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BEYOND DECOLONIZATION

Anticolonial Methodologies for Indigenous Futurity in Psychological Research

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Engaging in anticolonial strategies for the protection, recovery, and maintenance of [Indigenous Knowledge] systems means that academics, Indigenous Knowledge holders, and the political leaders of Indigenous nations and settler governments must be prepared to dismantle the colonial project in all of its current manifestations. Academics who are to be true allies to Indigenous Peoples in the protection of our knowledge must be willing to step outside of their privileged position and challenge research that conforms to the guidelines outlined by the colonial power structure and root their work in the politics of decolonization and anticolonialism. This Indigenous approach is critical to the survival of Indigenous Knowledge and ultimately Indigenous Peoples.

—Leanne Simpson, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg (2004, p. 381)

Over the past few decades, research psychologists have sought to be allies of Indigenous peoples by engaging Indigenous communities in research about

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what promotes thriving Indigenous futures for forthcoming generations. However, the path toward such research is an obscure one, especially within disciplinary psychology. This is due in part to the introduction of decolonization as a response to traditional psychological research methods. Given that decolonization entails, first and foremost, the repatriation of Indigenous land and life (Tuck & Yang, 2012), psychologists are starting to grapple with whether decolonial research is even possible. For instance, returning to a presettler past is not (Bhatia, 2013). Thus, possibilities for psychological research to decolonize Indigenous land and life in meaningful ways are constrained. Although decolonization has instigated discussions among psychologists who are seeking to engage in research that reconfigures settler colonial power structures, it runs the risk of perpetuating further harm against Indigenous communities, who more often than not, obtain no direct benefit from psychological research. For research psychologists to be active proponents of robust Indigenous futures, it is imperative that they confront and resist settler colonialism at all phases of knowledge production and follow the lead of Indigenous peoples in doing so. Anticolonialism, which refers to Indigenous resistance and opposition to colonialism (Hartmann et al., 2019), is a potential alternative to decolonization that can circumvent the noted issues by placing the power to challenge psychological research norms, assumptions, and outcomes squarely in the hands of Indigenous peoples.

The purpose of this chapter is to bring research psychologists into conversation with the politics of anticolonialism vis-à-vis Indigenous studies. Given that research psychologists are primarily concerned with the production of new knowledge, we situate our discussion within the context of settler colonialism to demonstrate how it has given way to a societal structure in which colonial knowledge systems have subjugated Indigenous peoples, including in psychology. We propose that anticolonialism can counter psychology's epistemic violence—violence employed against or through knowledge—toward Indigenous peoples, positioning it as an approach to research that resists colonial knowledge systems and offers tangible outcomes to Indigenous communities by promoting the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of Indigenous Knowledges (IKs). First, we describe the role of settler colonialism and epistemic violence in oppressing Indigenous peoples in psychology. Second, we review the shortcomings of decolonial research efforts. Third, we discuss anticolonialism's historical and intellectual foundations as it relates to anticolonial methodologies. Fourth, we provide a case example of anticolonialism in a modern Indigenous research context from the White Mountain Apache Tribe (WMAT) and Johns Hopkins University (JHU). We conclude with reflections on putting anticolonial methodologies into action in psychology.

ROLE OF SETTLER COLONIALISM

Settler colonialism is a distinct form of colonization that functions through a “logic of elimination” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 387), in which constructing a settler colonial society necessitates eliminating Indigenous peoples from desired lands. Elimination occurs through various strategies that eradicate the Indigenous as Indigenous (e.g., assimilation, blood quantum laws, boarding schools, genocide), and is the underlying structure of settler colonial societies in the present. For example, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, South Africa, and Latin America. Modern forms of elimination are subtler than those in the past but are nonetheless violent toward Indigenous peoples. In particular, settlers in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States tend to enact epistemic violence, which is violence conducted against IK practices and/or violence conducted against Indigenous peoples via knowledge (Galván-Álvarez, 2010). IKs are local meanings, rationales, and philosophies stemming from Indigenous peoples’ histories with their environments (UNESCO, n.d.). For Indigenous peoples, IKs structure the ins and outs of daily life and are essential to a broader cultural framework of Indigenous existence (i.e., language, spirituality, relationality). Thus epistemic violence can include the systematic denigration, subjugation, and erasure of IKs throughout settler societies (e.g., difficulties accessing learning materials in Indigenous languages, overreliance on universal principles versus local or place-based knowledge, exclusion of elders in educational institutions). Additionally, it includes knowledge systems that subjugate Indigenous peoples (e.g., textbooks describing Indigenous peoples as of the past, research methods that purportedly reveal psychological deficits among Indigenous peoples). Taken together, epistemic violence maintains and perpetuates the settler colonial project, and poses a formidable threat to psychology’s role in Indigenous futures.

Epistemic violence occurs in psychology through *psycolonization*, a term that describes several associated tendencies such as therapists pathologizing Indigenous resistance (Todd & Wade, 1994), therapy culture positioning Indigenous peoples as damaged subjects (Gone, 2023), and the circulation of psychological findings from Western, educated, industrialized, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) nations as globally universal (Teo & Afşin, 2020). Each points to psychology as a colonizing force among Indigenous peoples, especially in the context of psychotherapy (Fanon, 2004). We expand the scope of psycolonization here to include the knowledge that psychology values and generates about Indigenous peoples via scholarly inquiry. Psychologists develop knowledge using highly select research methodologies that undoubtedly shapes Indigenous peoples’ experiences in psychotherapy (Gone, 2010)

and beyond (Duran & Duran, 1995). Consequently, we define psycholonization as the domination of Eurocentric epistemes in psychological research that results in the subjugation of Indigenous peoples via knowledge and its politics (Gone, 2008). Epistemes define “the conditions of possibility of all knowledge” (Foucault, 1970, p. 409). Although epistemes can coexist with one another, the one that reigns superior in a particular disciplinary discourse will shape knowledge accordingly, as well as disciplinary power structures, subverting other forms of knowledge. Prevailing research paradigms in psychology include positivism, postpositivism, scientific realism and, to a lesser extent, constructivism and critical theory, which reflect Eurocentric ontological, epistemological, methodological, and axiological approaches to various degrees (Wilson, 2001). Thus, for psychologists to be active proponents of Indigenous futures, we must chart a new path forward—one that follows the lead of Indigenous peoples.

SHORTCOMINGS OF DECOLONIAL RESEARCH

In response to the ongoing presence of settler colonial violence in contemporary Indigenous life (Comas-Díaz et al., 2019), psychologists have advocated for decolonizing psychology while grappling with whether decolonization is even possible (see Adams et al., 2015; Barnes & Siswana, 2018; Carolissen & Duckett, 2018; Seedat & Suffla, 2017), a question that has occasioned long-standing conversation in Indigenous studies. Simply put, decolonization “entails the ‘undoing’ of colonization” (Gone, 2021a, p. 260). In the context of settler colonialism, decolonization would more precisely require repatriating all land to Indigenous peoples while acknowledging that land and relationships to it “have always already been differently understood and enacted” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 7). Other usages of decolonization are metaphorical and contribute to epistemic violence against Indigenous peoples and knowledge by detracting from and decentering efforts to repatriate Indigenous land and life (Tuck & Yang, 2012). The relationship that Indigenous peoples have with land is fundamental to I.K.s. However, decolonial rhetoric has no direct impact on land repatriation (i.e., restitution) or even rematriation—the restoration of spiritual and ancestral relations to Mother Earth. The implications are similar for “decolonizing research methods,” which tend to reflect social justice and critical methods (Tuck & Yang, 2012) and emancipatory and liberation psychology (Gone, 2021b). Although such approaches are laudable, rarely if ever do they result in land being restored to its original conditions (which, as Indigenous peoples note, is impossible) or returned to

Indigenous peoples. As a result, we are primarily concerned with authentic and substantial efforts to heal and restore Indigenous land and lives, relative to token ones that do little for such outcomes. In fact, it is Indigenous peoples who are leading successful decolonizing projects that result in the repatriation of stolen land. In 2018, the Wiyot people reclaimed a significant portion of Duluwat Island after attempting to do so for decades. If so-called decolonial research does not repatriate or rematriate Indigenous land, but instead makes psychologists complicit in colonial efforts through what Tuck and Yang (2012) described as rhetorical “moves to settler innocence,” what alternatives are there for engaging in psychological inquiry that advances Indigenous futures and destroys colonial ones?

FOUNDATIONS OF ANTICOLONIAL METHODOLOGIES

One possible alternative to decolonization is anticolonialism, which is the general opposition to imperial and colonial domination (Hartmann et al., 2019) rather than the undoing or unraveling of colonialism as an enduring societal structure—as in the case of decolonization. This includes various forms of defiance and resistance, ranging from political discourse to violent mass protests (Elam, 2017). Because anticolonialism is an eclectic mix of oppositional approaches, it can be difficult to define, given that more specific descriptions can result in a monolithic presentation of colonialism and Indigenous responses to it. As a multifaceted concept, anticolonialism can be understood as a contemporary phenomenon with historical roots and an intellectual tradition that work together to inform Indigenous opposition to colonial rule (Lee, 2018). Some psychologists are dismissive of anticolonialism’s potential to develop an Indigenous psychology that resists the norms characteristic of Eurocentric psychology (Hwang, 2005, 2010), whereas others posit that psychology’s anticolonial ambitions have not yet been fully realized (Hartmann et al., 2019). However, we contend that anticolonialism can both oppose and dismantle epistemic violence and forge a path for more equitable Indigenous inclusion in psychology. For this to occur, we review anticolonialism as a movement and philosophy to inform what potential anticolonial approaches may entail.

Anticolonialism as a Contemporary and Historical Movement

Anticolonial movements are a long-standing response of Indigenous peoples to settler colonialism, past and present, and have much to offer psychological

science. Historically, several movements are prime examples of anticolonialism, such as Gandhi's response to British domination in India, though we highlight those that have occurred in response to settler colonialism. This includes the Tepehuán Revolt (1616–1620) that resisted warrior marginalization and the reorganization of Tepehuán society by the Spanish and Jesuits in Mexico (Gradie, 2000). Efforts of Indigenous resistance also include the Wiradjuri land warfare (c. 1820s) in Australia, in which the Wiradjuri attacked settlers from the United Kingdom and Ireland who were encroaching on sacred land (Read, 1983). More contemporary forms of anticolonialism include the Māori protest movement in Aotearoa in the 1960s, which was influenced by ancestral resistance strategies, resulting in Māori land repatriation (Mutu, 2020). The Kanesatake Resistance (i.e., the Oka Crisis) was a 78-day armed standoff between the Mohawk Nation and the Canadian government due to settler attempts to construct a golf course on Mohawk territory (A. Simpson, 2014). These, along with countless other iterations, such as the 2016 Standing Rock resistance in response to the Dakota Access oil pipeline, demonstrate that Indigenous resistance transcends space and time. Indigenous peoples reclaim what has been and always will be Indigenous. Realizing similar anticolonial ambitions in psychological research requires following the lead of Indigenous peoples in resisting coloniality and refusing research agendas that do otherwise.

Anticolonialism as a Critical Lens

In addition to acts of Indigenous resistance, anticolonialism can be “understood as a political stance and perspective” (Lee, 2018, p. 6). Oppositional thought occurs through diverse mediums (e.g., manifestos, newspapers) and represents a range of views, some more obliging of settler colonialism and reformation, and others more revolutionary (Lee, 2018). Well-known anticolonial thinkers—including Mohandas Gandhi, Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, and Aimé Cesaire—reflect a plurality of critical philosophies and moral reasoning. Each was a political leader of anticolonial movements and theorists of oppositional views anchored in social inequities, local knowledge, and settler colonial constructs. Thus anticolonialism is a function of context. For instance, barriers to accessing Māori te reo (the language) ignited Māori leaders to campaign for its use, resulting in the Māori Language Act of 1987 and subsequent guiding philosophies for language revitalization efforts (Mita, 2007). The diversity of anticolonial thought is discernible in the corresponding psychological literature and the field of psychology more broadly. For the former, Hartmann and colleagues (2019) illustrate that anticolonialism can capture overlapping frameworks (e.g., decolonial

theory, Adams et al., 2015; tribal nationalism, Deloria, 1969; postcolonial theory, Moore-Gilbert, 1997), depending on the type of colonialism. Given our emphasis on Indigenous responses to settler colonialism, our views align the closest with tribal nationalism resulting from the Red Power movement, which catapulted sovereignty and self-determination to the forefront of discussions on Indigenous opposition (Deloria, 1969). Such philosophies are further reflected in the creation of the Society of Indian Psychologists, which was founded by Indigenous psychologist Carolyn Attneave in 1975 in response to pressing needs for an organization that foregrounded the Indigenous right to self-governance and that prioritized Indigenous well-being (Gray et al., 2012). Indeed, anticolonial philosophies work in concert with anticolonial efforts on the ground, providing psychologists with a framework for conceptualizing Indigenous resistance to epistemic violence as a precursor for Indigenous justice in the future.

Anticolonial Methodologies

Drawing from Indigenous peoples' opposition to settler colonialism via collective, organized efforts and associated understandings, we imagine how psychologists can engage in action-based anticolonial programs of research that shift the focus of the psychological literature away from how Indigenous peoples measure up in terms of putatively universal norms to how they resist dominance and subjugation in everyday life. Given the heterogeneity of anticolonialism, our definition of anticolonial methodologies is also broad: they capture a spectrum of approaches that at a minimum oppose and at a maximum demolish structures that subjugate Indigenous peoples by knowledge and its politics in psychology. These include approaches that dispute, resist, and challenge hierarchical structures that privilege Eurocentric epistemes and produce knowledge about Indigenous peoples that creates, sustains, and even promotes their ongoing colonization. As we describe later, the spectrum of anticolonial frameworks can include established research approaches, such as community-based participatory research (CBPR), but can also open the door for more innovative Indigenous research methods beyond Eurocentric approaches.

To avoid becoming merely a rhetorical device as in the case of decolonization, anticolonial approaches need to offer more than a stance for researchers to take, and instead result in tangible beneficial outcomes for Indigenous communities. Because research psychologists are principally concerned with generating new knowledge, it seems appropriate and within the scope of psychology for such outcomes to be associated with knowledge necessary for

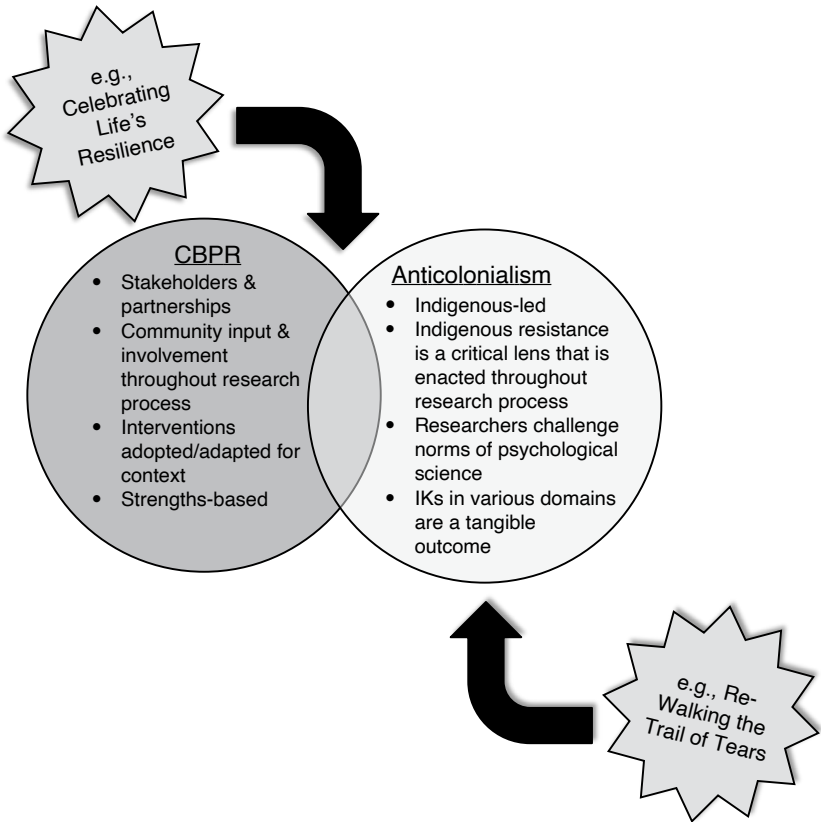
building Indigenous futures (including IKs), within both Indigenous communities and psychology writ large. Not only would this provide a deliverable outcome for Indigenous peoples in the form of preservation and recognition of IKs, it would also directly address the epistemic violence Indigenous peoples endure in psychology without detracting from Indigenous efforts toward decolonization. Consequently, for a given research methodology to exist along the spectrum of anti(settler)colonialism, it needs to include theories of Indigenous resistance and corresponding researcher actions that challenge epistemic violence in psychology and its effects in Indigenous communities, which we describe as follows.

Indigenous Resistance as a Critical Lens

An anticolonial approach necessitates that we understand Indigenous peoples as existing, persisting, and resisting (Kauanui, 2016) as a function or in pursuit of tribal sovereignty and self-determination in response to settler colonialism (Deloria, 1969). From project conceptualization to interpretation of findings, anticolonialism requires that researchers recognize Indigenous peoples' right to confront settler colonial violence and to fight for more just and equitable futures. Adopting this critical lens asks research psychologists to engage in a similar confrontation against the weaponization of psychology against Indigenous peoples by following the lead of Indigenous peoples. Accordingly, it is intentional and normative of Indigenous responses to settler colonialism. Moreover, it is focused on Indigenous peoples overcoming rather than being overcome by structures of adversity, lessons that psychology can learn from Indigenous resistance, and researcher accountability.

Anticolonial approaches foreground Indigenous resistance as a guiding framework for understanding action and subsequent change within a modern Indigenous context. For instance, CBPR builds on the strengths and resources of a given community, which does not exclude Indigenous resistance as a critical lens, but is perhaps only the most basic application of it. In contrast, anticolonial frameworks entail greater specificity of Indigenous communities' strengths and resources in a focus on Indigenous resistance. As a result, Indigenous peoples are not simply equitable partners in the research process who provide psychologists with guidance and oversight but also considered the driving force of nation-building that researchers should take great care to follow. Again, this stance is not mutually exclusive with an approach such as CBPR, which makes room for this possibility (see Figure 5.1). However, anticolonial frameworks demand that we recognize Indigenous resistance, tribal sovereignty, and nationhood as particular strengths of Indigenous peoples throughout the

FIGURE 5.1. Original Figure of CBPR in Contrast to an Anticolonial Framework



Note. CBPR = community-based participatory research; IKs = Indigenous knowledges.

research process, which we must honor through our actions when it comes to what we as psychologists have to offer Indigenous communities.

Recovery, Reclamation, or Revitalization of IKs

An anticolonial approach also assumes that Indigenous peoples are active agents in recovering, reclaiming, and revitalizing IKs. Anticolonialism recognizes that psychological research cannot accomplish these ends on its own accord or without Indigenous peoples. Anticolonialism entails that research is for and by Indigenous peoples, the result of which is a tangible outcome for local Indigenous communities that promotes the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs. This principle necessitates that an anticolonial approach

has immediate and direct effects that oppose epistemic violence. Refusal plays an integral role in an anticolonial approach, in which researchers refuse Eurocentric assumptions about Indigenous peoples and Eurocentric standards for research as a function of privileging IKs. An anticolonial approach is collaborative, collective, political, action-based, resistant to disciplinary hegemony, and promotes change in real time.

Indeed, an anticolonial approach calls for researchers to do more than include Indigenous peoples throughout the research process, but to have them also lead the way toward the recovery, reclamation, and revitalization of IKs. Frameworks such as CBPR grant greater flexibility for this to occur; to the extent possible, researchers collaborate with Indigenous peoples throughout the various phases of research. The outcome of such is typically sustainable solutions to community needs. Thus, CBPR can be thought of as an existing framework that enables researchers to enact the elements of an anticolonial approach (see Figure 5.1). However, anticolonialism gives permission to psychologists to resist, challenge, and push back against existing frameworks to empower Indigenous peoples to use their IKs to develop an Indigenous scholarship that benefits their communities.

This is the distinction between using an existing framework such as CBPR to legitimize and authorize decisions researchers make on the basis of their collaboration with Indigenous partners and stakeholders or rendering research decisions based on the words of Indigenous peoples alone. If anticolonialism occurs on a spectrum, the latter reflects the more radical approach to research with Indigenous communities, in which psychologists respect the decisions of Indigenous peoples grounded in their knowledges and refuse to validate it through Eurocentric bodies of knowledge. Researcher actions such as these and Indigenous peoples' self-determination are at the crux of anticolonialism, empowering Indigenous peoples to leverage their IKs to promote sustainable Indigenous futures with the support of psychologists at every step of the way.

Summary

The existing literature makes clear that thoughts about and acts of anticolonialism are mutually constitutive. Consequently, the processes underlying Indigenous resistance as a critical lens and recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs are critical to creating larger structural changes that more effectively position research psychologists as allies of Indigenous futures. With this in mind, we describe a resilience curriculum for suicide prevention resulting from a partnership between the WMAT and JHU (Cwik et al., 2019) to more clearly delineate these essential features of anticolonial research.

CASE EXAMPLE OF ANTICOLONIAL METHODOLOGIES

In 2020, the WMAT received the Tribal Nation of the Year Award for their 40-plus year research partnership with JHU to promote the health and well-being of their tribal members (Center for American Indian Health, n.d.). As Cwik and colleagues (2019) noted, the WMAT consists of 17,000 enrolled tribal members located on the Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona. Initially, the WMAT-JHU partnership was established to address behavioral health concerns (Gone et al., 2017), which evolved with the needs of the tribe. The partnership developed within a CBPR framework, which researchers enacted in anticolonial fashion (see Figure 5.1). The partnership entails that the WMAT identifies concerns they would like to address in their community. Following this, JHU partners select what kind of intervention to implement based on risk and protective factors, and gaps in local services (Cwik et al., 2019). Afterward, JHU partners either select an evidence-based intervention to implement with cultural adaptations or “design an intervention from the ground-up” (Cwik et al., 2019, p. 139). Then the WMAT and JHU partners collaborate to refine and enhance the adaptation or intervention design over several months or even years. Although this has resulted in a plethora of notable projects, we focus on a resilience curriculum developed by Apache elders as part of a suicide prevention program as an anticolonial approach to IK revitalization that promotes Indigenous futurity.

Celebrating Life's Resilience Curriculum

Although Cwik and colleagues (2019) do not describe their approach to developing the resilience curriculum with Apache elders as anticolonial, theirs is an excellent illustration. Celebrating Life is a comprehensive suicide prevention program that includes a resilience curriculum developed in response to Apache elders' discussions about the importance of culture and language among tribal members—referred to as *nowhi nalze' dayuweh bee goldoh dolee* (“let our Apache heritage and culture live on forever and teach the young ones”; Cwik et al., 2019, p. 138). According to Apache elders, language enhances tribal members' cultural identities and fosters community connections. Apache elders wanted to teach the language and culture to middle schoolers to prevent increases in suicide risk later in adolescence and adulthood and began doing so in K–8 classrooms at eight schools in 2009. The elders realized there was great variability in the content taught, however, and set out to more intentionally design a language and culture curriculum. Despite some concerns about the inflexibility of the curriculum and the implications of transitioning from the

oral tradition, the benefits to what it would provide youth amid the decline of knowledgeable elders in the community were clear. With the support of Celebrating Life staff and JHU, Apache elders developed their resilience curriculum over 4.5 years (see Cwik et al., 2019), which we discuss in terms of Indigenous resistance and revitalization of IKS.

As Indigenous Resistance

The first principle of anticolonial methodologies is using Indigenous resistance as a critical lens. Across all phases of the research process, Indigenous peoples are not relegated to a product of settler colonialism, but instead actively resist it. Thus Indigenous resistance as a critical lens assumes that Indigenous peoples “exist, resist, and persist” (Kauanui, 2016, p. 1) via self-determination and tribal sovereignty, rejecting the settler colonial knowledge structures that attempt to dictate Indigenous relations (Deloria, 1969). This conceptualization maintains that Indigenous peoples know what is best for their communities and make active efforts to combat epistemic violence within them. Thus anticolonialism assumes a particular lens through which action, resistance, change, and sustainability occur. However, Cwik and colleagues demonstrate that this critical lens can be adopted in a CBPR framework. The dialectic of settler colonialism oppressing and Indigenous peoples overcoming is central to this perspective. In research, this means foregrounding the endurance of Indigeneity (Kauanui, 2016), a framing evident in the Apache elders’ resilience curriculum. Cwik and colleagues (2019) described risk factors for suicide among Indigenous peoples as a result of settler colonial threats to culture and identity, but indicated several protective factors rooted in culture that have survived settler colonial attempts to eliminate Indigeneity (e.g., values, beliefs). This occurs in opposition to research that creates a deficit-laden and colonial-oriented scholarship of Indigenous peoples by emphasizing the former alone. Instead, Indigenous resistance as a critical lens offers a fuller picture of the Indigenous experience that pinpoints the mechanisms by which Indigenous peoples survive settler colonialism and thrive into the future in culturally continuous ways. For the WMAT, this was the intergenerational transmission of language.

Although Cwik et al. (2019) described their approach as strengths based, we consider their undertaking an anticolonial strengths-based initiative, converging with CBPR’s principle of harnessing community strengths and resources and anticolonialism’s application of Indigenous resistance as a critical lens. What differentiates a purely strengths-based approach from one that intersects with an anticolonial one is focusing on Indigenous peoples’ withstanding settler colonial attempts to erase Indigenous visibility and presence, including IKS.

As Cwik and colleagues (2019) noted, “ensuring cultural beliefs, values, and traditions are passed on represent individual and community solutions against colonialism, historical trauma, and associated mental health and substance use outcomes” (p. 138). Cwik and colleagues (2019) were not simply focusing on Indigenous strengths, but also on Indigenous cultural revitalization as a response to settler colonialism and its effects (Hartmann et al., 2019). Whereas strengths-based approaches accentuate the positive in Indigenous communities, Indigenous resistance as a critical lens understands them as intentional opposition to the violation of Indigenous rights in a move that shifts the conversation about Indigenous peoples in psychological research to be both more accurate and more just. Consonant with Hartmann and colleagues’ (2019) description of the anticolonial ambition of practicing “survance” (Vizenor, 2008), a focus on what contributes to the WMAT’s resilience leverages local forms of resistance that counter the erasure of IKs in settler colonial societies (and psychology). Thus Indigenous resistance as a critical lens creates opportunities in research programs and grants permission to ask the following questions: In what ways are Indigenous peoples flourishing in the face of settler colonialism? In what ways can psychological research be an ally in these efforts? Both questions guided the development of the Apache elders’ resilience curriculum and the role of researchers within it (Cwik et al., 2019).

Indigenous resistance as a critical lens recognizes that Indigenous peoples are surviving and thriving amid modern settler colonization through self-governance, and decisions made for and by Indigenous peoples. This positions the WMAT, not JHU, as the experts of their own wants and needs. Cwik and colleagues (2019) make clear that the Apache elders are the driving force of language and cultural revitalization efforts to provide tribal members with the necessary resources for resisting the effects of settler colonialism. This can be seen throughout the project, in which JHU prioritized Apache elders’ decisions about what the research will address, what content the curriculum will include, who is the designated audience, and how it will be implemented (Cwik et al., 2019). Because tribal sovereignty foregrounds self-determination, it is intuitive that Cwik and colleagues (2019) adopted a CBPR framework, which has been described as a research framework congruent with Indigenous lifeways (Wendt et al., 2019) and one that makes anticolonial ambitions possible. What is remarkable about Cwik and colleagues (2019) approach is that Indigenous peoples are not just collaborators; instead, the Apache elders are leading the entire project with the support of JHU, not vice versa, pushing this project from a CBPR exclusive approach to an anticolonial model of self-determination. Thus Indigenous resistance as a critical lens invites us as research psychologists to similarly

resist dominant Eurocentric epistemes (e.g., by merely implementing the latest suicide intervention program tested by psychological scientists) and to instead look to local IKs that can inform how psychological research should unfold (when desired by Indigenous peoples). Rather than adapting a resilience curriculum, the Apache elders constructed one from the ground up from local IKs in a clear example of Indigenous resistance supported by researcher acts of refusal. A. Simpson's (2014) ethnographic refusal is informed by the Kanasatake Resistance and other instances of Mohawk opposition to adhering to settler colonial epistemes of nationhood. Indigenous resistance as a critical lens insists that psychology has much to learn from Indigenous peoples if those in the field are to be champions of Indigenous futures, which must occur via actions conducting research as well.

As Revitalization of IKs

The second principle of anticolonial methodologies is a clear emphasis on the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs. This does not mean examining IKs for its content (Garrouette, 2006), but harnessing IKs as a legitimate means through which Indigenous peoples know and organize the world. To promote more equitable conditions in psychology and in Indigenous communities, it is necessary that research makes meaningful contributions to the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs in an anticolonial effort to protect and maintain IKs in the places it matters most (Hartmann et al., 2019). This is also a prerequisite for research psychologists becoming allies of Indigenous futures, which cannot occur if we conduct research with or about Indigenous peoples that centers Eurocentric psychologies and reproduces Eurocentric knowledge that does not contribute to the well-being of local Indigenous communities. What was impressive about Cwik and colleagues (2019) was their focus on Apache elders' language revitalization as a source of resilience as opposed to relying only on Eurocentric understandings of this concept. It is clear that language, along with other aspects of traditional culture, is what Apache elders know to be preventive of suicide for the WMAT. Cwik et al. did not examine the exact content of the resilience curriculum other than noting its themes—which we discuss as an act of refusal—as they prioritized supporting the creation of a practical and relevant curriculum to prevent suicide, which hinges on the revitalization of the Apache language at the direct of Apache elders as a tangible outcome. Although a principle of CBPR is sustainable social change, the exact change that anticolonialism strives for (and can be achieved within the context of psychological research) is the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs.

The recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs privileges Indigenous peoples as revered knowledge keepers who are already engaging in efforts of recovering, reclaiming, and revitalizing IKs to promote the well-being of their communities. As Cwik et al. (2019) described, elders are the cornerstone of transmitting IKs across generations, which was also true of the Apache elders. Privileging Indigenous peoples as keepers of IKs should be recognized, prioritized, and enacted. Indigenous peoples are not to be considered mere objects of study to include in research, but as valuable leaders guiding the recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs. Like Cwik and colleagues, researchers need to invite Indigenous peoples to be a part of the research process, in which Indigenous peoples are free to determine the extent of their participation and sharing of IKs, if at all. Apache elders were integral to the WMAT-JHU partnership; the resilience curriculum was born out of Apache elders' initiatives to revitalize the language and culture in service to Apache lives (Cwik et al., 2019). For all intents and purposes, Apache elders were the driving force of the resilience curriculum. "It was necessary to develop the intervention from the ground up for several reasons. . . . The intent was for the curriculum to be theirs—created by the elders to be implemented by the elders" (Cwik et al., 2019, p. 140). The recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs is for and by Indigenous peoples, producing real change for local Indigenous communities. What struck us is that the resilience curriculum has been continuously implemented at various Fort Apache middle schools, making anticolonial futures possible for the WMAT.

Cwik and colleagues' (2019) approach to developing the resilience curriculum maps onto the anticolonial tenets of recovery, reclamation, or revitalization of IKs. However, what certifies their undertakings as anticolonial is their acts of refusal (A. Simpson, 2014). One of the formative steps to developing the resilience curriculum involved Apache elders completing qualitative interviews "to decide what traditional values, teaching, and practices, as well as parts of the language, they wanted to pass on to the youth through the curriculum" (Cwik et al., 2019, p. 140). The interviews were transcribed and coded, but were used to develop the curriculum only, not for research. By refusing to use the interview content for research, Cwik et al. protected IKs from circulation outside networks of community accountability. Furthermore, despite the sample lesson plan provided, no additional lesson plans were, in what we construe as an act of Indigenous refusal to share IKs with an audience broader than the one for whom it was targeted. In our appraisal, prioritizing Indigenous peoples and their knowledges, and refusing to disseminate these for academic knowledge,

is an investment in Indigenous futures over the settler colonial project in psychology. By refusing the terms of psycholonization (e.g., universal knowledge production, expert role of psychologists, focus on outcomes) on the basis of IKs, Cwik et al. solidified their approach as anticolonial. Ultimately, refusing psycholonization is at the heart of challenging settler colonial power structures that seek to subjugate Indigenous peoples by means of knowledge and its politics in psychology.

Key Takeaways From Celebrating Life's Resilience Curriculum

Our examination of the Apache elders' resilience curriculum revealed several notable qualities about Cwik and colleagues' (2019) approach beyond what could be described. We gave precedence to the elements of curriculum design and implementation that recognized, prioritized, and enacted Apache elders' resistance to colonial threats to Apache adolescents' development through the erasure of IKs. As our analysis suggests, this project materialized at the intersection of CBPR and anticolonialism, with the former providing the conditions for the latter to occur. However, as we mentioned earlier (and will again later), anticolonialism does not have to occur in conjunction with CBPR and can exist on its own. In the context of settler colonialism, the WMAT are the ones who decide the future of their community through their actions in their relationship with Cwik and colleagues. No doubt, the WMAT know the WMAT best, not researchers. This captures the essence of our understanding of anticolonial methodologies; leveraging Indigenous resistance to promote structural changes toward the end of protecting what Indigenous peoples deem sacred.

Cwik et al.'s (2019) position about Indigenous peoples existing, persisting, and resisting settler colonialism, and their enactment of it, was explicit, resulting in a tangible outcome in the form of Apache knowledge that was by and for the community—no one else. Perhaps at the heart of anticolonial projects is refusing one's own disciplinary expertise and instead taking the lead of elders and other community members. Research psychologists acting in an anticolonial ethos should provide Indigenous peoples and communities with resources (e.g., funding, transportation, time, support) to be active proponents of the research process, however that might look to an Indigenous community. Anticolonialism requires psychologists to support Indigenous peoples' efforts to resist epistemic violence as par for the course of a psychology that nurtures Indigenous futurity. Anticolonial research is both generative and destructive; it can help revitalize and maintain IKs at the

behest of Indigenous peoples while razing Eurocentric assumptions about the pursuit of psychological knowledge.

ENACTING ANTICOLONIAL METHODOLOGIES IN PSYCHOLOGY

This chapter presents emerging efforts to advance anticolonial research agendas in psychology. We described the Apache elders' resilience curriculum as an anticolonial approach within the context of CBPR that illuminates the role of Indigenous resistance in the revitalization of IKs that promotes Indigenous well-being. Our description of anticolonialism is an excellent fit for researchers engaged in health intervention efforts but can be used in other research contexts as well (i.e., education, policy). For non-Indigenous psychologists who want to adopt or implement an anticolonial framework, it is important to be cognizant of the ins and outs of conducting research in Indian Country (see Gone, 2023), some of which we touched on here. This includes establishing meaningful relationships with Indigenous communities, being aware of Tribal Institutional Review Boards, local terminologies and concepts, tribal histories, cultural norms, resistance efforts, and including Indigenous peoples on the research team itself, among other things.

The case illustration we provided here (Cwik et al., 2019) is one example of an anticolonial approach, and many others remain to be examined as such. Other than Hartmann and colleagues (2019), few resources offer a description of anticolonial methodologies in psychology. Taken together, this is the beginning of anticolonial psychological research—and much remains to be gleaned from Indigenous resistance and its implications for challenging and dismantling epistemic violence in Indigenous communities as well as within our discipline. Although Indigenous studies programs have much to offer anticolonial endeavors in psychology (Hartmann et al., 2019), we would be remiss if we did not highlight that Indigenous communities also have much to offer. As a result, research psychologists should consider local effects of settler colonialism—and attempts to resist it—to ensure that their anticolonial approach is appropriately contextualized.

We have sought to strike a balance between specificity and flexibility to provide psychologists with anticolonial principles that are precise yet broadly applicable, and we encourage researchers to continue to refine what exactly anticolonial approaches are in psychology. Our principles are specific to settler colonialism, but future research could consider anticolonialism in response to other forms of colonization to further explicate psychology's role in creating

structural solutions for Indigenous peoples on the ground that simultaneously instigate disciplinary change. The global population of Indigenous peoples is estimated at 370 to 500 million (World Bank Group, n.d.) and it would be a mistake to take a one-size-fits-all approach with anticolonial approaches. Indigenous peoples experience colonization in different ways; a given Indigenous community's history and current affairs should be taken into consideration before applying an anticolonial approach to ensure it is suitable. Researchers who do not do so risk inflicting further harm on Indigenous peoples by way of psychology.

We admit that much is left to elucidate about anticolonialism as an approach to research. To prevent anticolonialism from being used as merely comforting rhetoric, we have been intentional in describing it as a combination of theory and action that results in a tangible outcome for Indigenous peoples in the form of IKS. We invite psychology researchers to continue developing ideas for anticolonial methodologies, but we insist that anticolonialism continue to foreground Indigenous resistance that leads to material action for Indigenous communities. In the case of Cwik and colleagues (2019), this outcome was a resilience curriculum that revitalized and maintained Apache knowledges. This would not only ensure that anticolonial methodologies remain action oriented but also help avoid the pitfalls of decolonizing methodologies that fail to result in the repatriation or rematriation of Indigenous land and life (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Additionally, we look forward to opportunities that refusal offers psychological research by giving researchers permission to resist disciplinary norms and create their own with Indigenous peoples (i.e., Simpson, 2014). Through researcher allowance for Indigenous acts of refusal, we can begin to erode Eurocentric disciplinary dominance in psychology, prevent cultural misappropriation (e.g., by unnecessarily disseminating IKS), and protect IKS.

Finally, although the case illustration was in a CBPR framework (Cwik et al., 2019), we caution researchers against conflating anticolonial methodologies with any approach in particular. Anticolonialism itself is variable and though CBPR is conducive to the anticolonial principles we outlined here, we imagine anticolonialism to offer more exciting possibilities for Indigenous psychological research. Indigenous researchers are engaging in a wide range of anticolonial methodologies that push the boundaries of Eurocentric knowledge by relying on IKS alone. For instance, Walters (2016) rewalked the Trail of Tears in *Yappali: Choctaw Road to Health*, a project in which walking the trail is part of experiential and ancestral knowledge production that promotes Choctaw health in the present and for generations to come. Whereas Cwik and colleagues' (2019) approach occurred at the intersection

of CBPR and anticolonialism, Walters' (2016) research framework seems to rely solely on anticolonial principles (see Figure 5.1).

In rewalking the Trail of Tears (i.e., Indigenous resistance as a critical lens), the Choctaw are using their collective and intergenerational experiences as an Indigenous research design to recover, reclaim, and revitalize Choctaw IKs (i.e., solutions for chronic health concerns). As an additional example of what anticolonial possibilities exist for the future, JHU's Center for American Indian Health recently brought together Indigenous social scientists to define what Indigenous strengths-based research is as a way to counter requests of non-Indigenous social scientists to legitimize Indigenous research via Eurocentric bodies of knowledge and approaches, simultaneously building an Indigenous-centered scholarship. These emerging anticolonial trends hold much promise for Indigenous futures. By inviting us to consider Indigenous peoples' past and present resistance to settler colonialism, anticolonialism can better position us as proponents of Indigenous futures, as determined by Indigenous peoples themselves.

CONCLUSION

If the construal of settler colonialism is accurate, then going back to a pre-colonial nirvana is not possible. However, anticolonialism provides an opportunity to take us forward in lockstep fashion with Indigenous resistance. Through methodologies that attend to and enact Indigenous resistance to settler colonial domination, we can create a more equitable epistemological landscape in psychological research—one that privileges the experiences, knowledge, and judgments of Indigenous peoples. It is crucial that psychologists engage in research at the confluence of resistance and action, taking great care to acknowledge and demonstrate that Indigenous peoples have been leaders in the battle against colonization since the onset of settler encroachment. So long as settler colonialism exists, Indigenous peoples will too, not in terms of merely surviving but thriving. Ultimately, it is up to psychology to decide what role psychologists will play in Indigenous futures. By refusing the terms of Eurocentric disciplinary epistemes, psychologists can engage in knowledge production with Indigenous peoples that produces tangible outcomes and forges structural change. To be clear, Indigenous peoples will remain steadfast in resisting and undoing settler colonialism toward the rise of an anticolonial hereafter, with or without psychology. What remains to be seen is whether psychologists will follow suit. Consequently, we invite psychologists to consider moving forward along with us: Will you be a psycholonizer or a champion of Indigenous futurity?

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