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## Chapter 6

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### **Critical race theory: A methodology for research in psychotherapy**

Divine Charura and Sonya Clyburn

#### **Introduction**

As a Western and Eurocentric endeavour, psychotherapy is riddled with and compromised by racism. In this chapter we argue that, if psychotherapy and other psychological professions are going to be fit for our contemporary diverse world, then it is important that racism within these professions is addressed head on. Psychotherapy—and psychotherapy research—needs to engage critically with ideas about ontology, and, specifically, the reality that people are culturally diverse beings, and not other to a neutral white essence of things. Furthermore, the therapeutic relationship can only be understood in the context of social factors, including systemic racism and oppression of those from ethnically diverse communities (Maharaj et al., 2021). Thus, psychotherapy researchers must face and engage with the social construction of race, illuminating the importance of intersectionality in understanding the experiences of individuals within psychotherapy research and practice (Grzanka et al., 2017; Maharaj et al., 2021). Such research contributes to highlighting the microaggressions that perpetuate racism and its operationalisation between individuals in socio-political environments in which overt racism is no longer acceptable (Etchebarne, 2021). In line with this, Keating's work (2020) posits that it is blatantly wrong to believe the myth that ethnicity is a risk factor for mental health. He argues that it is discrimination, racialised trauma, oppression, exclusion, and the invisibility of particular groups in the research and literature, that are the risk factors for psychological distress. Given that both the practice of psychotherapy and psychotherapeutic research have been shaped by Eurocentric cultures, politics, and bodies of knowledge (epistemologies), we maintain that the very fibre of evidence-based practice and even practice-based evidence in psychotherapy research is

informed by particular worldviews, namely, of seeing Eurocentric perspectives as superior to other ontologies and epistemologies. Thus, we assert that the power of research, 'science', and of the impact of 'evidence' even when it results in discrimination and bias must be critiqued.

This chapter considers critical race theory (CRT) as a methodology for research in psychotherapy. In doing so, we look at and elaborate on logical steps beginning with racism, and then discuss CRT as a methodology for research.

## **Racism**

The concept of *race* did not come from science or theology, it came *to* science and theology (Wilder, 2013). Systemic and cultural racism have been endemic and pervasive mental and public health issues in many societies for hundreds of years (Maharaj et al., 2021). This is also true for psychology and psychotherapy (Charura & Lago, 2021a; Graham et al., 2011; Lago, 2006; Moodley et al., 2018; Pomare et al., 2021). Racism involves attitudes, dispositions, behaviours, and assumptions of Whiteness (Green et al., 2007; Gunew, 2007; Owen, 2007). In the book *Superior: The Return of Race Science*, Saini (2019) argues that race is a social construct, and not a biological trait. The history of race is a reminder that science is not just about theories and data; it is also about which facts and stories regarding human diversity are given pre-eminence and by whom. Saini (2019) highlights the history of how race categorisation of humans came about. She argues that European Enlightenment naturalists and scientists decided that humans could be divided into discrete groups in the same way as some other animal species. This then led to the arbitrary setting of the boundaries for the categories they had decided, based on skin colour, and established sweeping generalisations of cultural stereotypes about temperament, intelligence, behaviour, and innate differences between populations. Ultimately, these pseudoscientific ideas became the bedrock influence of Western medicine for centuries and formed the basis for the Nazi eugenics program of racial cleansing and the Holocaust (Saini, 2019). Despite these misguided assumptions about race, societal structures remain that perpetuate the myth that race is biologically real.

Similarly, research in psychotherapy and psychological therapies has been conducted with a Whiteness Eurocentric lens. Over the decades, prominent

influential psychologists and researchers have played a role in advancing the biological perspective on race by highlighting research and championing and interpreting cognitive tests which were racially biased. For example, Hans Eysenck was one of the earliest researchers to perpetuate the notion of heritability of intelligence and race differences in IQ scores. He argued that the observed variability in IQ scores was genetically determined to a high degree (80% heritability) and that the Black–White IQ gap in the US was due predominantly to genetic factors (Eysenck, 1971). A further example is Herrnstein and Murray’s (1996) study, which offers assertions that overestimate the influence of genotype on IQ, and on the dynamics of achievement and the role of socioeconomic attainment in US society. One of the flaws in their research was the failure to consider the large environmental influences on IQ, an omission which inadvertently resulted in biased results (Conley & Domingue, 2016).

Although we note examples from psychology research, racism within society and within psychotherapy research is cumulative and complicated and can exist in many forms. Research in psychotherapy has attempted to maintain White superiority and power. Even today, scientists responsible for medical discoveries have been involved in the maltreatment of people of colour (Saini, 2019). They have minimised and neglected to share the stories, histories, or experiences of those individuals. Consequently, Whiteness and white supremacy are in the fibre of our global communities, as well as in psychotherapy literature and research (Andrews, 2016; Gunew, 2007; Newnes, 2021; Saini, 2019). Therefore, we need to pay increasing attention within psychotherapy to how privilege and otherness feature in both research and in the therapy room. We also need to appreciate how having an intersectional understanding of identity offers a complex and more nuanced exploration and understanding of racism and oppression (Newnes, 2021). We cannot talk about racism without engaging with the critical Whiteness literature which has emerged over the last few decades (Andrews, 2016; Garner, 2007; Green et al., 2007; Owen, 2007). The main thesis of the critical Whiteness literature is to illuminate the concept of Whiteness so that it can be addressed, dismantled, or overcome, with the essential objective of “the liberation of people of colour around the globe” (Owen, 2007, p. 2003). Andrews (2016) argues that Whiteness is rooted in the social structure, and that Whiteness underwrites and reproduces systems of

racial oppression. If the processes of Whiteness can be uncovered, they can be overcome through rational dialogue, and this has implications for anti-racist engagement. Thus, Whiteness studies can be identified as a development in the study of racism, as they highlight the responsibility of White people and are meant as a decolonising call to action (Andrews, 2016). We note here Green et al.'s (2007) argument, that "locating whiteness, rather than racism, at the centre of anti-racism focuses attention on how white people's identities are shaped by a broader racist culture, and brings to the fore the responsibilities that white people have for addressing racism" (p. 390).

Considering these arguments, Whiteness is also a system that underwrites and reproduces systemic racism and oppression within the psychotherapy profession. Understanding and challenging Whiteness as a structural property of racialised psychotherapy systems (research and practice, etc.) is important for anti-discriminatory practice, as well as for decolonising the psychotherapy profession. Andrews (2016) highlights the challenge of attempting to address, dismantle, and overcome Whiteness. We, however, concur that the critical theory of Whiteness is necessary, but not sufficient, for the formulation of an adequate explanation of the mechanisms of racial oppression in the modern world (Green et al., 2007). Our position is that engaging with the issues of Whiteness and racism in psychotherapy research and practice is important for all. This is the only way we can challenge subjective bias or the privileging of certain groups and theories over others. It is also a way to dismantle the status quo of seeing everyone as culturally neutral, and impartial, whilst on another level ignoring the racism embedded in the structures of our profession and practice.

We are aware of the common criticisms of critical race theory in that it is pessimistic and divisive, but we argue the opposite. We align with perspectives that optimism is inherent to CRT and similar critical frameworks because they are rooted in the belief that White supremacy and structural racism in society and in our profession can be ameliorated (D'Arrigo-Patrick et al., 2017; Su, 2007; Wilcox, 2022). We see CRT as a framework that can bring an epistemological lens to a social justice agenda in research.

In the following section, we outline some tenets of CRT and illustrate the importance of exposing racism in psychotherapy research. This is a way in which both a critical consciousness and an evidence base can be established in our profession that embeds equity in the perspectives of people of colour in research and transformative psychotherapy practices.

### **Critical race theory (CRT)**

The CRT movement began in the post-civil rights era as schools were being desegregated. CRT is based upon the critical theory of legal scholars and assesses how institutions, such as criminal justice, education, the housing market, healthcare, and labour market institutions, have unequal practices (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2012). The application of CRT practice can be extended to critiquing inequality and racism in psychotherapy and other forms of trauma for people of indigenous backgrounds. Drawing on the work of some CRT scholars, we summarise some of the themes found in CRT and illustrate them with reference to the psychological and social psychology sphere (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2012; McDowell & Jeris, 2004):

1. Challenging the belief that racism is normal or ordinary and the argument that race is socially constructed and not biologically natural.
2. Focusing on what CRT scholars call “interest convergence” or “material determinism”, the argument is that legal advances (or setbacks) for people of colour tend to serve the interests of dominant white groups. Thus, the racial hierarchy that characterises Western and European societies may be unaffected or even reinforced by ostensible improvements in the legal status of oppressed or exploited people.
3. CRT values the notions of intersectionality and anti-essentialism, which argue that no individual can be adequately identified by membership in a single group. An African American or Black British person, for example, may also identify as a woman, heterosexual, having a faith, and so on.
4. The ultimate goal of CRT is social justice. This can be illustrated by challenging unfair outcomes for ethnic minorities in society and promoting inclusivity in research, and this is seen as an ethical and moral position. This can be

exemplified by members from diverse communities being involved in research design, collection and analysis of data, and writing and dissemination.

5. CRT critiques the perspective that racism is primarily an individual or psychological problem. This point can be illustrated, for example, by the work of Breen (2021), who argues that racial and ethnic minorities (among other socially vulnerable groups) are highly likely to be impacted and have slower recovery rates from disasters. Fussell et al. (2010, p. 24) concurs with this and argues that pre-existing inequalities, from socioeconomic status, race, and age due to predisposing factors, exacerbate the limitations in capacity to recover. Thus, systemic racism and discriminatory and racist practices, rather than individual psychological problems, are some of the reasons that people from diverse communities fall behind white people in nearly every aspect of social life (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).
6. CRT argues that White supremacy is so ingrained in our institutions and cultural practices and that it is often unrecognisable, creating an “invisible norm” against which all other races are measured (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7). Thus, far from being an exception, racism is experienced by all those who fall outside the identity of Whiteness. People from diverse communities have a unique voice in racial matters because of their socially minoritised position and experiences with oppression and microaggressions. For this reason, inclusivity of racially marginalised members of society being authentically (i.e., not tokenistically) represented in research is important. Thus, CRT has an openness and commitment to opportunities for others telling their stories, deconstructing existing narratives, and challenging “embedded preconceptions that marginalise others or conceal their humanity” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 42). In addition, a CRT perspective challenges White-dominated “truth”, and in the case of psychological research, challenges research methods that are not culturally sensitive or reflective of the impact of the research and approach on participants. In line with this, Delgado and Stefancic (2001) make reference to what they call the “voice-of-colour thesis”:

The voice-of-colour thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, Indian, Asian, and Latino/a writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters that

the whites are unlikely to know. Minority status, in other words, brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism. (p. 9)

7. Another important facet of CRT is counter-storytelling. Oulanova et al. (in press) argue that the act of storytelling can be a powerful tool for creating meaning and disrupting normative myths, narratives, and metaphors about minoritised individuals. CRT emphasises the importance of the telling of counter-narratives through research evidence and of engaging voices of those with the lived experience of being marginalised by the dominant culture. Thus, these counter-narratives resist the “master narratives”, which reinforce systems of oppression (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 27).

We focus here on the importance of engaging with counter-narratives in the research of those from diverse communities and we draw on examples from the work of scholars from those Black and diverse communities. These include Kenneth Bancroft Clark (1914–2005) and Mamie Phipps Clark (1917–1983) whose famous research and work on the “Doll Study” presented responses of more than 200 Black children who were presented with a white or brown doll and were asked which doll was beautiful. Their findings showed the children preferred white dolls from as early as three years old. Their research impact and conclusions were that experiences of segregation were psychologically traumatic, became introjected as part of racial identification, and were damaging (Clark & Clark, 1939). Other influential Black psychologists whose bodies of research work counteracted racism and bias in studies towards those of African heritage include research on the psychology of race. This laid the groundwork for challenging many psychologists’ and researchers’ views of race and misdiagnosis of African American children due to biased psychological testing. For example, see Clark’s 30-year review on changing concepts in mental health (Sumner & Shaed, 1945).

In line with this, others continued with research that evidenced that psychological tests which were Eurocentric and did not take into consideration the cultural context of the participants led to bias in the results. For example, Robert Lee Williams, a founding member of the National Association of Black Psychologists, created the *Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity* (BITCH-100), which took into

consideration the African American vernacular and cultural lived experience. This test showed that intelligence testing was biased and offered a counter-narrative that spoke to African Americans as not intellectually inferior to European Americans, but showed that the differences in speech and lived experience in Eurocentric-based psychometric tests and measures skewed IQ results (Williams, 1975).

These tenets permit examination of Whiteness, racism, privilege, intersectionality, and shared stories of oppression and microaggressions. As the term suggests, CRT offers both a critique of theory that is racist or based on racist assumptions, as well as alternative theory and narratives. We want to highlight that the CRT lens that we used to question and engage with this historical research and brief literature review offered us counter-narratives to resist the 'main' Eurocentric-based psychology narratives on race, ethnicity, identity, and intelligence. This forms the backdrop for the importance of a critical race stance in psychology and in psychometric testing, because to ignore it means to have results that can be negatively biased towards clients from diverse communities whose lived experiences and cultures have not been taken into consideration in the psychometric process.

### **CRT as a methodology for research**

In accordance with the transdisciplinary nature of psychotherapy, and bearing in mind the significant role of ethnic identity in health outcomes, CRT can be utilised as a theoretical framework and analysis tool for psychotherapy research. In this section, we (1) briefly overview the importance of employing CRT as a methodology for psychotherapy research, (2) offer a commentary that emphasises how psychotherapists can engage with qualitative research by firstly clarifying their own ontological and epistemological positions, and (3) propose ways CRT can be used in a range of methods in psychotherapy research.

It has been noted that a methodology is the rationale for the research approach, and the lens through which the analysis occurs (McLeod, 2015). Thus, in this context, methodology describes the general research strategy that outlines the way in which psychotherapy research is to be undertaken. The methodology should impact which method(s) are chosen for research and, hence, these methods are the specific tools and procedures used to collect and analyse data (Howell, 2013; McLeod, 2015).

Examples of methodologies which can be employed to engage with CRT include those that use phenomenology and interpretative phenomenological analysis (J. A. Smith et al., 2022). Such studies focus on describing the *lived experience* of a particular phenomenon, such as, for example, the mental health experiences of international graduate students of colour (Anandavalli et al., 2021).

We have also identified within the literature that participatory approaches to research methods have also been successfully employed in conducting CRT-focused research. This approach focuses on the empowerment of those for whom the research is relevant and ensures that they are fully involved in developing, designing, and undertaking the research, as well as in disseminating the findings (Fine et al., 2021; Hugman et al., 2011). In line with this, it is argued that there remains limited evidence for community-based participatory research in counselling and psychotherapy (Spong & Waters, 2015).

Another consideration is that of grounded theory, which involves the construction of hypotheses and theories through the collection and analysis of data, taking an inductive approach to develop a new theory (Bryant, 2019). Drawing on concerns regarding retention of students of colour in graduate programmes in higher education across disciplines, Hipolito-Delgado et al. (2021) use CRT and grounded theory to propose the importance of increasing ethnic diversity as a way of enriching psychotherapy training programs, as it enables a wider range of voices and experiences. They also argue that it increases the cultural competence of all students, and they propose a liberatory theory of academic success.

We have also identified a narrative approach in the literature as another preferred method in CRT, as it enables the gathering of multiple-perspective accounts of individuals, communities, and groups. A narrative approach directly addresses dominant and non-dominant discourse in psychotherapy (and other) contexts and acknowledges roles that socially oppressive cultural discourses, such as racial stereotypes, can play (DeVance Taliaferro et al., 2013). Narrative research can take an oral or written form, in which researchers minimally prompt participants on a topic that may highlight a host of issues, including identifying power differentials within a

person-in-environment perspective or socially constructed oppression (DeVance Taliaferro et al., 2013; Semmler & Williams, 2000).

We cannot describe all the methods and approaches that psychotherapists can employ in engaging with CRT in this chapter, but as already noted, we acknowledge the congruence between CRT and a range of other critical methodologies.

Additionally, we note that CRT takes an interdisciplinary approach, and can engage a variety of methods, and epistemologies, to illuminate the effects of racism, sexism, classism, and power distribution (Davis, 2022). From our experience, engaging a CRT methodology also enables those from marginalised and diverse communities who have experienced social injustices to speak on their experiences of psychotherapy or on factors contributing to different forms of trauma due to systemic oppression. In line with this, we reiterate in the following section the importance of researchers engaging with their own positioning (ontological and epistemological) to face their own prejudice and bias, and to be ethical.

### **The importance of clarifying one's ontological and epistemological position with a CRT lens**

CRT is far from politically neutral, because it supports the argument that theories (and, indeed, research) is never neutral or objective, but reflects the worldview, social position or perspective, and interests of the theorist or researcher (McDowell & Jeris, 2004). CRT relies on this social-constructionist stance to understand race and racism. It is therefore important for qualitative researchers to make explicit the philosophical and epistemological paradigms and ontological assumptions that underly their research.

Our ontological and epistemological positions that inform our research and our valuing of CRT are rooted in constructionism, which argues that knowledge, reality, or truth can never be truly known (Pring, 2004; Punch, 2005). Rather, reality is highly subjective, and as noted by Blackburn's (2017) perspectivism philosophical stance, is that each subjective position is due to being positioned at different viewpoints. Additionally, we both align with the central theme of a post-modernist philosophical assumption and stance, which embraces and involves complexity, an ethos of "both/and" rather than "either/or", and enables us to accept seemingly different or

opposing perspectives, paradoxically, side-by-side (Charura & Lago, 2021b; Giovazolias, 2005; Wachtel, 2014). In line with this, Tillman (2002), when writing about culturally sensitive methodologies, postulates that it is important for researchers to challenge their own cultural power. Thus, we note that in engaging with CRT methodology, clarifying one's ontological and epistemological positions is an important process for researchers. It demonstrates continual commitment to challenge, as well as critiquing theoretical dominance and unequal power relations that subjugate, minimise, marginalise, or exclude the multiple lived realities and knowledge bases of their participants (Tillman, 2002).

### **Importance of reframing ethical principles**

All research should be ethical. We start with a quote from Paquin et al. (2019), who remind us about the notion of moving toward a psychotherapy science for all and the importance of conducting ethical and socially just research. They state:

However, as psychotherapy researchers, we should be grappling with how our own research can address these inequities, including moving beyond studying the impacts of culturally adapting treatments. This involves expanding our scientific objectives to get at the roots of these disparities to directly address society's most pernicious problems (e.g., racism, classism) as well as creating a psychotherapy science for all, not just some. (Paquin et al., 2019, p. 492)

We align with their argument by reminding the psychotherapy profession about the fundamental principle of “nonmaleficence—do no harm”. All of us within our profession must adhere to this principle without exception, to protect the rights and welfare of participants, clients, and patients, and to ensure they are not harmed (American Psychological Association, 2017). Paquin et al. (2019) argue that although nonmaleficence is only one of the fundamental ethics principles (along with others such as beneficence, autonomy, justice, and fidelity), “doing no harm” could be interpreted to mean that psychotherapy researchers should not continue to develop, design, implement, disseminate, or ask participants to engage in research that contributes to systemic oppression or the oppression of others. Given the often-invisible nature of oppressive systems and racism within our professions, we join Paquin et al. (2019) in their call and invite readers to begin engaging with this reinterpretation when developing all facets of their research.

## **Formulating a research question**

As with all research, researchers using CRT as a methodology should select a topic of interest, identify a gap in the literature, and begin formulating question(s) for research (Miller et al., 2018; Paquin et al., 2019; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Thus, the research questions and process should be open, exploratory, and directed primarily at how participants make sense of experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Miller et al., 2018; Paquin et al., 2019; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

## **A methodology engaging with critical participatory action**

The inability to work effectively with diverse cultural groups and failure to consider their sociocultural contexts within psychotherapy can be characterised as cultural malpractice (Nagayama & Gordon, 2001). Whilst inclusion of ethnic minority populations may help determine the external validity of psychotherapy research and its efficacy, to determine the generalisability of psychotherapy approaches psychotherapy researchers need to do more than simply recruit and include ethnic minorities in psychotherapy research (Nagayama & Gordon, 2001).

The adoption of a CRT perspective on research design, data collection, and analysis, dissemination, and implementation of findings has the potential to enable psychotherapy research to build a just society and profession. If new knowledge about ethnic minority populations is to be authentically evidenced, psychotherapy as a profession must come to terms with participative action research and collaborative inquiry approaches (McLeod, 2011; Ponterotto, 2005; K. Smith et al., 2021). We draw here on Winter's (2019) social justice perspective, in which she argues that an illustration of participative action research and collaborative inquiry approaches from a psychotherapy social justice perspective embraces the ideas of "collaboration as a matter of principle" (p. 180). Thus, in aligning with the aim of CRT's ultimate goal of social justice, a CRT methodology should include approaches in which members from diverse and Black communities are involved in research design, collection and analysis of data, writing, and dissemination. K. Smith et al. (2021) highlights how participatory research is congruent with collaborative emancipatory approaches to research inquiry. This can be found within the methodological traditions associated with critical psychology (Fine et al., 2021). To give voice to the lived experience of people from diverse communities, CRT as a methodology for psychotherapy research can include counter-storytelling, use of poetry, biographies, family histories,

parables, chronicles, narratives, stories, fiction, and revisionist histories (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). We concur with Fine et al.'s (2021) argument that participation and inclusion of the voice of those with lived experience of marginalisation and racism is so crucial to social justice research. Put simply, from a CRT methodological design perspective, we therefore note “no research on us, or about us, or to represent us without us”!

As CRT has an activist dimension, engaging with it enables us to contribute to a paradigm shift. It enables opportunities for taking responsibility for atrocities done by others so that we can build an environment to learn from one another instead of gaining an inheritance of ignorance. In using CRT as a lens in counselling and psychotherapy research to decolonise psychotherapy, we need to strip back some of the structures on which research methodologies and approaches are built. We need an ongoing reflexive process that goes beyond its inclusion as a tick box exercise, and more engagement with immersing ourselves as researchers into a process of critiquing our power in relation to racialised others, and the intentionality and assumptions we hold about them from the very inception of research ideas to the research design, process, and dissemination.

## **Conclusion**

Some see CRT as creating fear and chaos, and many advocate to ban CRT stating that it is anti-American or anti-British, villainises white people, and propagandises children. However, we argue that having a non-colour ideology in society, and indeed in psychotherapy research, leads to continuous systemic racism and social inequalities. In society, this includes police brutality, voting suppression, access to healthcare, women's rights, gun violence, hunger, and food insecurity. In psychotherapy, this would manifest as perpetuation of the exclusion of people from minority and diverse communities in research and, consequently, a one-size-fits-all intervention approach which lacks cultural humility and disregards diversity and intersectionality. We argue that not allowing CRT to be taught is an attack on free speech and on knowing the truth about the history of our nations and of psychotherapy. As ethical researchers, professionals, and citizens, we should have appropriate respectful conversations which enable us to gain awareness about biases, foster new ideas about each other, and develop new skills for engagement.

For our professions to make a difference in a multi-ethnic, multiracial, multicultural, and diverse society today, we must unveil the truth, so that our present and future generations and professions can be healthy and succeed. We argue, therefore, that what is needed is a paradigm shift in psychotherapy research to authentically include methodologies that are sensitive to and engage with race. It remains important to identify theories from schools of thought which can enable strong critique of the psychotherapy profession, and CRT is one of the theories that can enable research and methodological emancipation from the status quo. Joining our voices with others in our field who have increasingly been speaking about racial injustice, we assert that racialisation and racism, subtle and overt, has impeded the development of our profession to be inclusive of all, within the domains of research and practice. Utilising CRT within research and psychotherapy practice can potentially facilitate greater understanding of our participants and clients through gaining knowledge of their context and lived experience. Thus, as argued by Moodley et al. (2018), “CRT provides another lens from which to contextualise, organise and analyse information revealed during the practice of mental health care” (p. 86). We acknowledge that many researchers and therapists may have the best of intentions, but without dismantling institutional, structural, and methodological racism in psychotherapy research, a perpetuation of subtle or overt discrimination will continue against racialised groups (Moodley et al., 2018).

To end, we reiterate the benefits of remaining open, of not assuming that as researchers any of us are free of discriminatory bias, or free from the influence of the structural frame on which the psychotherapy profession and historical research has benefited from, to the cost and exclusion of other groups, their lived experience, and their epistemologies. Furthermore, decolonising research methodologies informs decolonising research at all levels and stages—from consultation about the research question and participants through to ideas about data sovereignty, and from applying methods such as CRT to data analysis and findings through to dissemination.

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