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The Metaphysics of Counselling History on Colonized Land
La métaphysique de l'histoire du counseling en territoire colonisé

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ABSTRACT

This article offers a conceptual analysis of how Canadian counsellor education and counselling psychology can respond to colonial history through the teaching of its own history. Drawing on literature in counselling, education, and decolonial Indigenous scholarship, the authors work toward a positive and practical way to teach history that addresses power, colonization, and Indigenous intellectual traditions. Those in the fields of Canadian counselling, counsellor education, and counselling psychology are invited to expand their focus on epistemology into an appreciation of *being*. This focus on *being* leads to a broadened horizon of counselling as healing education and to a shift toward a place-centred pedagogy of history. It yields a radically different and markedly more humble and pluralistic pedagogy of the history of the field—one that is grounded within the reality of the land.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose une analyse conceptuelle de la façon dont les domaines de la formation des conseillers et de la psychologie du counseling peuvent réagir au passé historique colonial grâce à l'enseignement de leur propre histoire. En puisant dans la littérature sur le counseling, l'éducation, et les études communautaires autochtones de décolonisation, les auteurs recherchent une approche positive et pratique en vue d'enseigner l'histoire en saisissant les notions de pouvoir, de colonisation, et de traditions intellectuelles autochtones. On invite donc les personnes œuvrant au Canada dans les domaines du counseling, de la formation des conseillers, et de la psychologie du counseling à élargir leur vision de l'épistémologie dans le sens d'une appréciation de l'être. Ce recentrage sur l'être amène un point de vue plus large du counseling en tant que formation de guérison et une transition vers une pédagogie renouvelée de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Cela se traduit par une pédagogie de l'histoire de notre profession qui est radicalement différente et plus humble et pluraliste, une approche qui prend ses racines dans la réalité du territoire.

Today, Canadian counsellors and counselling psychologists have an opportunity to deepen their engagement with history in the Canadian landscapes in which they teach and practise. Here we offer a conceptual analysis of how Canadian counsellor education and counselling psychology can respond to colonial history through the teaching of its own history. Valuable work in our field elaborates Indigenous counselling paradigms for Indigenous peoples specifically (e.g., Duran, 2006; Gone & Alcántara, 2007; Goodwill & McCormick, 2012; Stewart et al., 2017). Yet here we re-examine the pedagogy of history in the discipline of Canadian counsellor education and counselling psychology as a whole (Goodman & Gorski, 2015; Hogan & Vaccaro, 2006; Moghaddam & Lee, 2006; Watts, 2004).

We build on previous decolonial work in counsellor education and counselling psychology (e.g., Duran, 2006; Goodman & Gorski, 2015; Stewart et al., 2017), in critical and Indigenous psychologies (e.g., Fanon, 2008; Pe-Pua, 2006), and in dialogues between Indigenous and Western knowledges occurring in philosophy (Dallmayr, 1993; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), science (Bang et al., 2012; Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999), and education (Donald, 2009; Furniss, 1997–1998; Haig-Brown, 2009; Mika, 2012). These demonstrate that scholars across traditions are finding value in what their colleagues are doing. Our contribution is in applying these conversations to the metaphysics and ontology (study of being) of history pedagogy in the fields of counsellor education and counselling psychology. We encourage an engagement with Indigenous ontologies at a foundational level through an act of listening, and we work toward a positive and practical way to teach history that addresses power, colonization, and Indigenous intellectual traditions. We argue that a pedagogical shift can be achieved by switching from a disciplinary history of epistemology to what counselling is in itself—to a place-based story of what *is*—and by situating Western disciplinary knowledge in the context of the first voices of Indigenous Knowledges in this place of Canada.

Audience, Disciplines, and Language Sets

Our intended audience consists of those who teach the history of counselling in Canada. However, we consider this very broadly in terms of how undergraduate students explain their studies, how counsellors educate the public and introduce clients to therapy, and how educators fix curricula, deliver pedagogy, and govern students' discourse in and out of class.

We attempted to avoid cultural appropriation through the following measures. We developed the article through a 3-year collaboration between the two authors and with input from Indigenous counselling scholar Alanaise Goodwill. We respond to existing Indigenous critiques of Western institutions and to explicit requests for cross-cultural engagement. We use public-facing sources from Indigenous scholars. We advocate that non-Indigenous counsellors should listen to Indigenous world views rather than extract discrete ceremonial practices

and appropriate them for other purposes out of context. Marker (1998) writes that non-Indigenous folks should attend to the critiques of contemporary society stemming from Indigenous world views rather than exoticize practices to create a superficial appropriated shamanism (see also Stewart et al., 2017). This paper is more of a general call to listen than a programmatic prescription—further pedagogical work could go deeper into specific histories and languages in local areas.

Why Do We Want to Listen?

Counselling as a profession and as part of Canadian public institutions holds an important voice in Canadian society on fundamental metaphysical beliefs about what it means to be human, to be healthy, and to have correct thinking and a correct world view (Comas-Díaz, 2011; Cushman, 1992; Leahey, 2009). These are both theoretical and practical influences as counsellors implement ideas in therapy, in public mental health advocacy, in court reports and testimony, in school curricular additions, and in parenting workshops. Yet Western social sciences such as psychology and counselling psychology have been criticized for their insularity, elitist locus of knowledge production, and naive universalization of a Euro-American world view (Moghaddam & Lee, 2006; Moreland, 1996; Norsworthy & Khuankaew, 2006; Staeuble, 2006). The promotion within counselling psychology of dominant models of humanness as superior to local and traditional knowledges damages its relationship with Indigenous peoples and other groups (Battiste, 1998; Danziger, 2006; Duran, 2006; Fanon, 2008).

So why should Canadian counselling psychology engage more seriously with Indigenous intellectual traditions, such that they might alter the foundations of the field? It is easy to cite a moral duty for reconciliation, put one tradition beside another, and then opt out with an easy gloss of multiculturalism that leaves dominant assumptions and the telling of the history of the field intact. It is crucial to move beyond this facile relativism (Marker, 2006; McCormick, 1998; St. Denis, 2011). Kurt Danziger (2006), a historian of psychology recognized in Canada and internationally, writes that "the tendency to conceptualize social context solely in terms of 'culture' almost invariably goes hand in hand with a tendency to overlook the importance of power relationships" (p. 222). Rather, counsellors can listen for the sake of historical accuracy, the scientific search for truth, the desire for a fulsome curriculum recognizing a diverse world, and the recognition of Indigenous peoples as harbouring authoritative original voices on what it means to be human.

Nationalist Histories

The history of Canadian counselling is situated within the larger history of Canadian national histories and global histories of colonization. Māori decolonial

theorist Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) relates that "the European powers had by the nineteenth century already established systems of rule and forms of social relations which governed interaction with the indigenous peoples being colonized" (p. 27). One of these forms of relations is "to consider indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all," which implies not "being capable of creating history, knowledge and society" and which "justified various policies of either extermination or domestication" (p. 27). These distortions create lacunae in both settler and Indigenous peoples' received historical education.

Canadian national histories orient toward European origins, and these form public consciousness of citizenship. Anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss (1997–1998) argues that by contrast, Indigenous peoples are cast as "supporting characters in a larger historical script" (p. 18) and their histories as a natural backdrop to the cumulative progress of individual civilized European men. She writes that "histories commemorating the arrival of early non-Native explorers, settlers, missionaries, and industries in the remote regions of Canada constitute the master narratives of Canadian nationalism" (p. 7) that operate on the levels of language, symbols, and intuition, such that merely saying the word pioneer "evokes images of settlers arriving in remote regions, … struggling against the forces of nature and, at times, 'hostile' Indians, and 'opening up' the wilderness for the advancement of civilization" (p. 11).

The genesis of the social sciences themselves is tied up with the ideological divide between allegedly developed modern peoples and undeveloped premodern peoples: "disciplinary boundaries were established between, on the one hand, the study of European modernity in national economy, sociology, and political science and, on the other hand, the study of 'premodern' cultures in anthropology and ethnology" (Staeuble, 2006, pp. 193). Gulerce (2006; also see Moghaddam & Lee, 2006; Staeuble, 2006) considers the international dissemination of social sciences along channels of power, writing that psychology's "internationalization in particular, just as globalization in general, is understood as its dissemination from the Western center toward the periphery. This, too, is itself a major modernist bias" (Gulerce, 2006, p. 91)—modernist bias meaning a prejudice among industrialized nations that they are intellectually superior to non-industrialized nations. Histories of developmental psychologies are tied up with histories of exploitative use of social science for so-called development of so-called Third World peoples. The strong American position in the politics of post–Second World War international relations led to American psychology's international dissemination (Staeuble, 2006). In Canada, an enduring settler-colonial state, this international dissemination turns inward as the state relates to Indigenous Nations as so-called developing peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012).

Disciplinary Histories

We can see the parallel attitude in disciplinary stories of the discovery of psychological principles and of the universal light of science's conquest of the pernicious darkness of localized superstitions. A Canadian introductory psychology professor once proudly announced, pointing to the chalkboard, "This is the definition of intelligence!" This hubris is not just an academic peculiarity but rather a superficial scientific fundamentalism that is an unacknowledged function of the Canadian colonial project. In colonial history telling, "The frontier encounter is characterized by moral opposition, conflict, and struggle; these relationships are eventually resolved through domination and conquest. Ultimately, settlers reemerge from the frontier experience transformed and upholding the values of self-reliance, democracy, competition, and freedom" (Furniss, 1997–1998, p. 10; see also Donald, 2009). In the Canadian context, psychology and counselling psychology's standard positivist pedagogical trope of science pressing back the dogmatism of religion and the subjectivity of spirituality recapitulates the colonial repression of metaphysical thought in Indigenous intellectual traditions and Indigenous sciences (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999; Stewart et al., 2017). In contrast to the diffuse cloud of favoured philosophies in counselling psychology, non-European intellectual traditions are, with few exceptions, slotted into the categories of mere culture, unreal spirituality, and naturally occurring cognitive behaviours—against which transcendental Euro-Canadian reason struggles in the search for autonomy and truth.

The Need for Indigenous Histories

As Smith (2012) writes, "Having been immersed in the Western academy which claims theory as thoroughly Western, which has constructed all the rules by which the indigenous world has been theorized, indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced" (p. 30). Indigenous perspectives have hit hidden institutional walls, and when admitted by settler academics, have been treated in the same way as sacred practices, which have been "defiled by a dissecting and shelving of entities and phenomena. Indigenous experiences were mutilated by a scientific classificatory matter-of-fact-ness that refused the metaphysical imperative" (Marker, 2018, p. 458). Therefore, a critical analysis of power and history as they impact metaphysics is key to an engagement with Indigenous Knowledges (Danziger, 2006).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2012) reported that "Canadians have been denied a full and proper education as to … the history of the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples" (p. 25). It noted that the earlier Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples called for "a new relationship between Canada and Aboriginal peoples" based on "mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing, and mutual responsibility" (p. 23). Although the present paper is not limited to the discourse of reconciliation, this call for sharing

contains an important spirit with which counselling can pursue relations in education, as "the Canadian school system has a major role to play in re-educating the country about this part of our long-term, shared history, with its present-day implications" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012, p. 9).

Pedagogical Restriction of Theoretical Orientations

Understanding the Goals

To understand the history of colonization and the impacts on counselling's relationships with Indigenous Knowledges, it is important to understand the ends (teleologies) toward which counselling ideologies are directed (Marker, 2015). One place to examine counselling psychology ideology is in what are called theoretical orientations. Theoretical orientations are not simply low-level behavioural theories of counselling skills or mid-level psychological theories of limited scope, as they are said to be by some professors of counselling psychology. These orientations stem explicitly from wholesale world views and from epistemological (knowledge-making) packages well known to the rest of the world (McCormick, 1998). Training explicitly necessitates that new practitioners school clients in these views as well as take on these positions themselves (personal reflections being graded objectively; see Ruitenberg, 2011). An example of this today is Irvin Yalom's influential brand of existential psychotherapy, which instructs counselling students to re-educate their clients to believe that experiences of spirituality and thoughts of the afterlife are silly defence mechanisms to be eradicated (Overholser, 2005; Yalom & Josselson, 2011). While there is a lack of fit between Yalom's stance here and evolutions in counselling ethics (e.g., McCormick, 1998), the point remains: the field's sanctioning of ideas is not neutral. Smith (2012) writes that academic writing "privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant" (p. 38).

The Language of "Schools"

The theoretical orientations of counselling psychology are representatives of what we refer to as schools of thought within psychology, and in turn, these schools of thought implement world views that differ on what it is to be human and on the very subject matter of psychology. Danziger (2006) writes that the historical origin of "the language of 'schools'" (p. 211) during psychology's North American development before the Second World War was a way of obscuring "the fact that there was fundamental disagreement about the subject matter of psychology and the appropriate way of studying it" (p. 211). This language of schools has persisted to the present—as a device for a limited plurality, it is true, but also as a device for obscuring important philosophical discussions, which then defer to dominant positivist metaphysics (Leahey, 1980). At present in Canada, the table of available theoretical options is not set with what is available in the

history of the land. Rather, it is set by arrangements of disciplinary boundaries that are expressions of power over epistemology (forms of knowledge). The table is set for diverse students to eat a rehearsal of compliance to dominant world views (see Ruitenberg, 2011). Given that this restriction excludes Indigenous world views, counselling recapitulates centuries of settler educational colonialism that eradicated these world views from places of epistemological authority (Rosaldo, 1989). Notably, counselling psychology programs are professional programs that control access to employment in settler wealth-accumulation economies (Blustein, 2006). As Smith (2012) concludes, "Indigenous peoples have been, in many ways, oppressed by theory" (p. 39).

Theory Versus Culture

The zeitgeist of counselling psychology, while it now interfaces with diversity in new ways, still largely sees Indigenous Knowledges as related to counselling only through the lens of uncritical multiculturalism and furthermore sees multicultural competence as a specialized feature of professional practice to be pulled out with ethnically defined others. Students are required to learn a Euro-American orientation as their model for professional thought, then learn to practise sensitivity to other world views only for the sake of individual clients. To our knowledge, the reverse does not occur.

Critical multicultural counselling perspectives (e.g., Goodman & Gorski, 2015) often are seen as optional specializations or fringe elements and not taken as the foundation of psychological discourse. Even in classes that integrate these perspectives, they often are not the framing model of the field but rather are lines for future development and areas for self-directed study by interested students—which is code for niche or minority students—on their own time. Students are given the impression that they can make it through to their professional careers without a functional grasp of these topics. There may also be a lack of faculty members interested in teaching such material, students may not have room for elective courses in addition to mandatory courses, and elective courses may then be cancelled due to low enrolment.

Kuokkanen (2008) argues that these lapses are "not limited to merely not-knowing or lack of understanding" but actually result from "practices and discourses that actively foreclose other than dominant epistemes [knowledges] and refuse to seriously contemplate their existence" (p. 63), and in so doing they render their metaphysical underpinnings silent. We argue that, in counselling psychology, this seems to be achieved through the invisible bifurcation of theoretical orientations from cultural competency specializations—clearly in this split the latter do not count as the former and do not contribute to theorizing unless they are secularized, dehistoricized, and appropriated (Deloria, 1999; Fellner et al., 2020; Paranjpe, 2006; Taiana, 2006). These curricular observations uncover

normative assumptions about the mainstream that are fundamental in the educational system despite any aspirational gloss (Moghaddam & Lee, 2006).

On the Fringes

This situation in counselling education parallels the delivery of so-called psychoeducation to counselling clients who must find supposedly alternative services if they wish to receive culturally safe counselling, and it parallels the history of public education in Canada as well. Furniss (1997–1998) notes that "in 1995 the BC provincial government created a province-wide Grade 12 elective course: BC First Nations Studies" (p. 19) but adds that this simply characterizes the inertia of colonial curriculum: "Challenges to the dominant nationalist histories are being introduced on the fringes of the educational system … in optional electives rather than in standard academic subjects" (p. 20). Although some progress has been made in public education, the same phenomenon is still visible in psychology. Ojibway counselling psychologist Alanaise Goodwill argues that part of the inertia comes from "exclusionary institutions where counselling psychology is taught that have been ignorant to Indigenous Knowledges or have silenced Indigenous voices" (personal communication, October 20, 2019). While there have been rare and important inroads for Indigenous graduate students specifically (e.g., Marshall et al., 2017), Goodwill points out that more generally "there is no mandatory course content attending to decolonization of our knowledge systems in counselling psychology" and that there is no inherent "mechanism in our training programs or supervision models to disrupt this inevitable way of reproducing ourselves" as colonially minded scholars and practitioners (personal communication, October 20, 2019).

Counselling as a Euro-Canadian Specialty?

Here we are interested in reformulating the field as a whole. One way toward this would be to recast what is now counselling psychology as a Euro-Canadian settler cultural specialization. While there is some merit in this approach, counselling psychology may rather represent a modernist cultural orientation that differs from the traditional cultures comprising Euro-Canadian diversity. It may be more useful to pit both Euro-Canadians and Indigenous peoples against unquestioned universals (Cushman, 1992; Escobar, 2004; Illich, 1971/2000, 1973/2001; Pidgeon et al., 2013; Stewart et al., 2017), such as adaptation and adjustment (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) and economically uncritical career engagement (e.g., DeBell, 2006; see also Adamuti-Trache et al., 2013; Coutinho & Blustein, 2014; L. M. Ellis & Chen, 2013).

One-Way Education

Listening to history is central because it sheds light on interrelations across boundaries (Donald, 2009) and because it explains the secondary status accorded

to Indigenous Knowledges as an intentional product of societal operations. Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999) write that "the tendency in most of the literature on Native education is to focus on how to get Native people to understand the Western/scientific view of the world" (p. 126). For instance, career counselling theorist Camille DeBell (2006) says that lack of "'mental' infrastructure (e.g., the willingness to adopt a scientific paradigm)" is "directly linked" to "the turmoil in many emerging nation-states" (p. 326). Conversely, Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999) continue, "There is very little literature that addresses how to get Western scientists and educators to understand Native worldviews.… Non-Native people, too, need to recognize the existence of multiple worldviews and knowledge systems" (p. 126). Efforts to develop engagement on the part of Canadian counselling psychology have been made for some time by Indigenous writers, and it is important to acknowledge these contrapuntal voices fighting dominant discourses (McCormick, 1998; Morrissette & Gadbois, 2006; Poonwassie & Charter, 2001).

Problems With Multiculturalism

In some ways, a reimagining of counselling has already been undertaken by multicultural counselling movements, which have improved cultural responsiveness toward students and clients (Goodman & Gorski, 2015). These efforts are immensely important. However, there are problems with multiculturalism when harnessed superficially in service of the status quo. For instance, multicultural movements sometimes remain reduced to and arbitrated by established interests and paradigms (Goodman & Gorski, 2015; Marker, 2006; St. Denis, 2011; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Marker (2006) points out the reductive nature of democratic pluralist notions of multiculturalism that operate by reducing all parties' histories and politics down to merely relative and subjective positions. This is problematic for racialized people, immigrants, and Indigenous peoples alike because of the central relevance of their different-but-objective histories of struggle with colonial society (St. Denis, 2011). Sweeping these under the rug as quaint but harmless cultural beliefs is not only patronizing but also deeply unjust. Yet this is the foundation of Canadian multiculturalism. As Marker (2016) has noted, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's White Paper of 1969 attempted to reduce Indigenous peoples' claims to national sovereignty, lands, and recompense to just this kind of relativistic and powerless subjective position in the name of multicultural equality (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1969)—an equality based on individual economic participation. This government paper, incidentally, included career counselling in its proposed process of assimilating Indigenous people into the Canadian economy. Moodley (2007) rhetorically asks: "Can multiculturalism that is often politically powerless … and socially neutral give rise to an epistemology within which therapy can articulate a meaningful analysis of many of the traumatic experiences that clients face on a day to day level, such as racism, sexism, misogyny, homophobia and economic oppression?" (p. 3).

At risk of being occluded are the histories of violence against Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009). These include the forced removal of many Indigenous people from their networks of relationships with the beings of the ecosystem, the subsequent degradation of the *being* of the land itself (Marker, 2017), as well as cultural genocide specifically targeting Indigenous ontology, knowledge systems, and lifeways (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006). The idea of violence being ontological, or to do with *being*, may be understood in two connected ways: on the one hand, it can mean violence against intellectual traditions that contain ontological views, to repress these views and to quell political opposition, but on the other hand, it can mean violence against being itself, such as the removal of Indigenous children from the land of which they are an integral part. Entangled in these histories of violence against the *being* of Indigenous people are the roles played by colonial settler European systems of education and medicine (roots of our field), which may continue to this day in parallel colonial structures embedded in professional higher education training programs (Barman, 1995; Fellner et al., 2020; Wong et al., 2013).

There are, however, critical and Indigenous counselling scholars who interface with different groups on a dignified level, recognizing autonomy, intellectual tradition, epistemology, and ontology (Brock, 2006a; Duran, 2006; Gone & Alcántara, 2007; Goodman & Gorski, 2015; Stewart et al., 2017). As important as these scholars are, we suspect they have not been able to alter the core organizing principles of the field to date. Due to the power of the institution, these efforts to make counselling relevant to a multitude of groups have been received by the field as a project *for* these groups and not for the edification of the general field about what counselling could be (Moghaddam & Lee, 2006). Granted, various sanctioned theoretical orientations pose differing metaphysics and epistemologies, but as we have illustrated, the pedagogical expedience that selects a subset of these positions often reasserts the field's perspectives rather than broadens them (Moodley, 2007). Because of this, what these orientations possess in terms of foundational philosophy or world view is almost never explored in counselling training even when students are explicitly instructed to explore underlying philosophies of their orientations. The impact remains shallow under the edifice of a superficial North American scientific psychological fundamentalism (Giorgi, 1981) and under the pressures on students to conform to become registered professionals (Blustein, 2006; Ruitenberg, 2011). This inevitably reproduces structures of power and epistemology as well as of metaphysics and ontology.

Why Indigenous Concerns Particularly?

The experiences of Indigenous people are particularly important to bring into conversation with Western traditions of counselling psychology because of the large discrepancy in world views and their unique histories with settler colonization (St. Denis, 2011; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Many immigrant and minority groups

have very tragic histories with Canadian governments and Western institutions. For instance, Canadian governments marginalized, oppressed, displaced, and unjustly interned immigrants and racialized minorities, with historical markers such as the Komagata Maru for Sikhs and others and the internment of Japanese Canadians standing out as cultural soul wounds, if we can borrow that word from Duran's (2006) use with Indigenous Peoples. Nevertheless, the histories of millennia of ecological and metaphysical relationships with this land, then of dispossession and genocide through legal, medical, and academic abuses, create a unique backdrop for current relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Western institutions.

An Act of Listening

The field can face this colonial history as an opportunity to recognize, listen to, and learn from the unjust exercises of power and the resulting repression of intellectual traditions of Indigenous Peoples (Battiste, 1998; Brayboy & Maughan, 2009). First and foremost in this recognition is the necessity of taking a back seat in framing these traditions—suspending disciplinary lenses—and instead engaging through a radical act of listening (Mika, 2016).

There are many ways of listening. A naive realist or positivist perspective would suggest simply submitting our experiences of group differences to empirical investigation within established paradigms of psychological science, which just happen to be materially and behaviourally reductive. This is clearly insufficient and does not capture with any depth the tradition of Western science itself (Rocha & Clegg, 2017), nor does it represent the plurality of viewpoints that make counselling psychology and Canadian counselling psychology unique, such as their inclusion of "a range of qualitative approaches and critical perspectives" (Sinacore et al., 2011, p. 283). At the same time, a radical relativism fails to recognize a shared world where contested claims of metaphysics, history, and politics matter to other parties.

However, counselling psychology can have a dialogue motivated by the hope that mutual learning can happen through different intellectual traditions that each contributes uniquely. Such a dialogue would have to afford respect toward shared and contested metaphysical positions, intellectual traditions and lifeways, notions of humanness, selfhood, health (Illich, 1971/2000; Martín-Baró, 1994), and historical and political realities (Blaser, 2014; Stewart et al., 2017). From within the field, Roy Moodley (2007) of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education envisions a new critical multicultural counselling psychology as comprising "a place of intersections, interconnections and cultural interpretations—where dominant hegemonic cultural meanings could be interrogated and reinscribed to empower marginalised voices" (p. 9).

A Shift to Being

When settler practitioners in counselling psychology listen openly to Indigenous intellectual traditions, one of the first things heard is a concern for the beings of things over and above methodological procedures of knowing. They are invited by many Indigenous theorists to expand their exclusive focus on epistemology (the study of knowing) into an appreciation of ontology (the study of being). Although many Indigenous authors use the term ontology, here we use the word metaphysics to stress the relevance ontologies have for mutual learning between peoples (Marker, 2006; Mika, 2012; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). To move to a place of listening on the level of being means that counsellors must ask what counselling is in its being, rather than how it has been known through scientific epistemology (Danziger, 2006; Duran, 2006; Heidegger, 2010).

Cecilia Taiana (2006), a Canadian scholar of Argentina, analyzes the history of shifting Argentinian ideas of what constitutes knowledge and how these ideas "operated as a conceptual paradigm or discursive framework" that "decide[s] what counts as knowledge at any given moment" (p. 35). Taiana (2006) describes Argentina as using a European point of reference for its scientific identity, maintaining "close cultural and scientific ties with Europe," and "France and French culture provided the 'mirror' into which the Argentinean secular and republican intelligentsia gazed to confirm its identity and destiny" (p. 36), satisfying this New World nation's "search for a lost, but desired, shattered French identity" (p. 49). This "imaginary identity guided Argentineans' intellectual choices throughout the century and became a form of cultural filter for transatlantic migrating discourses in the disciplines of the mind" (Taiana, 2006, p. 36). We argue that Canada, like Argentina, has used European and then American world views as a cultural filter during the same time that it attempted to purge Indigenous intellectual traditions from the Canadian landscape.

We argue that this Western modernist cultural filter includes a progressivist or "Whig approach to history that views later developments as superior to earlier ones" (Paranjpe, 2006, p. 56; see also Leahey, 2009). Old is automatically bad in this world view, and "pre-modern psychology is often deemed to be philosophy" (Paranjpe, 2006, p. 56). In direct contrast to this kind of modernist history of psychology, Canadian psychology professor emeritus Anand Paranjpe (2006) describes ancient South Asian texts, often called religious or philosophical, as "significant contributions to psychological thinking" (p. 56) that have "set the tone for an uninterrupted intellectual tradition" of psychology (p. 57). Aydan Gulerce (2006), writing on Turkish history of psychology, identifies the transition point in this attitude: "Turkish psychologists do not get to study systematically and think about the long historical period prior to the common celebratory historical marker of the establishment of a Western chair of experimental psychology" (p. 76). Does old equal bad in psychology as a consequence of the application of natural science

methods to changing social phenomena? Or is this an intentional anti-traditional and ethnocentric stance stemming from Western enlightenment philosophy? As Marker (2011) suggests, "Too often the history of Aboriginal–white relations in Canada is presented as a melodramatic morality play casting the Native people as victims of progress and as unwilling to adapt to the social transformations of the nineteenth century" (p. 109).

And what about "change"? It is common to conceive of counselling as essentially about change without any serious consideration of the metaphysics of change. Māori professor of educational philosophy Carl Te Hira Mika (2015) proposes that "Heidegger sketches a useful critique for a Māori approach to a problem that colonization itself does not want us to think about" (p. 4). Within the Western modernist context, change leads too easily to the connotation that one is changing from one present state of being, or even neurological state, at one present time to another present state of being or material condition at another present time (Heidegger, 2010). Even without the reduction to changing neurological states, this way of seeing change forecloses on the metaphysics of diverse groups in favour of a linear progression of present "nows" in which, sliced thin, immediately present states are all that is. This negates the legitimacy of both phenomenological accounts (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) and some Indigenous accounts (Mika, 2015) of being in relation to developmental course, ancestors, and traditions—that is, of metaphysically *being* in relationship with past and future. As Melville's (1851) Captain Ahab orates, "All visible objects, man, are but as pasteboard masks.… Some unknown but still reasoning thing puts forth the mouldings of its features from behind the unreasoning mask. If man will strike, strike through the mask!" (p. 181).

Counselling as Human Development and Healing Education

Counselling as Education

Some theorists have defined counselling as a technical problem management system (e.g., A. Ellis, 2011). Certainly such a system can be of use, but is it what counselling *is*? Such descriptions often fail to capture what practitioners know to be the case about the *being* of counselling for a variety of reasons, some emotional and aesthetic if not spiritual, some embodied and relational, and some countering imperialism. When many of us as practitioners hear counselling described in the language of the machine, we have a gut reaction as people who have sat with others in pain, knowing that the being of this type of relationship, whatever it is, has been covered over (Rocha, 2015).

Education is a fitting lens for a few commonly cited reasons: the educational roots of counselling's history, the academic education of counsellors, and the education of society and clients with respect to mind, action, identity, personhood, and thinking. Besides, if we see suffering as meaningful and as the human

condition (Unamuno, 1954), then existing through suffering becomes an essential element of the human story—that is, a central aspect of human development. Therefore, counselling as being with people living through suffering means that counselling is part of human development, and this, in turn, means that counselling is education in the larger sense of education as building and forming, leading and pulling out the humanity and the character of the person (Rocha, 2015).

A Whole World View Approach

When those in Canadian counselling psychology think about Indigenous healing traditions, an obvious parallel to counselling interventions seems to be individual healing ceremonies and practices. Yet, in Western traditions, individual Western healing activities find their places inside Freudian, Eriksonian, neuro-cognitive, or humanistic accounts of human development, which serve as master templates or world views. Similarly, Indigenous healing ceremonies and healing actions depend on larger Indigenous developmental cultural contexts and world views, without which they can easily be misunderstood, appropriated, or used dangerously (Duran, 2006; Kuokkanen, 2008; Waterfall et al., 2017).

We acknowledge the traditional knowledge holders of human healing education. Listening to these Indigenous intellectual traditions means taking them not as ethnographic data, not as strictly of clinical relevance, and not as merely religious, but rather as developmental accounts of human life. We must frame this dialogue as an inquiry between developmental accounts from sovereign intellectual traditions rather than engage only through the proxies of appropriated and secularized cultural products obtained through the resource extraction mentality of colonialism (Kuokkanen, 2008). In sum, we argue that we can take a broader look at counselling by considering it as an educational endeavour based on different accounts of human development. Counselling as healing education should start by listening to developmental traditions that are the lifeblood of more specific healing interventions. It is toward this first step of listening to philosophy of being, existence, and meaning that is of utmost importance—that is, listening to metaphysics.

A Place-Based History

In listening to Indigenous traditions, Canadian counselling psychology is invited into the fundamentality of place or land in understanding what *is*. Many Indigenous intellectual traditions are based in histories and knowledges embedded in places on the land (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009), where land comprises the ecosystem of experiential connections between human beings and non-human beings in local contexts (Marker, 2018; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Land, in this sense, is a fundamental organizing principle of all subsequent being and knowledge. In contrast, when we in Canadian counselling psychology tell the story of our field,

we typically trace our history horizontally to European and Euro-American philosophies and sciences that have arisen in other places (Leahey, 2009). To tell the story of the field with historical fidelity to land means responding to colonization by re-evaluating the way we trace the lineage of the field and by shifting toward a place-centred pedagogy of history (Marker, 2011).

There has not been a time when culture was monolithic in North America. From Indigenous peoples to slavery and Asian labour to the establishment of an ethnically diverse European settler community with racist immigration policies (Dorfman, 1982), diverse peoples and viewpoints have always existed here. Therefore, it is erroneous to frame a discussion along the lines that recent immigration somehow increases our moral duty not to silence BIPOC voices. In addition, we argue that diverse voices bear on theory, not just on implementation concerns.

First Voices in Healing Education

Taking the above points together, we can see counselling as healing education and history as place based. This means that the field can orient its pedagogy of history using the following question: "What is the history of healing education in this place?" In light of settler colonization and the coordinated repression of Indigenous Knowledges, Canadian counselling psychology can respond by acknowledging Indigenous peoples as the first voices of healing education in this land (Deloria, 1999; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). The field can use its pedagogy of history to tell the truths of power and its abuse (Stewart et al., 2017) and to appreciate the role Indigenous peoples have in remaining the holders of deep knowledge of the being of this land and of human development within it. Cree education scholar Dwayne Trevor Donald (2009) strikes a cautiously positive chord, writing that "the creation of texts and stories that emphasize human connectivity can complexify understandings of the significance of living together that traverse perceived frontiers of difference" (p. 8).

Histories of Indigenous healing and educational traditions are as diverse as Indigenous peoples, and yet there are commonalities as well. Here we will offer a glimpse of one tradition, and the reader is directed to sources such as Reeves and Stewart (2017) for more. In their book, *The Four Hills of Life: Ojibwe Wisdom*, Elder and former professor Thomas Peacock and author and artist Marlene Wisuri (2006) provide a traditional Ojibwe developmental philosophy or "teaching about the sacred journey of life and its purpose" (p. 9). They quote Lakota medicine man Black Elk's explanation of this journey's form: "Everything the power of the world does is done in a circle.… The life of a man is a circle from childhood to childhood, and so it is in everything where power moves" (Neihardt, 1932/1961, pp. 198–199).

All four of the hills of life relate to being and becoming: "In their beginnings, all things are nothing but a possibility. Then they are conceived and take on form

and being" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 21). Everything that comes into being has its own special purpose and meaning, including stars, mountains, and people. The first hill of life starts with the challenge of birth, and the "first responsibility was simply to be someone's baby and to be loved" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 33).

The second hill of life is "a time for play, for education and acquiring the skills needed for adulthood, and for moral training to ensure we fulfill obligations to others" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 47). Grandparents and parents help raise youth according to "the values of *minobimaadiziwin* (the Good Path)": "honor the Creator, honor elders, honor women, honor the elder brothers (plants and animals), be peaceful, keep promises, be kind, be courageous, and be moderate" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 52). Later on, ceremonies helped young people find their life's purpose.

The third hill of adulthood is long and complicated by "the burdens and duties of parenthood" and "the weight and uncertainties of leadership" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 71). Nevertheless, "men and women … must live out their visions" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 83). As we travel over the third hill, "we are surrounded by teachers—elders, peers, our partners, even the animal brothers. And lessons are everywhere—in the stars and the ripples of water, … on the petals of each flower" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 80).

The journey over the fourth hill contains old age, grandparenthood, the role of Elder, and the transition to death. Elders know cultural and community histories, are teachers and caregivers, sit on governing councils, and are "considered the voices of reason" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 97). Although "we exist to live out … our vision" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 105), "to live out our vision, we must ultimately follow the Good Path" (Peacock & Wisuri, 2006, p. 106). The educational role of elders in the lives of youth connects the circle.

Although we are talking about Indigenous first voices in healing education, we are not positing a linear chronological history of counselling so much as a cyclical layering and *mixing* (Marker, 2019). According to some Indigenous writers, education as the formation of the human person is also cyclically organized and oriented toward the centre of one's being rather than a linear progression. Human development is a development of the spiritual self in community: "The central drawing force is the self. The self is grounded in the profound silence of the universe—its sustenance is spiritual, it is love, it is a sense of belonging to a tribe, belonging to the universe, belonging to something greater than one's self" (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999, p. 128).

Second Voices in Healing Education

The second story of healing education in northern North America is a layering and mixing of traditions—European, African, Asian, and so on. Celia

Haig-Brown (2009) of York University explains that even early European North Americans were not a homogeneous group:

> Many people came for better lives, to escape war and famine, to seek freedom, to start anew in a country that was advertised as *terra nullius*, empty land, there for the asking. They came through being enticed by those who were finding the First Nations labour force less than cooperative and who were seeking to occupy "Indian" lands as a way of claiming them and their resources while simultaneously developing a market for the goods Europe was producing. (p. 9)

Similarly, when European sciences began to filter over, they were not simply the installation of a prepackaged product but rather the contextual nexus of ideas reinterpreted in a particular place (Brock, 2006b; Taiana, 2006). Thus, the second voices of healing education are not one but many, and the Euro-American stories below are but a few of these.

Origin Stories of Western Counselling

Genevan Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 18th-century naturalism promoted an individual developmental approach to vocational selection, and notably, American G. Stanley Hall's 19th-century child study movement cast education as a biologically conceived developmental psychology (Van Hesteren, 1971). Laid over these, Euro-American scientific psychology has many origin stories (Leahey, 2009), counselling psychology has its own, and Canadian counselling psychology more still (Sinacore et al., 2011). Here we will quickly look at counselling's origins in the United States, from which Canadian counselling draws influence (Van Hesteren, 1971), in order to contextualize one origin story in relationship with another.

Vocational Guidance

Vocational guidance arose in the late 19th century in the United States (Herr, 2013). Industrialization and urbanization displaced job options from local understandings of opportunities (Leahey, 2009). Immigrant integration also posed opportunities for abuses of psychological testing against minorities (Dorfman, 1982; Goddard, 1917; Herr, 2013).

Standing somewhat outside the field of psychology and closer to education, the vocational guidance counsellor was to advance a humanitarian cause: alleviating unemployment of disadvantaged students. It was an adjunct role to vocational education, a public school curriculum orienting working-class folk to practical, non-academic education that ostensibly would facilitate their employment options rather than college entrance (Herr, 2013).

In so much as this was a project of advancing the standing of lower classes, vocational guidance was a countercultural movement (B. Borgen, personal communication, January 14, 2019). However, within the United States, this

was tempered by a class-stratified system. African American historian Carter G. Woodson (1933) commented on the Black experience with vocational guidance during this period: "In view of the Negro's economic plight most of the schools are now worked up over what is called 'vocational guidance.' … To what, however, are they to guide their Negro students?" (p. 157). Education in outdated practical trades is not necessarily a liberating force, Woodson argued. However, the greater problem was a lack of economic opportunity due to racism and the legacy of slavery:

> There can be no such thing as vocational guidance. Such an effort implies an objective; and in the present plight of economic dependence there is no occupation for which the Negro may prepare himself with the assurance that he will find employment. (Woodson, 1933, p. 159)

Mental Testing

Meanwhile, in the late 19th century, psychology was developing tests of mental abilities (Van Hesteren, 1971). In Germany, Wilhelm Wundt pushed for a scientific basis of psychology following the natural sciences. The British psychologist Francis Galton (1883) coined the English word *eugenics* (from Greek *εὐ* and *γενής*) to articulate his purpose of giving "the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily" (p. 25). He pursued this through statistically testing differences in allegedly heritable intelligence (Van Hesteren, 1971). Influenced by both, James Cattell brought mental testing to the United States as a quantitative science. In France, Alfred Binet developed age-graded intelligence tests for educational placement, and Henry Goddard and Lewis Terman applied this to the American context. American mental testing was employed in the First World War, subsequent educational positivists like Edward Thorndike proliferated the movement, and vocational guidance used it to mine for individual differences (Van Hesteren, 1971).

Canadian Career Guidance

In the Canadian context, Bezanson et al. (2016) note the anti-poverty origins of the Canadian career guidance movement. They write that before the advent of social security in Canada, "in the early 1900s, lobbying began for employment offices within the community, specifically by the Salvation Army and the YMCA-YWCA. Their focus was on assisting people to find accommodation, as well as training and work" (Bezanson et al., 2016, p. 220). This was quickly followed by the introduction of vocational counselling in this community setting, was subsequently incorporated into public schooling, and was later funded by the federal government after the Second World War.

Mental Hygiene

Influenced by psychiatry and psychology, mental hygiene began as a movement to improve treatment of the mentally ill in the United States in 1908 and quickly spread to Canada (Van Hesteren, 1971). In 1918, the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene was formed. By 1920, psychologists and teachers were involved in school-based mental hygiene education and the focus turned to prevention of "mental disease, mental defect, delinquency, and the many milder forms of social maladjustment and inefficiency" (Bridges, 1928, as cited in Van Hesteren, 1971, p. 49). The movement began to merge with vocational guidance, informing it of "personal, social, and emotional problems" (Van Hesteren, 1971, pp. 57–58).

Hosting Guidance in Place

Vocational guidance was a field predicated on placement. We are stretching the term *placement* to allude to the Indigenous and Marxist theme of newcomers gaining a sense of place amid industrial and capitalist dislocation (Alexander, 2000; Deloria, 1973). We argue that vocational guidance sought to return people to a sense of place after migration—from rural communities, across the oceans, or through race slavery. On the one hand, this sometimes reinscribed the proper "place" of the African American and the so-called "feeble-minded" ethnic immigrant as working class or less than (Dorfman, 1982). On the other hand, it answered a need for placement in a physical sense and in a social sense in a post-industrialized metropolis where place no longer came naturally. In this limited way, we can see a healing education that places one's self into the landscape. Reading this second voice of vocational guidance through the hosting of Indigenous first voices of healing education, we would like to "make sure that education becomes realigned with the common philosophical thread, or the 'distant memory' of the ecological perspective. All peoples of the earth began from this vista" (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1999, p. 133). Here the memories of place among European, Asian, and African newcomers to North America are as powerful as the desire for a sense of place in the new landscape.

Immigration and Appropriation of Theory

In the late 20th century, various bodies of theory migrate into the field of counselling psychology—sometimes with sources acknowledged and sometimes without. At times, immigrated theory is seen as cross-culturally transferable, and at times it is not. An example of transferability would be the use of Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire's (1970/2000) concept of *conscientização* (conscientization) within Blustein's (2006) psychology of working as a human process instead of an exclusively Latin American cultural phenomenon (Coombes, 2012). To take another example, F. Ishu Ishiyama (2003) introduced Western psychology to

Japanese Morita therapy, arguing that it is useful for both “Asian and Western clients” (p. 217).

Unfortunately, in some cases theorists demarcate what they see as real science or theory from the mere culture of other traditions (e.g., American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Theory has been appropriated by treating traditional knowledge as raw natural material to be discovered by a transcendental and dispassionate science (Marker, 1998). Although we do not suggest any conclusion, we invite you to consider the “striking similarities” (Hofmann, 2008, p. 284) between Japanese Morita therapy and the newer acceptance and commitment therapy in the USA. In some cases, culture has been appropriated as ethnographic data, secularized and reduced, established under a new name within psychology, then educated back to that culture as glossy science.

While this paints a pluralistic picture of second voices in the field, the reality in educational and professional spaces is far from it. When counsellors are not faced with outright bias toward manualized treatments and randomized controlled trials with questionable ecological validity, they are commonly reminded that an imagined unitary Western model of scientific psychology remains the metaphysical gold standard while other incursions of theory are ghettoized by a tokenizing multiculturalism. The diversity of immigrated bodies of theory does not represent what Canadian counselling psychology sees as its foundation. Problematic assumptions represent the interests of a previous generation of immigrant settlers who are unsure of the ramifications of acknowledging other people and perspectives—even while using them.

An Invitation to Engage

We have argued that Canadian counselling psychology can listen to Indigenous intellectual traditions as a way to respond to colonial history. We found that this leads to a concern for questions of *being*, orienting us to the being of counselling as healing education and to the being of rich traditions of healing education layering and interacting in Canadian lands.

Educators want concrete suggestions, and counsellors want to get their hands on healing practices. Experiential learning is laudable, but from an Indigenous perspective, metaphysically permeated world views taught by the land are of greater concreteness than appropriated ceremony abstracted away from place. It is to these bedrock understandings that the field’s attention should first be drawn. Ongoing conversations between Western and Indigenous traditions will continue within Canadian counselling psychology (e.g., Fellner et al., 2020), yet whether these reach places of epistemological and metaphysical authority remains to be seen. We are neither hopeful nor despairing, but are watchful, noticing any moves that create change in this complex situation.

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Michael Marker was an Indigenous faculty member in the Department of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, at UBC. He contributed to this work as an instructor and a committee member over several years.

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