

Pipe Dreams: A Tale of Two Cities

Gregory Lowan-Trudeau
Assistant Professor
Werklund School of Education
University of Calgary, Canada
gelowan@ucalgary.ca

In Press in M. Robertson, R. Lawrence & G. Heath (Eds.)
Experiencing the Outdoors: Enhancing Strategies for Wellbeing
Sense Publishers

May 2014

Pipe Dreams: A Tale of Two Cities

Snow crunches beneath my feet as I reach the top of the ridge. A puff of warm breath temporarily melts the ice in my beard and obscures my vision. I pause and appreciate the frigid calm of this winter morning. I inhale and hold my breath. My vision soon clears and I gain a stunning view of the curious panorama before me. Beyond a small duck pond, the new lego-inspired children's hospital looms in the foreground, obscuring the suburbs, foothills, and Bow River valley that eventually give way to the Mistakis¹, the western horizon line of the Rocky Mountains used by the Blackfoot for cartography and navigation.

This snowy field was once a prairie grassland, crisscrossed by dirt pathways and pockmarked with gopher holes that served as the playground of my youth. My friends and I would ride out here on BMX bikes, build jumps and forts, dig pits, and battle with rival groups for the right to prime territories. I remember coming home at the end of a day of hard play, coated in dust with a painfully dry throat, dying of thirst, but profoundly content.

As we grew older and became more focused on our studies, organized sports, and mountain adventures, we rarely visited "the field". However, it eventually became my running place. Three or four times a week, sometimes more depending on the season, I would jog the five minutes from home and circumnavigate the field, pushing myself over the same dirt trails that once bore our bike tracks, past copses of aspen and willow, pausing occasionally to take in the view.

One day, midway through a run, I came to a small ridge above a slight depression in the land, a natural rollercoaster that often made my stomach jump. As I began my descent, I was surprised by a dozen russet fox pups out for a brief foray from their den. I remember their plaintive peeps and cries and a feeling of awe at being surrounded by creatures I had only ever glimpsed at a distance. Fortunately for all concerned, this encounter did not lead to a conflict with the mother, but it did remind me of the animate complexity of this landscape, increasingly threatened by development on all sides despite municipal, provincial, and university assurances to the contrary.

As an urban Aboriginal person, Métis specifically, this place also began to hold cultural meaning for me. As I paused more frequently to pay attention and respect to the other-than-human inhabitants of the field: deer, fox, hawk, coyote, I also reflected on their significance in the lives and beliefs of my ancestors. Coupled with exposure to cultural teachings and practices, my understanding of this field and its importance in my life were gradually transformed.

So, it was with mixed feelings that I recently returned to find the field replaced by a carefully manicured landscape complete with asphalt paths, roadways, buildings, and an innovative storm water filtration pond. In the end, the developers won and a deal was

¹ (Binnema, 2001)

Pipe Dreams

struck despite years of protest and negotiation with local residents. As a new father, I am grateful to have a world-class pediatric facility five minutes from home, but I still can't help but lament the loss of wildness in this field, a rare refuge within an increasingly sprawling metropolis; I wonder what became of that fox family and the deer who sheltered and fed in the willows nearby? I see hawks circling on occasion, but the others are gone. However, this place is still special for me and I am grateful to be back after an especially challenging year.

I take a deep breath, exhale, and give thanks for clean air, clean water, and good health. I ask the same for everyone else: humans, four leggeds, winged ones, and swimmers. I pray for strength, patience, peace, and a sense of humour.

Introduction

This is a tale of two cities. Both lie within sight of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, one to the West, the other to the East. Similar to many Canadian municipalities, both intimately rely on natural resource development for their tax base and livelihood. Both were also built at the confluence of two rivers, displacing and obscuring, but never completely eradicating Indigenous communities. As Donald (2004) suggests, in a manner similar to the artistic effect of pentimento wherein an old painting is still visible beneath another, the Indigenous histories and geographies of these landscapes persist to varying degrees.

In this chapter I reflect on my experiences in these two connected, but distinctly different communities.

Home on the Range

Calgary, Alberta is my hometown. I grew up here and recently returned after several years spent living and working in smaller centres in northern Ontario and British Columbia. Calgary is a city of just over a million and is known internationally as an

Pipe Dreams

intellectual and financial centre of oil and gas development; a labyrinth of petroleum companies and related firms providing a wide range of services are headquartered here. Despite contemporary romanticism to the contrary, Calgary was not founded by ranchers, cowboys, or pioneers; in fact, it was first established as a military post by the Northwest Mounted Police, now known as the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), as part of their final efforts to secure our southern border against American whisky traders and military insurgents (Touchie, 2008; Turner, 2013). As such, oil and gas or, “black gold”, as some call it, didn’t precipitate the establishment of this city, but it has fuelled explosive growth since the early twentieth century.

Like most Calgarians, I have many acquaintances, friends, and family in the oil and gas industry. In fact, my grandmother’s family, destitute Métis farmers, was raised out of poverty by the discovery of oil on their meager farmland just north of the city. This turn of events did not bring great riches, but it did allow them to move to the city and attain post-secondary education, dramatically altering the trajectory of our family for generations to come. Many of my friends and acquaintances with Calgary roots have similar personal and family stories, past and present.

Despite such intimate links to resource development, Calgary is, somewhat ironically, consistently rated as one of the cleanest and most liveable cities in the world (Malone, 2011). In general, Calgarians enjoy a very high standard of living complete with clean air, water, municipal buildings and transit powered by renewable energy sources, and an intricate network of bicycle pathways connecting the Bow and Elbow Rivers with the rest of the city, toponymic reminders (Carter, 2005; Kingston, 2009) that we are in Blackfoot territory (Armstrong, Evenden & Nelles, 2009; Touchie, 2008). In fact,

Pipe Dreams

Calgary has the highest number per capita of the top one percent of income earners in Canada (CBC, 2013).

However, as I learned through direct experience last year while living in a distinctly different setting, there is a socio-ecological cost, albeit not locally apparent, to this high standard of living. While Calgary is an intellectual and financial centre, the majority of oil and gas development, processing, and the associated ecological impacts occur at a comfortable distance from the city, in remote, rural and international locales, often with lower socioeconomic status and in many cases, high Indigenous populations (Brody, 1998; Nikiforuk, 2008). Unfortunately, these are common trends for resource development of all kinds (oil and gas, forestry, mining) across Canada and around the world (Haluza-Delay, 2013).

Not in my Backyard

A recent controversy further highlights the “not in my backyard” mentality of many Calgarians. A small petroleum firm, operating within legal guidelines, proposed to drill an oil well within sight of an affluent suburban community on the northwest fringe of the city (Varcoe, 2013). Exploration was initially approved, however, due to massive outcry and mobilization by the community association, the project was ultimately halted.

I fully support this, and any, community’s right to challenge such developments; had this been my neighbourhood, I would most certainly have been involved in the resistance. However, given that, it is safe to assume, many of the residents of this community are associated with the oil and gas industry, the irony of this situation is palpable. Their bluff was called in this instance; they know that oil and gas extraction is

Pipe Dreams

potentially harmful and they don't want to expose themselves or their families to such hazards. However, despite such awareness, documented cases of habitat destruction, increased cancer rates, and irreversible contamination of drinking water in rural, remote, and Indigenous territories subject to intensive oil and gas development continue to fall on deaf ears in the corporate offices of Calgary and other urban centres (Brody, 1998; Nikiforuk, 2008).

Having recently returned to this, my birthplace, I can't help but reflect on such contradictions and, my own participation in this hypocritical society. As an environmentally minded Indigenous academic at a government funded public research institution, I have to face the fact that, most likely, a large portion of my salary comes directly from taxes derived from the oil and gas industry. However, thanks to academic freedom and critical minds within the university and the city, I do feel supported in my work, albeit amidst undeniable tension on both cultural and ecological levels. Such tensions and contradictions also extend to my experiences with the Land in the city and the surrounding area.

Challenging the Weekend Warrior Within

Growing up here in Calgary, one ritual that my family shared with many other city dwellers was to routinely assuage our urban angst by spending time in the mountains or at our modest cabin in central Alberta. Raised in a family of Métis outdoor and environmental educators, I grew up hiking, skiing, canoeing, fishing, and berry picking on the foothills and eastern slopes of the Canadian Rockies. My parents instilled a deep reverence for the Land in me at a young age from both a recreational and cultural

Pipe Dreams

perspective; my love for climbing and descending high mountain peaks on foot or by ski, or navigating rapids in an open canoe is inextricably connected to memories of culturally linked sustenance activities such as catching my first fish or picking Saskatoon berries with my grandmother.

As an adult I have continued to spend much of my time playing, working and living on the Land; I've worked as an outdoor and environmental educator in various settings across Canada and around the world, often in contexts based on Indigenous ecological knowledge and philosophy. I have worked for extended periods out of base camps in rural and remote settings; however, at other times I have been based in the city, taking students out of town for day trips to the mountains while also dabbling in the “weekend warrior” culture.

The volume of traffic clogging the highway back and forth to the Rockies on Saturdays and Sundays consistently amazes me. People in Calgary seem possessed with a determination to “get out” to the mountains on a regular basis, hiking, skiing, paddling or just shopping in Banff for the day before zooming back to town. I try to separate myself from these masses, but find it increasingly difficult to deny that I am often just as guilty as my urban compatriots.

I find this deeply unsettling: How can I consider myself an environmentally-conscious outdoor educator when the courses that I teach require me and my students to travel by vehicle, burning fossil fuels for an hour and a half each way out to the mountains in order to enjoy Nature? Also, why are we going out to the mountains? Is it to commune with Nature or are we simply neo-colonial thrill seekers searching for mountains to conquer, trails to claim and rivers to check off of our lists?

Pipe Dreams

Sometimes I rationalize that the experiences my students gain during their time out on the Land with me, Elders, and other knowledge holders will motivate them to become sociocritical environmental advocates, dedicating themselves to preserve the Nature that I love so much and campaigning for increased environmental health in our cities. Is this the case though? A review of contemporary literature in outdoor and environmental education reveals that short-term experiences in natural environments do little to alter adults' attitudes, especially since most participants are already positively predisposed towards the natural world prior to enrolling in courses. However, there is evidence to suggest that children who are regularly exposed to outdoor environments will develop empathetic attitudes towards the natural world (Corcoran, 1999; Palmer, Suggate, Robottom, & Hart, 1999; Sivek, 2002).

As such, during my time as a Land-based Indigenous educator I have increasingly questioned the common goal of outdoor education to use Nature as a vehicle for adventure, challenge, personal and group development (Andrews, 1999; Brookes, 2004; Lowan(-Trudeau), 2009; in press). I believe that this escapist mentality (Macgregor, 2002) is further evidence of Western society's notions of nature-as-resource, in this case, replacing resource extraction with recreational pursuits.

Such an approach contradicts Indigenous beliefs of nature as home, rather than somewhere to seek solace or resources to support a disconnected urban lifestyle (Cajete, 1994; Simpson, 2002; Snow, 2005). Reflective of such place-based symbiotic connections formed over thousands of years, Nakoda Elder and Chief, John Snow, from just west of Calgary, reminds us that, "These mountains are our sacred places" (p. 19).

Pipe Dreams

In consideration of this kind of wisdom and my own associated experiences, I have increasingly cultivated local connections and spent less time adventuring far away from home. Rather than setting off for an adventure in the mountains every Saturday morning, I might take my son skiing, paddling, fishing, berry picking, or spend time in the garden closer to home. I have also altered my educational praxis to focus more on local activities and initiatives (Lowan-Trudeau, in press).

However, last year I found myself living in a setting where I often had no choice but to escape the city on a regular basis due to pollution-related health issues. This experience deeply affected me on all levels: physically, emotionally, spiritually, and intellectually (Cavanagh, 2005).

The Smell of Money

Last year I lived in Prince George, a resource-based city in northern British Columbia. During this time, I had a wonderful experience as a faculty member at a small post-secondary institution with a strong focus on Indigenous and environmental studies. Unfortunately, a higher than normal sensitivity to Prince George's air pollution that results from a combination of geography and a high concentration of resource-based industry resulted in me developing respiratory difficulties to the point that I decided to relocate at the end of the year.

Strategically located in central northern British Columbia, Prince George is well known across Canada as a hub of resource development and processing. Prominent industries include pulp, paper, and lumber processing, oil and gas refinement, and a brewery (BC Air Quality, 2009). Unfortunately, a majority of the associated processing

Pipe Dreams

plants are located near the centre of the city at the meeting of two river valleys, the Fraser and the Nechako, and surrounded on all sides by rising foothills that eventually transition into mountain ranges. All of this combines to create a “bowl” effect that, when combined with regular cloud inversions, facilitates a perfect storm to trap air pollution in the city and surrounding area at levels exceeding provincial health standards (BC Air Quality; BC Lung Association, 2012). While some local residents refer to this as the “smell of money”, understandably recognizing their intimate dependence on these industries, such levels of air pollution do result in higher than normal rates of respiratory illness and associated mortality (Elliot & Copes, 2007, 2011).

The confluence of the Fraser and Nechako rivers also provided the inspiration for the name of the region’s Indigenous inhabitants, the Lheidli T’enneh, literally, “people of the two rivers” (Krehbiel, 2004). The Lheidli T’enneh, a salmon people, were displaced from their original village strategically located at the confluence of the Fraser and the Nechako by early colonists, and resettled on less than ideal reserve lands on the northern and western fringes of the city. Like most Indigenous groups in British Columbia, no treaties were ever signed and as such, under international law, this land remains contested, unceded territory (Krehbiel, 2004). While the Lheidli T’enneh are a small group approximately 300 members (Krehbiel, 2004), Prince George and the surrounding region has an Aboriginal population of approximately 20%, much higher than the average of 4-5% in other parts of the province (Northern Health, 2012). This strong Indigenous presence has a profound influence on the cultural landscape of the Prince George region. As such, I was fortunate during my relatively short stay there to connect with and learn

Pipe Dreams

from many Elders, youth, and other community members through educational and community events.

A Breath of Fresh Air

In the past, I took for granted my ability and privilege to head out, at almost any time, onto the Land for personal, recreational, familial, community, or educational purposes, sometimes combining several or all of these motivations at once. Having faced environmental issues that not only affected by physical health, but also impinged on my spiritual and emotional wellbeing as well as my ability to function as a Land-based educator, I no longer take such privileges for granted.

During our time in Prince George, in an ironic and hypocritical twist of fate considering my advocacy for locally-focused living and praxis, as often as logistically possible, my family and I would escape the city for the day, weekend, or week to gain a temporary reprieve. Sometimes this meant driving half an hour outside of town to spend the day at a nearby lake or cross-country ski area. At other times we would go further afield, venturing deeper into the mountains that surround the city in all directions. Such adventures exposed and emphasized for me the profound beauty of the more rural and remote areas of central and northern British Columbia.

However, at times, I also had the privilege to spend time on the Land with Elders and youth close to the city. As part of community outreach efforts, our institution routinely hosted land-based events in forested areas on campus along the western fringe of the city. I learned so much about the local landscape and culture during these short events and was constantly reminded of the centrality of Elders and other knowledge

Pipe Dreams

holders in the preservation and continuance of our cultures (Simpson, 2002; Lowan-Trudeau), 2009).

Another dynamic that I have noticed while living in Prince George and other northern and remote regions is that, while there are certainly less recreational weekend warriors in these communities, more people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike regularly spend time on the Land engaging in what I would associate with more Indigenous activities such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking. As such, people in these communities often have a much keener understanding of and connection to the surrounding landscape when compared with urbanites, even those who might consider themselves environmentalists (Berry, 2009; Lowan(-Trudeau), 2011).

This experience further highlighted for me the division that exists here in Canada and in other nations around the world between those who profit the most at little personal, community, and environmental cost from resource development and those who often toil the hardest in abject social and environmental conditions, but gain the least. Calgary is not the only large Canadian city guilty of such imbalances; it would be unfair not to mention Vancouver as a centre of finance for forestry, mining, and oil and gas or Toronto's profits from mining and forestry in northern Ontario. The list could go on nationally and internationally in contemporary and historical terms. For example, London, England is often recognized as a contemporary financial centre of oil and gas development, among other things, but most Canadians will also note its centrality in the early founding of our nation as the headquarters of fur-trade ventures such as the Hudson's Bay Company (Raffan, 2008).

Pipe Dreams

While retreat, escape, and weekend warrior-ship became a regular routine, at times I couldn't resist becoming involved in local events and issues, actively speaking out in the hope of preserving the beautiful landscape of northern BC and promoting a cleaner future for the citizens of Prince George and the surrounding region.

Pipe Dreams

Shrouded in smog and forest fire smoke, Indigenous and non-Indigenous citizens side by side, we marched slowly through central Prince George beating drums and waving flags, united in opposition to the proposed Northern Gateway pipeline. This project, financed by Enbridge, a Calgary based firm, would transport heavy bitumen-laden oil over a thousand kilometres from Alberta's oil sands across the Rocky and Coast Mountain ranges, a thousand salmon-bearing waterways, and extensive tracts of unceded Indigenous territory, to a terminal at Kitimat, a small coastal village, where it would be transferred to oil tankers bound for the winding and treacherous waters of Douglas Channel, Hecate Strait, and the Inside Passage before finally entering the Pacific Ocean proper (Boulton, 2013; Gunton & Broadbent, 2013; Harding, 2013).

I had only been in Prince George for a few weeks, but was strongly compelled to lend my voice to this cause. Having witnessed and experienced the beauty and fragility of northern British Columbia, the socio-ecological stress already present in Prince George and other resource based communities along the proposed pipeline route, and the statistical certainty of an eventual spill (Gunton & Broadbent, 2013), I did not hesitate to express my opposition to this project.

Pipe Dreams

To be fair, there are most certainly mixed opinions in northern British Columbia regarding Northern Gateway. However, widespread opposition to the project across British Columbia, Canada, and even internationally has been overwhelming (Harding, 2013). Despite a recent recommendation by a federal joint review panel to move the project ahead under extensive restrictions (Gateway Review Panel, 2013), at the time of writing, the federal government has still not provided final approval, however it is widely expected that they will; this is a political powder keg dubbed by some as a once in a lifetime nation-building opportunity and others as an inevitable socio-ecological disaster waiting to happen (Harding, 2013).

From my perspective, this situation is representative of the tensions and disconnects discussed above; a southern resource firm wielding financial and political influence in the interest of its shareholders, northern residents and ecosystems be damned. I don't mean to say that all southern city dwellers are rich, heartless, non-Indigenous people, nor do I wish to cast the image of all rural, remote, and Indigenous peoples in Canada or elsewhere as helpless pawns living close to the Land while struggling in deplorable social and environmental conditions, scratching a living from the local territory. Such a perspective would only play into the "danger of a single story" (Adichie, 2009) and perpetuate untrue and incomplete stereotypes.

In fact, there are increasing examples of multilaterally beneficial natural resource and renewable energy projects across Canada in northern and Indigenous territories. For example, community managed forest, land management (Christensen, Krogman and Parlee, 2010) and solar energy (Ozog, 2012) initiatives developed through the collaboration of industry, government, academia, and Indigenous communities.

Pipe Dreams

However, reflecting on the contrast of my experiences over the past two years, both positive and negative, and time spent in other urban, rural, and remote areas in Canada and elsewhere has raised these issues in a distinctly visceral way for me. How then, to incorporate such thoughts and experiences into my praxis as a land-based educator?

To the Real Work

As outdoor and environmental educators, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, our job is not to foist our opinions upon students (Jickling, 2003). Nor are we called only to facilitate exhilarating experiences in Nature. If our hope is to foster deep and meaningful connections to landscapes and true respect for each other, then our primary vocation is to encourage critically informed thinking and reflexive consideration of contemporary issues, grounded in experience.

In our personal and professional lives, as citizens and educators who purportedly care deeply for and feel connected to particular landscapes, it also behooves us to act accordingly through, “walking the talk”. Some may choose to lead through example by participating in advocacy and activism related to socio-ecological inequities, or perhaps community and land use planning initiatives. Others may take less visible, but equally powerful and important steps to consider the practical implications of their socio-ecological values in their personal lives.

As such, I will endeavour to move forward in a spirit of “appreciative resistance” (Niblett, 2008, p. 4), humbly sharing my experiences and observations, recognizing my own complicity and contradictions, and using these insights to facilitate critical analysis

Pipe Dreams

of such dynamics as well as to build respectful relationships with those whom I might not always agree. I will apply such principles in my personal and professional life, promoting and facilitating local cultural and ecological consciousness, ever mindful that all land, urban, rural, and remote is sacred.

“To the real work, to ‘What is to be done.’ ” (Snyder, 1974)

Bio: Gregory Lowan-Trudeau, PhD is a Métis scholar and educator. He is currently an Assistant Professor in the Werklund School of Education at the University of Calgary and an Adjunct Professor in the Department of First Nations Studies at the University of Northern British Columbia, Canada. Childhood journeys on the lakes, rivers, trails, mountains and coastal waters of western Canada, exposure to cultural teachings, and family stories inspired him to pursue a career as a land-based educator. Over the past fifteen years, Greg has combined academic study with professional practice and travel across Canada and around the world. His current research interests include Indigenous science and environmental education, land use planning, and ecological activism.

References

- Adichie, C. N. (2009). *The danger of a single story [film]*. TED. Retrieved February 14th, 2014 from http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html
- Andrews, K. (1999). Wilderness expedition as a rite of passage: Meaning and process in experiential education. *Journal of Experiential Education*. 22(1), 35-43.
- Armstrong, C., Evenden, M. & Nelles, H.V. (2009). *The river returns: An environmental history of the Bow*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- BC Air Quality (2009). *Prince George: Air Quality Overview*. Vancouver, BC: Government of British Columbia.
- BC Lung Association (2012). *State of the air report 2012*. Vancouver, BC: British Columbia Lung Association.
- Berry, W. (2009). *Bringing it to the table: On farming and food*. Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint Press.
- Binnema, T. (2001). How Does a Map Mean?: Old Swan's Map of 1801 and the Blackfoot World . In T. Binnema, G.J. Ens, & R.C. Macleod (Eds.) *From Rupert's Land to Canada* (pp. 201-224). Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press.
- Brody, H. (1998). *Maps & dreams*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Brookes, A. (2004). Astride a long dead horse: Mainstream outdoor education theory and the central curriculum problem. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education*, 8(2), 22-35.
- Boulton, M. (2013). *Financial vulnerability assessment: Who would pay for oil tankers spills associated with the Northern Gateway pipeline?* Victoria, BC: The Environmental Law Centre, University of Victoria.
- Carter, L. (2005). Naming to own: Place names as indicators of human interaction with the environment. *AlterNative*, 1(1), 7-24.
- Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of Indigenous education*. Skyland, NC: Kivaki Press.
- Cavanagh, R. (2005). The Anishanaabe teaching wand and holistic education. In L. Muzzin & P. Tripp (Eds.), *Teaching as activism, equity meets environmentalism* (pp. 232-253). Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Pipe Dreams

- CBC (Sept. 13th, 2013). Who are Canada's top 1%? *CBC News*. Retrieved February 14th, 2014 from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/who-are-canada-s-top-1-1.1703321>
- Christensen, L., Krogman, N. & Parlee, B. (2010). A culturally appropriate approach to civic engagement: Addressing forestry and cumulative social impacts in southwest Yukon. *The Forestry Chronicle*, 86(6), 723-729.
- Corcoran, P.B. (1999). Formative influences in the lives of environmental educators in the United States. *Environmental Education Research*, 5(2), 207-220.
- Donald, D. (2004). Edmonton pentimento: Re-reading history in the case of the Papaschase Cree. *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, 2(1), 21-54.
- Elliot, C. & Copes, R. (2011). Burden of mortality due to ambient fine particulate air pollution (PM2.5) in northern and interior BC. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 102(5), 390-393.
- Elliot, C. & Copes, R. (2007). *Estimate of mortality burden of air pollution in northern and interior British Columbia, 2001-2005*. Prince George, BC: Northern Health.
- Gateway Review Panel (2013). *Report of the joint review panel for the Enbridge Gateway Project*. Calgary, AB: National Energy Board.
- Gunton, T. & Broadbent, S. (2013). *A spill risk assessment of the Enbridge Northern Gateway project*. Burnaby, BC: School of Resource and Environmental Management, Simon Fraser University.
- Haluza-Delay, R. (2013). Educating for environmental justice. In R. Stevenson, M. Brody, J. Dillon & A.E.J. Wals (Eds.), *International Handbook of Environmental Education Research* (pp. 394-403). New York: Routledge & The American Educational Research Association.
- Harding, D. (2013). *Environmental rhetoric: A framing analysis of stakeholder claims surrounding the Northern Gateway pipeline*. Unpublished master's thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, QC.
- Jickling, B. (2003). Environmental education and advocacy: revisited. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 34(2), 20-27.
- Kingston, D.P. (2009). "Almost every place, every rock, had a name": A consideration of place-name density on King Island, Alaska. *AlterNative*, 5(1), 7-25.
- Krehbiel, R. (2004). Common visions: Influences of the Nisga'a Final Agreement on Lheidli T'enneh negotiations in the BC treaty process. *International journal on minority and group rights*, 11(3), 279-288.

Pipe Dreams

- Lowan-Trudeau, G. (in press). Your backyard, the final frontier: Considering adventure education from an Indigenous perspective. In R. Black & K. Bricker (Eds.) *Adventure Programming and Travel for the 21st Century*. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Lowan(-Trudeau), G. (2011). Adrift in our national consciousness: Meditations on the canoe. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education*, 23(4), 25-29
- Lowan(-Trudeau), G. (2009). Exploring place from an Aboriginal perspective: Considerations for outdoor and environmental education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 14, 42-58.
- MacGregor, R. (2002). *Escape: In search of the natural soul of Canada*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart.
- Malone, (April 11th, 2011). Calgary tops ranking of world's cleanest cities. *Financial Post*. Retrieved February 14th, 2014 from <http://www.financialpost.com/related/topics/Calgary+tops+ranking+world+cleanest+cities/4595826/story.html>
- Niblett, B. (2008). Appreciative resistance: Balancing activism and respect. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education*, 20(4), 4-7.
- Nikiforuk, A. (2008). *Tar sands: Dirty oil and the future of a continent*. Vancouver, BC: Greystone & The David Suzuki Foundation.
- Northern Health (2012). *Health happens in communities: A guidebook for community leaders*. Prince George, BC: Northern Health.
- Ozog, S. (2012). *Towards First Nations energy self-sufficiency: Analyzing the renewable energy partnership between Tsou-ke Nation and Skidegate Band*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Northern British Columbia, Prince George, BC.
- Palmer, J.A., Suggate, J., Robottom, I., Hart, P. (1999). Significant life experiences and influences in the development of adults' environmental awareness in the UK, Australia, and Canada. *Environmental Education Research*, 5(2), 181-200.
- Raffan, J. (2008). *Emperor of the North: Sir George Simpson and the remarkable story of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Toronto, ON: Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.
- Simpson, L. (2002). Indigenous environmental education for cultural survival. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*. 7(1), 13-35.
- Snow, J. (2005). *These mountains are our sacred places*. Calgary, AB: Fifth House. (Original work published 1977).

Pipe Dreams

Snyder, G. (1974). *Turtle Island*. New York: New Directions.

Sivek, D.J. (2002). Environmental sensitivity among Wisconsin high school students. *Environmental Education Research*, 8(2), 155-170.

Stewart, A. (2004). Decolonising encounters with the Murray River: Building place responsive outdoor education. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education*, 8(2), 46-56.

Suzuki, D. & Moola, F. (2009). Lessons my father taught me. *Synchronicity*, 93, 36.

Touchie, R.D. (2008). *Bear child: The life and times of Jerry Potts*. Surrey, BC: Heritage House.

Turner, C. (2012). Calgary reconsidered. *The Walrus*, 9(5), 24-38.

Varcoe, C. (May 9th, 2013). Province to complete review on urban oil drilling: Planned well in Calgary suburb sparks controversy. *Calgary Herald*, A4.