understanding that decolonization can only be grasped by adding indigenization to our practices is crucial.

3. Colonization and decolonization appeared 140 times across the publications; it is essential to note that the definitions of these terms varied from author to author.
4. Critical consciousness appeared 81 times. Once again, this term was viewed in the context of the publication.
5. Racialization/Race: These terms appeared 224 times across the publications.
6. Politics showed twenty-six times.
7. Action/praxis appeared sixty times.
8. Ethics appeared twenty-one.
9. History appeared 72 times,
10. Finally, the context of different approaches to understanding reality is shown nineteen times across publications.

Finally, the detailed visual inspection of the citations in the different publications about recognizing the Global South scholars showed a significant need for acknowledgment in most publications. Duran et al., Guentte, Singh, et al. are the publications that present citations of people from the Global South; that is not to omit that Freire, Martin Baró, and a few native scholars were mentioned in some of the publications they rely heavily on Western scholars to support their decolonization visions. Furthermore, it is essential to point out that in all of the publications, with a few exceptions, the most cited authors are the authors themselves.

## **Conclusion**

We started this small study with a content analysis about how the counseling field decolonizes the profession, given that Westernization in counseling refers to the influence and adoption of predominantly Western psychological theories, practices, values, and perspectives in understanding human behavior, cognition, and mental health. This phenomenon suggests the spread of Western ideas, methodologies, and approaches in psychology to non-Western cultures and societies (Moosavi, 2020, 2023).

Decolonization often points to a potential bias or limitation within the field, as many psychological theories and research findings have been predominantly developed in Western contexts and may need to fully account for the diversity of human experiences across different cultures and societies. Critics argue that the emphasis on Western theories

might overlook or undervalue indigenous or culturally specific perspectives on mental health, behavior, and well-being (Opara, 2021; Tejeda et al., 2003; Zbrog, 2023).

Nonetheless, what we find out in our analysis is that counseling needs to decolonize their decolonization, meaning that their publications, while attempting to claim the decolonization of the profession, except the Native American Scholars that our study analyzed most of the authors relied on the Western scholar and in many instances their citations were heavily self-citations, which is completed against what decolonization is (Rodney, 2018; Said, 2023; Torres Rivera & Torres Fernández, 2024).

In other words, the study's results indicate the need for diverse perspectives in counseling literature and, as stated in the paragraph above, the point that while publications claim to decolonize the profession, they heavily rely on Western scholars and engage in self-citation, which goes against the principles of decolonization. Additionally, the results emphasized the importance of acknowledging scholars from the Global South and foregrounding historical, cultural, and contextual factors in developing decolonial knowledge in counseling literature.

## References

- AskPDF. (2024). *AskPDF* (Feb16 Version) [Computer software].  
<https://askyourpdf.com/documents/64606ad9-b225-4aa6-be61-12ed05389a6d>
- Cabral, A. (1979). *Unity and struggle: Speeches and writings of Amílcar Cabral* (Monthly Review Press Classic Titles). Monthly Review Press.
- Cabral, A., Wood, D., & Rabaka, R. (2016). *Resistance and decolonization* (Reinventing Critical Theory) [Kindle edition]. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Césaire, A. (1972). *Discourse on colonialism* (pp. 1-31). New York.
- Chabal, P. (2003). *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary leadership and people's war*. African World Press.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth* (R. Philcox, Trans.; 2004 ed.). Grove Press.
- Fúnez-Flores, J., Díaz Beltrán, A. C., Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S., Bakshi, S., Lao-Montes, A., & Rios, F. (Eds.). (2025). *The Sage handbook of decolonial theory* (1st ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Goodman, R. D., & Gorski, P. C. (Eds.). (2015). *Decolonizing "multicultural" counseling through social justice*. Springer.
- Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- HyperResearch. (2023). *HyperResearch* (Version 4.5.6) [Computer software]. Researchware, Inc.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. (2017). Frantz Fanon and the decolonial turn in psychology: From modern/colonial methods to the decolonial attitude. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 47(4), 432-441. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0081246317737918>
- Martín-Baró, I. (1998). *Psicología de la liberación*. Editorial Trotta.
- Memmi, A. (1957). *The colonizer and the colonized* (H. Greenfeld, Trans.). Beacon Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315065670>
- Mignolo, W. (2017). Coloniality is far from over, and so must be decoloniality. *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context and Enquiry*, 43(Spring/Summer), 38-45.  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/692552>
- Mignolo, W. D., & Walsh, C. E. (2018). *On decoloniality: Concepts, analytics, praxis*. Duke University Press.
- Mignolo, W., & Escobar, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Globalization and the decolonial option* (1st ed.). Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Montero, M. (2009). Methods for liberation: Critical consciousness in action. In M. Montero & C. C. Sonn (Eds.), *Psychology of liberation: Theory and applications* (pp. 73-91). Springer.
- Opara, I. N. (2021, July 21). It's time to decolonize the decolonization movement. *PLOS Medicine*. <https://speakingofmedicine.plos.org/2021/07/29/its-time-to-decolonize-the-decolonization-movement/>
- Rabaka, R. (2014). *Concepts of Cabralism: Amílcar Cabral and Africana critical theory* (Critical Africana Studies). Lexington Books.
- Rodney, W. (2018). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Verso Books.
- Said, E. W. (2023). Orientalism. In *Social theory re-wired* (pp. 362-374). Routledge.
- Tejeda, C., Espinoza, M., & Gutiérrez, K. (2003). Toward a decolonizing pedagogy: Social justice reconsidered. In *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social change* (pp. 9-38). Routledge.
- Thiong'o, N. wa. (1986). *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. James Currey.
- Torres Rivera, E., & Acevedo-Polakovich, I. D. (2023). Decolonize your writing, scholarship, & publications. National Latinx Psychological Association.
- Torres Rivera, E., & Torres Fernández, I. (2024). Decolonizing the high school and undergraduate curriculum. [Manuscript in preparation].
- Zbrog, M. (2023). Indigenous healing techniques and counseling. *Counseling Schools*. <https://www.counselingschools.com>

Received: 2024-08-19  
Accepted: 2025-08-28