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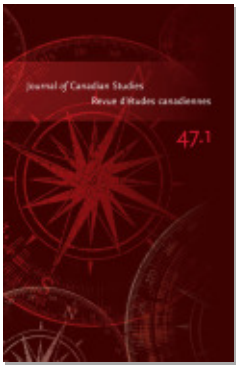

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That We May Live Well Together in the Land...: Place Pluralism and Just Sustainability in Canadian and Environmental Studies

RANDOLPH HALUZA-DELAY, MICHAEL J. DeMOOR, & CHRISTOPHER PEET

The authors propose *place pluralism* as common ground for Canadian studies and environmental studies. In doing so, they draw on John Ralston Saul, Charles Taylor, work on environmental justice in Canada, and articulations of social inclusion. Research using the multi-faceted notion of place has been a key contribution of both fields. Canada is a network of places in which social and ecological plurality combine in diverse ways; Canada is a multi-placed mosaic. Ultimately, place pluralism relies on the twin processes of decolonization and reinhabitation. Saul recently described Canada as "a métis civilization" claiming that an Aboriginal mindset underlies Canadian sociality. Taylor articulates a moral ontology situated in social relationality that leads towards a deep pluralism. The authors extend these approaches to articulate a joined-up praxis that includes both social and environmental features. Finally, drawing on Taylor's explication of strong evaluation, the authors argue that place pluralism forms a basis for Canadian-styled just sustainability consistent with the pressing needs of the twenty-first century.

Les auteurs proposent le *pluralisme spatial* comme point commun des études canadiennes et des études environnementales. Pour ce faire, ils s'inspirent des opinions de John Ralston Saul et de Charles Taylor, de travaux sur la justice environnementale au Canada et de l'articulation des discours sur l'inclusion sociale. Des recherches sur la notion polyvalente du lieu ont contribué de façon importante aux deux champs d'études. Le Canada est un réseau de lieux dans lesquels la pluralité sociale et écologique se combine de diverses façons – le Canada est une mosaïque de lieux. En fin de compte, le pluralisme spatial dépend des deux processus jumeaux de décolonisation et de réhabitation. John Ralston Saul a récemment décrit le Canada comme « une civilisation métisse », affirmant qu'une mentalité autochtone sous-tend la socialité canadienne. Charles Taylor exprime une ontologie morale située dans une relationnalité sociale qui mène à un pluralisme bien ancré. Les auteurs se servent de ces démarches pour articuler une praxis qui amalgame les caractéristiques sociales et environnementales. Finalement, en s'appuyant sur l'explication de Taylor d'une solide évaluation, les auteurs allèguent que le pluralisme spatial est le fondement d'un développement durable juste, à la canadienne, qui est compatible avec les besoins pressants du XXIe siècle.

To the conversation about what frames of reference might supersede *nature* as the central theme of both Canadian studies and environmental studies, we commend the growing attention to *place* as a central concept. Doing so, however, requires us to account for both the plurality of places and the pluralism *within* places. Attention to place and pluralism leads to a normative orientation of *just sustainability* for these two interdisciplinary fields. Our depiction of place pluralism in the Canadian imaginary insists on the importance of decolonization in addition to the more common focus on how we might reinhabit places. In this discussion we draw on Canadian intellectuals Charles Taylor and John Ralston Saul, both to deepen the discussion philosophically and to challenge their efforts towards more thoroughgoing and socially just inhabitation of Canadian places.

The demise of *nature* as an organizing domain and common ground for both Canadian and environmental studies is to be welcomed. The insufficiency of nature as a frame for Canadian studies shows clearly in the introduction of newcomers to Canada. When one of us (Randy Haluza-DeLay) landed as an immigrant in 1988, it was in Saskatchewan north of iconic Grey Owl's Prince Albert National Park. The author remembers his neighbour Tom Thomsen (a bushman, not the painter), and he recalls being struck by two prevalent features of the Canadian imaginary. First, seemingly unending discussions about Canadian identity filled the radio waves of Peter Gzowski's CBC *Morningside* program. Second, from a location just inside the southern edge of the boreal forest, it was clear that the omnipresence of the North and the hagiography of the fur trade in those discussions did not include all representations nor voices.

The national narrative at that time referred to, and then brushed over, the Aboriginal present/presence, and, arguably, it is little different now. This is partially why oil sands development in Alberta and accompanying pipelines feathering across the land may proceed, despite resistance to particular projects. Under an assumption that the land is basically empty up there, many Canadians and our governments have been willing to consider sacrificing it. Of course, the North is not empty or barren nor wilderness nor nature if nature means unpeopled, as Jocelyn Thorpe's research (2012) illustrates so clearly. She recounts Teme-Augama Anishnabai wilderness guides taking southern White tourists into what the latter considered the "wild" bush (Thorpe 2012). Those guides simply called the Temagami their workplace, and their homes; so did Tom Thomsen (the neighbour) most of the year. These are narratives about place, not nature.

A third feature also struck the newcomer to Canada—the Town of La Ronge, Saskatchewan, where Randy landed, boasted a population of only 2,500 people but three Chinese restaurants. For the proprietors, several generations in the country, the North and boreal nature meant other things than what filtered through in the

national narrative. For all its vaunted multiculturalism, Canada remains highly European in modes of thinking and acting, in how our institutions operate, and even in what counts as legitimate knowledge about the land. *Nature* in Canadian studies and environmental studies has been a thoroughly Eurocentric concept.

Although the primacy of a wilderness trope dominating Canadian identity has been unsettled in recent years both in scholarly and popular discourse (e.g., Baldwin, Cameron, and Kobayashi 2011; Braun 2002; Francis 1997), still greater attention needs to be devoted to the cultural dimensions of the environment and the political economies of disentangled socio-ecological systems in both Canadian studies and environmental studies. The time-spaces that we inhabit or move in and through are themselves plural. They contain a diversity of participants and materials, each of which are variably apprehended by other agents. These plural, overlapping, and hybrid understandings partly constitute their times and places, as do the range of materialities and temporalities to be found there. Culture and nature cannot be detangled.

By this account, Canadian identity, national imaginaries, sociologies, ecologies, and humanities weave and flow as practices that occur someplace. That is, they are made tangible in the interactions between all of their participants—both human and non-human—and this interaction is always emplaced. Group of Seven paintings must hang where they are seen; discourses are spoken and heard, and not just free-floating. Capital must "land" even in electronic trading exchanges. Birds die against the windows of city skyscrapers. Electricity hums through wires strung along transmission lines between steel towers from power plants running on natural gas/coal/yellowcake/water extracted and then produced from somewhere. Ecologies intersect with social features of institutions. Places matter—and yet, as sketched in the vignettes above, places are plural in their forms and meanings, and in their interactions with actors and features and even other places. As surely as it is a pluralistic assemblage of cultures not built on any one single narrative or foundation, Canada is a pluralism of places, connected by ribbons of highways, rivers, ideas, movement, and stability. If Canada is a mosaic, it is a multi-placed mosaic.

In a similar manner that we welcome the demise of *nature* as the central theme of Canadian and environmental studies, doubt can be cast on the analytic utility of *nation* as the lens for answering questions of Canadian identity. Whereas the talk of nature tends to efface the cultural plurality that is a component of places, talk of nation fails to grasp the ways in which these identities and meanings are shaped and mobilized within geographic places. *Nation* and *nature* tend each to emphasize one side of the nature/culture dichotomy, thereby failing to understand each adequately. In contrast, *place pluralism* as we will describe it refuses simple dichotomies and is a more fitting framework since it recognizes the ineluctable intertwining of natures and cultures.

Thus, we want to offer place pluralism as common ground for environmental studies and Canadian studies. We will do so by unpacking the methodological use of *place*, and put it in conversation with recent discussions of Canadian identity by public intellectuals John Ralston Saul and Charles Taylor. Their voices are not, of course, the only relevant voices that can contribute to the reformulation of Canadian self-understanding along the lines of place pluralism. We focus on them because they are highly visible public presences in Canada and as such represent established voices either speaking for, or acceptable to, "mainstream" thinking about Canada, pluralism, and place. If, as we will argue below, decolonization and reinhabitation are crucial in reimagining Canada through the lens of place, then this cannot only happen from the margins; the "centre" or "mainstream" itself must participate in these processes—"unsettling the settler within," so to say (Regan 2010). We take Taylor and Saul as trying to do this, but we also seek to push their influential thought further. Taylor's attention to cultural pluralism is particularly useful when applied to place pluralism. Saul's argument for Canada as a "métis civilization" (2008, 3; see also pt. 1) serves as an example of revisioning Canadian history and identity and invites serious and ongoing Aboriginal–settler dialogue. Saul also foregrounds place as central to this dialogue. If better foundations for Canadian and environmental studies are to be desired, it is because, to use Taylor's terminology, such foundations are "strong evaluations."[1] That is, they include inescapably moral considerations constitutive of our narratives of self-understanding and embodied in our institutions and practices.

In the face of pluralism of all sorts, as well as rising inequality, commodification of nature (which treats one meaning as the sole value of it), and the global evidence of unsustainability, we present as the mutual goal for both environmental studies and Canadian studies an action-oriented scholarly agenda: *That we may live well together in this land*. Our recommendations for both fields of study are guided by this principle. It corresponds to the evaluation that ecological sustainability and social justice are intrinsically and inextricably linked; just sustainability becomes what Taylor calls "strong evaluation." While Taylor argues that we take up our identities within "moral space" (1989, 29)—a framework of values and goods towards which we orient ourselves, treating some of them as being of intrinsic and overwhelming value—we insist on a broader understanding than that articulated by Taylor. We do not live in abstractions; we live in places with all the complexity captured by the concept of place pluralism. As Clifford Geertz asserts, "no one lives in the world in general" (1996, 262). As a strong evaluation for Canadian studies or environmental studies, just sustainability is not about unpacking the fracture points of the national imaginary and what keeps us from the just society or the sustainable Canada—it is proactive, value-oriented, distinction-making, and emplaced.

The Centrality of Place

The components of this guiding principle—to live well, together, in the land—all require attention primarily to actual lived relations. Each component implies a socio-ecological order that is relational, embodied, and emplaced. In current thinking in philosophy, anthropology, and geography (and even some theology, education, and a little sociology), space is conceptualized as relatively inert. In contrast, place is a way of describing a more dynamic, meaning-laden, material, and symbolic locality for human being-in-the-world:

> Place becomes a critical construct ... because it focuses attention on analyzing how economic and political decisions impact particular places.... Place foregrounds a narrative of local and regional politics that is attuned to the particularities of where people actually live, and that is connected to global development trends that impact local places. (Gruenewald 2003, 3)

The literature on place is diverse, extensive, and multidisciplinary (Cajete 1994; Casey 1997; Cresswell 2004; Feld and Basso 1997; Gieryn 2000; Gruenewald 2003).[2] While earlier theorists emphasized the rootedness of place and contrasted it to mobility (e.g., Tuan 1977), later scholars have highlighted more fluid conceptualizations. The scholarship ranges from phenomenological studies of the sense of place to cultural analyses of place-meaning to detailed research on the political economy of places and their position in the networks of ecological, economic, and discursive flows of national, regional and global systems (e.g., Ardoin 2006; Bradford 2005; Castonguay and Jutras 2009; Hanson 2009; Jessop, Brenner, and Jones 2008; Ling and Dale 2011; Malpas 1999; Masuda and Garvin 2006; Tuck and McKenzie forthcoming; Noddings 2005; Preston 2003). Numerous terms and related concepts have been devised, including *sense of place*, *place attachment*, and *place identity*. Place is also located in relation to other concepts such as *community*, *local*, *territory*, and *globalization*, and hybrid terms such as *glocal*, meaning the unique-to-places interaction of local and global (Robertson 1992).

While places are spatial, *place* is differentiated from *space*. Places are locations that are specific and distinct, and have particular meanings and perhaps identities for specific actors. Place is a human construction of a location created through intersubjective experience of the location itself, and not simply appropriated as if there were a singular, universal, abstractable essence of a place. As Hannah Arendt (1958) has convincingly demonstrated and historical research has traced carefully, the elaboration of "universality" within European thinking is generally contrary to the embodied value of place. In contrast, values associated with a place will be correspondingly multiple and varied in the strength with which they are assigned. In their conceptualization,

J.A. Agnew and J.S. Duncan (1989) identify three crucial aspects of place: location, locale, and sense of place. *Location* is the fixed geographic co-ordinates on a map. *Locale* is the way the space is configured—the concrete characteristics that shape interaction of individuals and institutions. *Sense of place* is the affective dimension of the place. These physical and emotional aspects are collectively used by actors to make space into a meaningful place. We also speak of our place in social hierarchies. In a slightly different conceptualization, Robert Sack (1993) describes three realms influencing the construction of place: the *physical world* (including built and natural objects, non-human and human others); the *social world* (including social, economic, political, race, class, gender, and bureaucracy); and the *realm of meaning* (the ideas, values, and beliefs that make up the forces of the mind). These realms are elemental to an understanding of place comprising of multi-faceted relations with all the complexity and dynamism this entails.

Using place as an organizing frame enables layers of understanding. For example, Merle Massie and Maureen Reed (2014) use hydrology, ecology, history, sociology, literature, and other disciplinary approaches to explore the flood responses of a northern Saskatchewan community. Massie and Reed produce a complicated, multi-layered story of a river community that has flooded frequently since before record-keeping began in 1780. More recently, the E.C. Campbell Dam upstream unsettled local knowledge and dried the delta, so no one could predict whether high water levels in 2005 would be absorbed. When the province recommended evacuation, the residents evacuated. Emotional and economic dislocation followed. Later, flood memory/local expertise restored, the community did not evacuate in the even higher waters of 2011. This is a story that can only be told with a pluralistic understanding of place, including the location of Cumberland House in such linkages as water flows, roads, and political decrees, as well as more localized elements.

The literature on place is so broad that, in the interests of brevity, we will summarize it with the characteristics most noted by scholars cited above (see fig. 1). The overall point is that places are polymorphic. Three specific points are worth emphasizing. First, *place is relational*, and the relations involve humans and winds and wildlife and culturally emplaced memory, (Johnson 2013; Osborne 2001). Second, *places are connected to other places* by flows of capital and ideas, bird migration and human emigration, long-distance transport of pollutants, and flowing rivers and highways. Third, *places act on us*. We are embodied people, and bodies live in places, even in conditions of cosmopolitan modernity characterized by Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner as "the homeless mind" (1973)—what we would call placelessness. Nature and culture are held together by place understood broadly, overcoming a portion of the Western epistemological sin that dichotomizes them (Plumwood 2002).

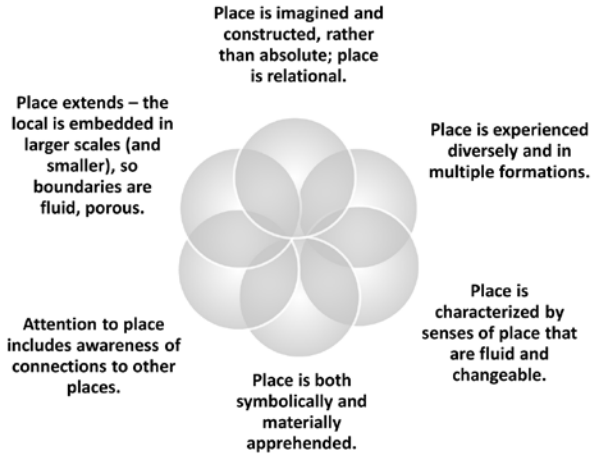

Fig. 1. Summary of core characteristics intersecting in the concept of *place*.

At the risk of being repetitive, we assert that place is the experiential basis of our existence. In summary, sociologist Thomas Gieryn concludes,

> If place matters for social life and historical change—how? Scattered literatures suggest that place: stabilizes and gives durability to social structural categories, differences and hierarchies; arranges patterns of face-to-face interaction that constitute network-formation and collective action; embodies and secures otherwise intangible cultural norms, identities, memories—and values like the American Dream. (2004, 473)

Finally, scholars such as Doreen Massey (1997), Mitchell Thomashow (1999), and Richard Atleo (2011) have sought to show how a place-based consciousness can extend to the global level, that the world itself is a place consonant with the characteristics discussed here. At the regional level, situating place at the centre of analysis is nothing new for historians (Perry, Jones, and Morton 2013). Place-oriented scholars do often challenge the primacy of the nation, particularly as the primary manner of comprehending how people live their lives. Nation and home and homeland can too easily be collapsed, for example. A placed perspective is also an efficacious way to unpack power relations among emplaced people. This is not to say that the concept of *nation* is unnecessary, but that it could be more profitably understood as it is experienced from particular places. Clearly, the reality of First Nations interrupts national narratives; so does Quebec, and so does Alberta, and each of these examples are not uniform even

within the political labels just used to provide handy containers. While the relationship of place(s) and nation is not the primary focus of this essay, we argue that place pluralism can open us to more nuanced analyses even of the latter construct.[3]

Not that these efforts have eliminated criticisms of the concept of place as parochial, narrow-bounded, too phenomenological or humanistic, and not attentive to power, or as less-than-relevant amidst the dominating forces of globalized neo-liberalism, militarism, colonialism, and so on. One response to such criticism is that of political geographer Arturo Escobar (2001), who demonstrated how resistance to globalization is rightfully place-based. His declaration that "culture sits in places" is his poststructural, postcolonial riff on western Apache elder Dudley Patterson's phrase "wisdom sits in places" (quoted in Basso 1996, 126).[4] Another response is represented by educator David Gruenewald.[5] Acknowledging the uncritical possibilities of place scholarship, he insists that any use of the concept of place "must identify and confront the ways that power works through places to limit the possibilities for human and non-human others" (2003, 315).

These responses to criticisms and deliberate attention to the characteristics of place listed above become crucial features of a place pluralism that would be useful as a common ground for Canadian and environmental studies and would also advance a normative project of just sustainability. Place pluralism can be understood in two ways: first, in the multiplicity of apprehensions of anything that has come to be seen as a place; second, in the multi-placed mosaic, the multiplicity of places that constitute Canada.

In Gruenewald's analysis, the study of place and pedagogy of place—especially if attentive to place as pluralistic—rely on the twin processes of "reinhabitation" and "decolonization" (2003, 9-10). Gruenewald's exposition included several definitions and descriptions of these terms. Drawing on the work of bioregionalists Peter Berg and Raymond Dassman (1990), he explores the idea of reinhabitation as "learning to live-in-place," with particular attention "in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation." Resonant with the phrasing of our normative intention, David Orr (1992) also calls for what Gruenewald calls reinhabitation: "the study of place ... has a significance in re-educating people in the art of *living well* where they are" (quoted in Gruenwald 2003, 9; emphasis added). Gruenewald adds, "The meaning of living well differs geographically and culturally," but place-awareness develops an attentiveness, a way of perceiving. *Inhabiting* extends beyond merely *residing*. According to bioregionalists and place-based or place-oriented commentators, when one learns to live well where one is, one is more aware of the particularities of each place. This effects a modus vivendi—a mode of living characterized by place-consistent lived practices and ethos rather than by rule-based ethical rationality (M. Smith 2001).

Crucially, Gruenewald argues that reinhabitation can be narrow and often is simply an orientation to environmental characteristics, unless decolonization also characterizes place-praxis. Colonialism is the practice and processes of domination, control over, and forced subjugation of one people to another. Gruenewald cites bell hooks's argument that decolonization is a "process of cultural and historical liberation; an act of confrontation with a dominant system of thought" (hooks 1992, 1; quoted in Gruenewald 2003, 9). Similarly, Neil Smith and Cindi Katz (1993) write, "decolonization becomes a metaphor for the process of recognizing and dislodging dominant ideas, assumptions and ideologies as externally imposed" (quoted in Gruenewald 2003, 319). Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2013) insist vehemently that decolonization is not a metaphor and should not be treated as such. Such ideas have institutional forms and material consequences.

Decolonization is a disorienting, unsettling process for general citizens too, as evidenced by the essays that recount narratives of Indigenous–non-Indigenous alliances and efforts to dialogue (Davis 2010). Moreover, there are different perspectives on the process, even as there are different perspectives on how to reinhabit the land. Decolonization is not an easy process even for social justice activists and anti-racism scholars. In a seminal paper, Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua dialogue from their different perspectives: "Antiracist and postcolonial theorists have not integrated an understanding of Canada as a colonialist state into their frameworks. It is therefore important to begin by elaborating on the means through which colonization in Canada as a settler society has been implemented and is being maintained" (2005, 123). In Canada, Aboriginal scholars have been particularly active in expressing the ongoing processes of colonization and calling for decolonization. Their approaches do differ, and we are reminded not to treat all Aboriginal thought as the same. The focus for Marie Battiste (2005), for example, is to "unravel Eurocentrism" (2005, 123), particularly in the form of cognitive imperialism, which she says is built on knowledge forms and assumptions that privilege the languages, discourses, practices, and educational institutions that have their origins in colonial European cultures. European world views and their associated epistemologies and sociological manifestations as a foundation for the domination of nature have been extensively critiqued by the literature in environmental studies (e.g., Plumwood 2002). Greg Lowan[6] writes that "Key factors in the decolonization process include: the revitalization of Aboriginal languages, epistemologies, and pedagogies; recognizing the importance of the land; and privileging Indigenous voices, the involvement of Elders in education, and Indigenous control of Indigenous education" (2009, 44). More insistently, for Taiaiake Alfred (2005) decolonization requires extensive political change, going far beyond liberal reforms, and most certainly does not end with epistemological reorientation or regaining control

of social institutions. These and other Aboriginal thinkers need to be engaged as part of the process of coming to terms with the pluralism present in Canadian places and especially what needs to happen for the ongoing work of decolonization. First Nations interrupt the narrative of a Canadian imaginary or even a Canadian nation.[7]

Lawrence and Dua (2005) emphasize that visible minority groups are as complicit in the ongoing colonialism of Aboriginal peoples as are the usual suspects, yet that detail is almost never interrogated in anti-racist work, to the detriment of a more thoroughgoing social inclusion of all Canadians. Neither does the genteel framework of liberal multiculturalism engage in a satisfactory politics of recognition that Charles Taylor advocates. Critics argue that, under a multicultural framework, cultural awareness and cultural identity have become the mainstream solution to problems of racialized inequality (see Baldwin, Cameron, and Kobayashi 2011; Bannerji 2000). Such an approach does not interrogate power relations that shape systems and produce such relations. Many place-based writers such as Stan Rowe (*Home Place* 1990) or Sharon Butala (*The Perfection of the Morning* 1994), to name two Canadians, do reinhabitation well, but not decolonization. It is with this dual framework that we interrogate both Taylor and Saul below. It is worth pointing out that decolonization is not just rejection of dominant values. The process of decolonization needs to discern what aspects of culture, community, and ecology should be conserved, renewed, or transformed in order to reinhabit well. While we do not mean to diminish the *social* justice explicit in decolonization, many of the systems of domination also dominate ecologies. Nature is colonized as in the neo-liberal turn to "value" nature according to the monetarized worth of its "ecosystem services" (Daily et al. 2000, 395). This should be understood as a cultural frame of domination from which the earth also cries out for liberation.

Therefore, central to understanding places and their social and ecological organization is the acknowledgement that they are constituted in part by a cultural politics, which we understand not as identity politics but as "an approach that treats culture itself as a site of political struggle, an analytic emphasizing power, process and practice" (Moore, Kosek, and Pandian 2003, 2).[8] Both social injustice and socio-ecological damage need healing. For this reason, Alexa Scully (2012) adds *reconciliation* to the other two principles; however, it is worth noting that Leanne Simpson (2011) asserts that reconciliation must be grounded in political resurgence and must support the regeneration of Indigenous languages, oral cultures, and traditions of governance. Disrupted relations need renewing and this involves caring applied in meaningful action—we need a compassionate sense of place as well as a politicized sense of justice. Place pluralism and the attendant cultural politics of the environment form a basis for Canadian-styled just sustainability.

Place and Pluralism with Taylor and Saul

Living well together in the land—the normative aim of place pluralism as a way of framing the common ground of Canadian and environmental studies—implies several things. First, it is a moral quest—to identify both how to "live" and how to do it "well." Second, it identifies a non-individualistic locus to agency, presenting the idea of togetherness as basic to that quest. Third, it positions this togetherness as situated, explicitly in physical geographies, but since we are human the land also includes the social landscape. Charles Taylor's proposed moral ontology and its accompanying communitarian understanding provides for navigating the first two of these features, but does not adequately help us see the importance of the third.

Taylor's influential analysis (1989) of what constitutes being a "self" in contemporary culture also sets the terms for how he understands Canada. In particular, this analysis makes it possible for him to account for the unity and diversity of the Canadian identity in such a way as to make sense of and even recommend responses to the existential issues underlying Canada's recurring constitutional challenges (Taylor 1993; Taylor et al. 1994). By briefly examining this, we hope to show how Taylor's approach to matters of selfhood and identity recommends itself as a framework for grasping the pluralist side of place pluralism. At the same time, however, we recognize that Taylor's approach does not adequately address Canada as a *place*, situated not just in a space of moral questions (hence within conflicting and overlapping historical narratives) but also within a geographical place—or rather a constellation of places—and an environment that is simultaneously cultural and natural—or rather a constellation of environments. For that *emplaced* account of Canada we turn to John Ralston Saul, but find that his account has shortcomings that Taylor's can remedy.

Taylor's work over some decades articulates a sophisticated conception of human being and sociality in terms of moral ontology: that over and above causal-reductive accounts of human action indebted to natural scientific explanation—accounts that curiously leave human agency unaccounted for—we are self-interpreting beings who care about what we consider good, and this level of interpretation needs to be included in any attempt at explanation of human action.[9] Key to our self-interpretation is the idea that we make distinctions of worth within that moral space, the contours of which are composed of questions about duty, meaning, and dignity. We narratively situate ourselves in this contoured moral scape, storying our selves and our actions, and listening to the stories of meaningful others. It is this ontology that defines our actions and, through those defining actions, constitutes the moral quality of our selves. The distinctions of worth can only be made relative to variously goods or moral sources, what in more common parlance we call values or ideals (Taylor 1989). In other words,

the significance or meaning of human action is produced by valuation processes that involve others. For Taylor, in contrast to the majority of contemporary moral philosophers, morality is about more than just what a person is obliged to do in a given situation. Morality is also about what a person and community value: what they hold to be of genuine importance and what they hold to be disposable or negotiable. In short, morality inescapably involves "strong evaluation" (Taylor 1985a, 16).

Strong evaluation contrasts weak evaluation because only the former defines our self-identity and moral worth. In a weak evaluation (say, "I prefer chocolate to vanilla"), the choice does not define the chooser existentially. In strong evaluation, however, our very selves are defined by how we situate ourselves with respect to the goods at stake. Thus, for example, the good of aligning one's will with God's is not a mere preference for the believer; one's success or failure in doing so defines one's self-conception. One's community of believers (e.g., a church accepting of same-sex marriages or a faith group opposed to them) affects one's understanding of God's will and appropriate behaviour. This is what Taylor means when he says that we are selves in moral space (1989, 25-52).

Particularly important for our purposes is Taylor's attention to cultural pluralism and the way that it diversifies the moral space. For Taylor, pluralism is central to the constitution of modern societies. It is most often identified in multicultural ones, but gender, class, cultural capital, and other regularized characteristics cannot help but generate pluralism. He pins his articulation of pluralism, Ruth Abbey argues, on a "prescription of deep diversity as a way of enframing membership of the Canadian polity" (2009, 79). Abbey explains further:

> Traditionally liberal notions of justice have required that political institutions be blind to individuals' particularities and treat them as undifferentiated equals.... Proponents of the politics of difference point out that the equal dignity model presupposes persons who can unproblematically divorce their private from their public persona ... we can't all be equal if we have to conform to a single model of public personhood, because this model privileges, even if only tacitly, some forms of identity or ways of being over others. (79)

Taylor's analysis of the constitutional and legal debates that have recurred throughout Canada's history (but particularly in the post-1982 era) can be applied to the debates over places (especially cultural accommodation and environmental sustainability).[10] For Taylor, the constitutional problems are not first and foremost problems of law, or of rights, or even of political philosophy. These problems are *existential,* involving the self-interpretation of agents, who ineluctably situate themselves in a moral space of questions. The problems that Canada has experienced arise from the fact that different

agents understand these questions differently (though with substantial overlap) and tell different stories about their own and Canada's movement within the space that those questions define. Thus, for example, Quebec and "English Canada" have differed not only over constitutional law, but also over the question of what a country is for, what its basis of unity ought to be, and—following from different answers to those questions—how to see Canada as it exists in relation to those ends (Taylor 1993). Contestations over place are similar, as various agents identify the existential features worth defending and articulate different place narratives. In the constitutional arena, Taylor argues that differences result in and are, in turn, re-enforced by different models of a liberal society (and hence different understandings of the role and purpose of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in our national life). This is magnified in terms of living together in the land because different models of the land relationship can reinforce deeper, existential differences. For example, religious, aesthetic, Aboriginal, and deep ecological orientations are founded on different bases than econometric valuations of land favoured by policy bureaucracies, leading to commensurability problems. As Mick Smith comments, those concerned about the environment, for the most part, "must find other ways to articulate its ethics because the established forms of ethics, in so far as they are representations and embodiments of modernity, will inevitably distort or exclude the values of critics who live or envisage a different form of life, an alternative ethos" (2001, 25). This is one type of deep diversity. At the same time, however, it may be that if environmental groups do not articulate sustainability in the economistic terms of contemporary governance or the social inclusion concerns of many civil society organizations, they may be insufficiently recognized in contemporary debates about living together well in the country.

All of this sounds as if it may degenerate into a kind of fatalistic acceptance that true unity is impossible for Canada and just sustainability is an impossible goal. Taylor's analysis helps to lay bare just how deep pluralism is in Canada; it is not just a matter of disagreements about rights or constitutional status, but about differing self-interpretations. He can be hopeful, however, because although plurality is deep, it is never completely incommensurable (we share some language, for example, and have other commonalities). Identity is irreducible to self-interpretation by agents in their solitude, but rather is always self-interpretation in relation with others. It is this interaction that constitutes a shared space within which understanding, recognition, and accommodation are possible. The differences within a pluralist space can be conceived and articulated in terms of a language of "perspicuous contrast" (Taylor 1985b, 126). By this term, Taylor argues that contrasting meanings provide insights into other ways of being as part of the process of meaningful interaction across differences. Regardless of the probability of misunderstandings, these differences ultimately presuppose

some kind of comparison points relative to what is considered good by the different agents. The efficacy of perspicuous contrast accepts the usefulness of resources that they bring to the engagement.

This deep diversity cannot be overcome by procedural liberalism as Canadian studies of multiculturalism and interculturalism illustrate repeatedly. Deep diversity necessitates a politics of recognition resulting from recognizing the deeper sources of our divisions—that is, the depth of our deep pluralism. Something similar is needed in environmental studies. Taylor's great contribution articulates how continuing engagement across differences both informs the lived practices of those communities involved in that engagement, and is indispensable for helping to lay bare the depths of deep pluralism, hopefully towards mutual transformation of all involved parties. In this way, Taylor emphasizes what might be termed the *reinhabitation of the moral space* constituted in this pluralism. As he puts it himself, along with a "first-level diversity" associated with a multicultural mosaic that includes everyone on the same (procedural liberal) terms, "to build a country for everyone, Canada would have to allow for a second-level or 'deep' diversity in which *a plurality of ways of belonging* would also be acknowledged and accepted" (Taylor 1993, 183, our emphasis).[11] It is precisely this recognition of deep diversity and these conceptual tools for living together in light of that diversity that we argue could be fruitfully applied to the place pluralism that could constitute retooled fields of Canadian and environmental studies.

Despite our appreciation of the profound contributions Taylor makes to an understanding of identity and pluralism, we find that Taylor's account is incomplete or inadequate in a number of respects. In the first place, his analysis of deep diversity in Canada primarily revolves around the two axes of Quebec and "Canada outside Quebec," each understood too monolithically (e.g., Taylor 1993, 158). In particular, Taylor pays insufficient attention to the place of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and in their self-interpretations. This is not to say that his framework is inadequate to do this, but only that it is not done and urgently needs to be done. This omission is especially important in light of what we will say about place, since in many respects the identities of First Nations are more directly or explicitly connected to particular places (the "land") than—at first glance—those of Quebec or of Canada outside Quebec.

Second, Taylor's attempt to show how reconciliation is possible between the two solitudes engages primarily at the level of political philosophy. It does not concern itself with how another narrative could emerge—one that could fruitfully articulate our shared inhabitation of Canada as not just a polity but as a moral space *in the land*. As we discuss below, John Ralston Saul offers just such a process of reimagining a Canadian narrative (although his is beset by its own problems, which are remedied by partnering it with Taylor's work).

Finally, in Taylor's account of what both unites and divides Canadians, no mention is made of the *places* that we inhabit, either of the country as a whole or of the communities or regions that tend towards mutual solitude. In light of the problems of the classic account of Canada in terms of nature, discussed above, Taylor's turn to culture is a salutary development, but it still leaves the picture one-sided. Environmental justice scholars have invoked a politics of recognition as crucial in understanding socio-ecological trajectories of injustice (see Agyeman et al. 2009, 8; Walker 2012, 65). In some approaches, lack of recognition of other-than-humans is also a salient injustice. As discussed above, the concept of place holds nature and culture as inseparable; they are only intelligible when considered together. If this is so, Taylor's account is not only one-sided, but also does not sufficiently understand even the culture pole.

This failure of Taylor's account of Canadian identity actually reflects a problem of his overly ideational or intellectualist account of identity more generally. In *Sources of the Self,* the self-interpreting agent is embodied and emplaced primarily, if not exclusively, in terms of the *moral* ontology of the historical tradition to which he or she belongs. The crucial *meaning space* in which the agent locates itself is a "moral space" that is a "space of questions" (Taylor 1989, 28-29; see also ch. 2); it is a moral-discursive space, not a concrete place, natural environment, or neighbourhood. What Taylor's account needs is a sense that the space of moral questions is also and ineliminably such a concrete *place;* his pluralism about Canadian identity must be a *place* pluralism too. Taylor's pluralism is, to some extent, an attempt to understand the various identities that have been traditionally understood in terms of the concept of *nationality* (e.g., Canadian nationhood, Québécois nationalism, etc.). He accomplishes this by showing that underlying such national identities is a certain self-location in moral space (i.e., strongly valuing certain goods and giving a narrative about one's place with respect to those goods). This is a welcome deepening (and even an implicit critique) of the concept of nationality but, we argue, it still fails to account for the ways in which taking up a location in moral space is inseparable from inhabiting (along with others) concrete geographical places, which is a lacuna that nearly all analyses of Canadian identity in terms of nationality share. In this respect, Saul's account of Canada in *A Fair Country* (2008) provides correction and reorientation.

Saul, too, is intent on a project of historical retrieval. Developing in more detail the position he first advanced in his *Reflections of a Siamese Twin*, Saul defends a "three pillars" version of Canadian society—Aboriginal, anglophone, and francophone (1997, 81). It is the first pillar that has been neglected and overlooked for the significant contributor it is to Canadian thought and identity: "The single greatest failure of the Canadian experiment, so far, has been our inability to normalize—that is, to internalize consciously—the First Nations as the founding senior pillar of our civilization" (Saul

2008, 21). Instead, an overly Europeanized mythology propounded by the elites (the universities, the press, and the politicians) informs popular consciousness and public discourse; and, Saul argues throughout *A Fair Country*, this consciousness and discourse are impoverished relative to the full richness of our genuinely Canadian possibilities.

Saul urges all of us to "imagine ourselves differently" (2008, 35). We are to restory Canada as a synthesis of meanings between its three pillars—thus, his title for part 1 of *A Fair Country*: Canada is "A Métis Civilization." As Daniel Salée observes, "*A Fair Country* rests on the idea that ... Canadians have lost touch with their fundamental essence as a Métis nation. They fail to recognize that many of the tenets by which they identify and characterize themselves, such as ethnocultural diversity, egalitarianism, pacifism and social solidarity, have their roots in Aboriginal notions" (2010, 324). Saul sustains his thesis by comprehending Canada as a place to be understood pluralistically and to be renarrated by drawing on Aboriginal knowledge. Of particular significance for Saul is that Aboriginal peoples subordinate their conceptions of human to that of place. Saul valorizes "this sense of place over people or at least place in balance with people" (2008, 62; see also 75). Saul critiques Enlightenment discourse because, among other characteristics, it has an intense disconnection from place and a tendency to reify the disembodied mind. His critique is in some ways an external critique, or at least, he attempts a deeper pluralism by drawing on resources beyond just Euro-Western philosophical traditions. (Taylor's work, by contrast, is an extensive internal, or immanent, critique of European, especially Enlightenment, discourse and ontology.) Saul positions himself through a very different historical reading of Canada. As he describes it, until late in the nineteenth century, in most of Canada, European settlers were dependent on Indigenous peoples for survival at extreme times because of the latter's long-term acquaintance with how to live on the land. Indigenous ecological knowledge provided some economic, material, or political advantage: hence the use of marriage as a strategy for early colonists, the constant of trade, the reliance on Aboriginal guides, the tenets summarized by Salée above, and so on. Overall, Saul's intent is, to use Taylor's terminology, to redraw the bounds of moral space with more attention to physicality and a wider pluralism. Within this space, situated concretely-historically in Canada as a place, Saul sees great resources implicit in the Aboriginal pillar:

> The point about Canada and its nature and the full meaning of environmentalism is that we don't have to be prisoners of theories coming out of countries where nature has been—so to speak—conquered ... the Aboriginal relationship has the great strength of being centred on place rather than humans, and of taking a holistic or balanced approach. This is not a policy. It is a world view. (84)

Put differently, Saul's reimagining of history and emphasis on Aboriginal conceptions of place is a decolonization strategy; we are too inclined to think (as Taylor at times appears to do) that our deep moral sources all come from Europe. To the extent that Saul insists we look to our distinct Canadian culture, with attentiveness to the centrality of place, Saul is engaging, or at least inviting, a type of reinhabitation.

Some critics declare, however, that Saul's reimagining takes too great liberties with Canadian history. Salée, for example, responds,

> Self-proclaimed openness to the Other's difference does not imply doing away with dominant expressions of hegemonic power.... Defining Canada as a Métis nation may be a nice gesture from a magnanimous hegemon, but it is largely insufficient and is likely to fall flat if the hegemon is not unequivocally committed to relinquish his power and engage in a thorough deconstruction of the structures and institutions that make his socio-political ascendancy possible. (2010, 329)

A salient question is whether Saul's reinhabitation amounts to a denial of crucial facts on the ground, even with the acknowledgement that "facts" are selective achievements and that Saul is trying to revise Canadian history through an inversion of the received interpretation of power relations that have already selected their myths (Francis 1997).[12] In this latter sense, Saul's effort is much more serious than a mere "nice gesture," and it remains to be seen whether it will prove insufficient or not. At the same time, however, decolonization is a confrontation with dominant systems of thought, and denial of the facts of colonization has been a dominant feature of "mainstream" Canadian thinking in the twentieth century; if Saul's reimagining of history strays too implausibly far from the facts, Salée's criticism is apt.[13]

Canadian history is ripe with denial. Consider the bold statement and policies of Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932: "Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question" (quoted in Leslie 1978, 114). Denial continues to the present. Consider the statement by Prime Minister Stephen Harper in a speech during the G20 gathering in the United Kingdom: "We also have no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother them" (quoted in Wherry 2009). Harper's statement illustrates the forgotten history that Canadian studies brings to light and the need for recognizing, confronting, and dislodging ongoing domination.

Our purpose, then, is a friendly amendment to Saul's and Taylor's work, accomplished by putting them into dialogue. Taylor and Saul help us put flesh onto the

bones of the idea of place pluralism as a basis for Canadian studies, but each needs the other to enrich his own account. All places are moral spaces; but our emphasis on place pluralism moves out from Taylor's focus—the human ontology of self and moral space. The moral space that we constitute ourselves in is a social space and—we say along with Saul, as Taylor does not, sufficiently—a geographic/ecological space as well. Thus, physical space is also a space of moral questions. For example, Edmonton has a cemetery—Métis, in fact—by the old Rossdale power plant along the river. It was only a field and was paved over by a major roadway leading from the Walterdale Bridge, until urban Aboriginal activists, media, archaeology, Hudson's Bay Company records, and city councillors collided. They moved the road; they built a monument complete with interpretive signs; they re-storied the site. That this place sits along a popular bike/jogging path and a sidewalk crossing the new road means that more people are a small step closer to both reinhabiting and decolonizing. The space has become a historical and recreational place. Further, the evidence of contemporary Aboriginal activism indicates Aboriginal peoples' ongoing presence in the municipal present. This is the pluralism of places. The site is more deeply and diversely narrated now.

Dwayne Donald writes similarly about the living history museum at Fort Edmonton Park. Troubled by the representations of Aboriginal peoples and the weakness even of the declamation against colonization, he writes, "official versions of history, which begin as cultural and contextual interpretations of events, morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of dominant groups in a society" (2009, 3). It is absolutely essential that we rework these hegemonic histories, which is what Saul attempts with Canada as a whole. Indigenous challenges to colonization need to engage the liberal political theories such as those of Taylor or Saul—and vice versa. They are doing so, for example, in the concept of *métissage*, which "denote[s] cultural mixing or the hybridization of identities as a result of colonialism and transcultural influences" (Donald 2009, 7). For Greg Lowan-Trudeau (2012), this refers to developing his personal epistemic stance between worlds, while for Caroline Desbiens and Étienne Rivard (2014), métissage is dynamic dialogue about governance. As non-Indigenous scholars, we take such examples as resources in an ongoing effort at decolonizing our Euro-Western heritage. Saul's proposal that we imagine Canada as Métis means that the entity that is conceived of as Canada has not ever been solely European, but is instead a hybrid entity that has historically been a place-based cultural mixing. The challenge is to maintain attention to the way that such history has been oppressive, as well as creative; Saul's approach can be appropriation rather than a reworking and integration.

For such renarrating to be experientially relevant, we must focus on place stories. Consider the linear place that is the North Saskatchewan River, running from Banff

National Park, through rural Alberta, through the City of Rocky Mountain House, the City of Edmonton, and more farmland, and then off east to join other rivers on their way to Hudson Bay. The North Saskatchewan River asks moral questions. Listen to the teens on a river recreation/environmental education trip (Haluza-DeLay 2001). Upstream, the river is wild, they say, and when answering the moral question posed by the river (and the researcher), they want the North Saskatchewan River "to stay the way that it is" (quoted in Haluza-DeLay 2001, 45). Downstream, is Edmonton, and they say, "It's not very natural ... it's all a lost cause" so there's nothing to care about (45). The pluralism of place, meaning, action, and agents intersect. There is no outside to moral questions, and moral space is always communal (the teens do not just respond from their private experience): these are the ideas at the foundation of Taylor's pluralism. Places are constituted by relations of deep diversity; this statement is the basis of our pluralism too. We see the diversity of places as being even deeper than that of the human agents. Environmental studies proposes to Canadian studies that the politics of recognition are existentially extendable to ancestors and rivers (and woodland caribou and oil-soaked ducks).[14] Place pluralism pushes us to identify the strong evaluations that inhere in our living in places. It results in the articulation of perspicuous contrasts such that the breadth and depth, and the richness and brokenness too, of the diversity of goods that constitute the moral texture of the places we live in show through. This is not mere niceness. Reinhabitation and decolonization both require recognition—of ecological others, of contrasting cultural practices of the land, of our own domination or suppression, and of the past.[15]

Just Sustainability

This returns us to the idea of just sustainability, but in a broadened way: the term cannot remain merely environmental. Just sustainability—rooted in the concept of place pluralism—is not merely one good amongst others, but a value that forms us collectively. Given existing and projected socio-ecological conditions, just sustainability is normatively central to a Canadian imaginary for the twenty-first century. It is what Taylor calls a strong evaluation. It is how we live well together in the land. Place connects social and ecological dimensions, nature and culture, sustainability and justice. A comprehensive conception of place includes environmental justice, that is, some way of providing equity to other species and the land along with the marginalized among humans. This is one of the ways that Canadian discourses contribute to the global literature on environmental justice, and it comes about primarily with Indigenous peoples as partners in knowledge formation. As Saul emphasizes, their holistic "philosophy of place" and relational world view—their refusal to separate justice from

sustainability, society from ecology—are gifts to other Canadians (Saul 2008, 87; Agyeman et al. 2009).

We share space, and we need to share it sustainably and equitably; its character as moral space requires that we do so. Doing so requires attention to a broader concept of sustainability, one that integrates environmental and social dimensions. Humans also share space with other residents of the land. Inclusion of other-than-humans in the sharing may seem romantic or naïve, but other life forms are dynamic components of natural systems that provide "ecosystem services" (Daily et al. 2000, 395) essential for the functioning of human societies; other life forms are also components of a reimagined Canadian studies. Nature provides food, oxygen, water, space, resources for production of goods, and processing of our wastes. Human society does not exist without the ecological dimensions of our shared spaces; if place is crucial to our collective identity-formation, then all the beings that make places what they are play a role in the moral spaces that are places. This is an ecological politics of recognition.

Living well together in the land, then, means building inclusive, just, and sustainable communities for humanity *with* the other-than-human. If the task is to live well together (and the fact that it seems insensible to make any other choice indicates that this is a strong evaluation), we have to do so in the land (not *on* it, for the latter makes the land merely the stage for lively action, and not actant in its own right),[16] for mutual benefit, and make it last. This is sustainability, justice, and inclusion, in all their environmental and social dimensions, broadened beyond their often unnecessarily narrowed guiding concepts. This discourse and the practices guided by it draw on social justice, environmental justice, and traditional sustainability discourses. Julian Agyeman presents just sustainability as "the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, now and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, while living within the limits of supporting ecosystems" (2005, 5). It is rooted in "acknowledgement of social injustice as the root of our current unsustainability" (43). Because of the way that it connects social inclusion and environmental sustainability, that is, the lived practices of living well together in the land, we have argued that just sustainability is the unavoidable normative expression of the idea of place pluralism that we have derived from Taylor and Saul.

Precisely because just sustainability requires recognition of the plural meanings of place, this is no easy task. As Taylor recognizes, the social meanings of places are shaped by different moral ontologies, and this can create deep challenges of just recognition when attempting to act for sustainability. *Just* sustainability requires equitable recognition of different cultural ways of understanding places—the ways these may affect quality of life, environmental health, future generations, and equity—but it is not obvious (or decidable a priori) exactly how that can be done. Growing evidence

reveals the socially inequitable distribution of environmental "bads" such as exposure to toxics, pollution, and hazards, and environmental *goods* such as access to natural spaces, healthy dwellings, and other amenities. The contributors to *Speaking for Ourselves* (Agyeman et al. 2009) illustrate a range of Canadian cases of environmental injustice, and activists have addressed some of these in the course of their work on feminist, poverty, Aboriginal, and other "social" justice campaigns. A growing body of environmental justice research is developing in Canada (e.g., Haluza-DeLay 2007; Deacon and Baxter 2012; Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008; Masuda et al. 2008; Masuda, Poland, and Baxter 2010; Wakefield and Baxter 2010) and is developing Canadian-specific correlates as well. Civil society organizations are also paying some attention to environmental justice (although at relatively low rates according to Haluza-DeLay and Fernhout 2011). As argued here, however, a more deliberate and explicit synthesis of environment and social justice would be warranted. The two master frames of sustainability and social inclusion/justice have been too separate, to the detriment of our ability to imagine creative alternatives to the unsustainability and exclusivity of our Canadian society. A more expansive understanding of environmental justice and sustainability points to the cultural politics of the environment in Canadian society. Socio-political contestation takes place over cultural power, processes, and practices as various stakeholders try to assert their ways of seeing things and acting. Even environmental management involves cultural framing (Macdonald 2009), especially when using management frameworks reliant on purportedly objective and acultural science grounded in Euro-Western understandings (Bocking 2011). Both the sustainability and social inclusion frames miss what is so crucial in place pluralism—the idea that the places to be managed or conserved are not merely spaces, but are also complex and dynamic socio-ecological assemblages of diverse actors. Management (a term freighted with assumptions itself) cannot be neutral about issues of recognition and justice, and when it imagines that it can be, it obscures associated power relations. Canadian environmental historians have shown how early twentieth-century wildlife management regimes were specifically designed to restrict Aboriginal hunting because of different cultural constructions of the landscape and hunting as sport or subsistence (Loo 2006; Sandlos 2007). In numerous other ways, depictions of the land sought to erase the presence of existing people from it, allowing new occupations by "legitimate" settlers. The national parks have been part of the nation-building project (Mortimer-Sandilands 2009).[17] Decolonization includes this history and the consequences that persist.

While there is growing attention to environmental inequities in Canada, mere sustainability, rather than *just* sustainability, remains the master frame of Canadian environmental politics, organizations, education, and scholarship. At the same time,

social development actors ignore the ecological dimensions of social planning, inclusion, and justice; the master frame of social inclusion excludes the environment. We believe that just sustainability can be *frame bridging*, promoting the coming together of two (or more) representations in a way that expands the base of support for both by developing a common agenda; but just sustainability is another mental abstraction unless grounded in the particularities of places and determinations about living well together in the land....

Conclusion

Recognition of the multi-dimensional pluralism of places makes place pluralism an effective organizing principle for both Canadian studies and environmental studies. *Place pluralism* and its normative correlate *just sustainability* insist on attention to all of the hydrology, history, ecology, sociology, literature, and other elements that make up places. Place pluralism requires us to understand how people live and make meaningful their dreams and their inequities, and how these contribute to a just and sustainable living well together in the land. Places are constituted by such deep diversity. Pluralism provides perspicuous contrast. To reinhabit and decolonize is also to become attentive to the effects of political-economic actions made elsewhere, to trace the flows that link places, and to engage in deep listening to other inhabitants and especially those who have been/are still being colonized.

While environmental and social injustices may be the result of larger-scale processes such as neo-liberalism and colonization, they have place-specific manifestations. The place pluralism that sees Canada as a multi-placed mosaic can identify the multiplicity of these localized manifestations and unpack the processes that contribute to them while not being confined to parochial defensiveness. In so far as relatively unplaced actors (e.g., transnational corporations, national thinktanks, and traditional intellectuals) are implicated in undermining living well together in specific places, moral judgements based in emplaced and pluralist evaluations can be undertaken. Expanding Taylor, we have argued that place pluralism is an encompassing moral ontology that is appropriately and practically moral, non-individualistic and agentic, and fiercely situated. Both individually and collectively, we are selves in moral spaces, but these moral spaces are concrete, multi faceted, shared *places*.

We understand Canadian studies and environmental studies as multi- and transdisciplinary fields that lie at intersections of the natural and social sciences and the humanities, and in the interplay of rhetoric, practice, policy, social norms, organizational forms, and discourse. The concept of *place pluralism* helps to capture a good deal of this discipline-crossing complexity in ways that help us live well together in

this land. In presenting place pluralism as common ground, we argue that the key is not the *place* (which has been amply discussed) but *pluralism*, which highlights the variability of place, and the sutures and fractures in what seems to have material objectivity). Pluralism, as informed by Taylor's thought, intentionally implies inclusion of a deeper diversity of actors, not just the actors of political, cultural, or economic dominance. A Canadian pluralism informed by environmental studies also makes explicit the participation of more ecological actors, which means a different politics of recognition. As common ground, place pluralism means finding ways to give or allow such actors voice and show how places are real assemblages of, for example,

- human structures;
- cultural practices;
- wild and domestic animals;
- flows of air currents;
- narratives, both oral and textual;
- political institutions;
- regulatory practices;
- streams of pollutants;
- sunlight manipulated by plant photosynthesis using carbon and releasing oxygen;
- migratory ducks seeing "ponds," landing, and dying;
- civil society pushing governments to adjudicate corporations who masquerade toxic ponds as "nature-in-the-eyes-of-ducks"; and so on.

Particularity is important—each place must find its own solutions. From place attentiveness we learn that one cannot apply universal solutions because the configuration of places will always have unique characteristics that change the dynamic. No codes or principles can be applied with total rigour; all need some flexibility for the particulars of the case. This goes beyond procedural equity even as it is founded on recognition of the pluralism found in places and their corresponding moral spaces. As such, the dialogical character of the pluralism in place pluralism demands a politics of robust, inclusive deliberation, sensitive to difference, including especially the different places that we inhabit or move through. This means fostering practices and decision-making processes in which not only expert studies but also local knowledges have meaningful voices around the table on their own terms, and not just by fitting into the dominant narratives.

One benefit of place pluralism as an organizing domain for Canadian studies and environmental studies is that it unites many of the diverse concerns and considerations that are so often at cross-purposes in both scholarly analysis and public discussion. Not

least, this unification reduces Western culture's illusory nature–culture divide. Within a joined-up praxis of Canadian and environmental studies appropriate for Canadian contexts in the twenty-first century, just sustainability as a normative principle or strong evaluation gives deliberate attention to social inequality while also attending to the environment. As the result of conscious attention to the social and ecological relations of Canadian places, it presents a positive, proactive vision for moving forward, *to live well together in this land*....

NOTES

This essay benefitted greatly from the review process, and we wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Canadian Studies* who helped us to deepen our thinking in several valuable directions.

1. The concept of "strong evaluations" runs throughout much of Taylor's work. The most succinct summary of the notion is presented in *Human Agency and Language* (Taylor 1985a, chs. 1-2, 9).
2. Much of this section draws on Haluza-DeLay's work on "Place" in *The Encyclopedia of Sustainability* (2010). That place can cross disciplinary boundaries is indicated by the references listed here. They are by, respectively, an Indigenous studies educator, philosopher, geographer, anthropologists, sociologist, and educator. These citations, and those listed later in the paragraph, are meant to give scholars new to the concept a rich and diverse but accessible and multidisciplinary introduction. The latter list is primarily Canadian sources.
3. The place-attentive critiques sketched here have correlates in the analyses of nation and nationalism by critical scholars, especially in their arguments that nations are "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991) and less contiguous than often represented. This is much the point of the chapters in Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi's edited collection *Rethinking the Great White North* (cf. Ghassan Hage's take on Australia as a *White Nation* [1998]), as well as work by Himani Bannerji (2000), Sherene Razack (2002), Eva Mackey (2002), and others such as Anoop Nayak's analysis (2002) of the interplay of place and national cultures among certain British youth. Nation clearly remains a powerful construct, even experientially. We insist (as do many critical scholars of nationalism) that the construct facilitates relations of power of sorts that are differentially enacted in specific places. Part of our purpose in proposing place pluralism as an organizing domain for Canadian studies is to welcome more scholarship on the nation–place nexus with some of the complexity we have articulated here.
4. For a Canadian parallel, see Cynthia Chambers's article, "'The land is the best teacher I ever had'" (2006).
5. Now Greenwood.
6. Now Lowan-Trudeau.

7. And vice versa. The specifics of decolonization and engagement with Indigenous thinkers is an area in which we three do not agree, which highlights the importance of the argument in this essay about pluralism and decolonization. We do agree that a robust engagement with Indigenous scholarship is warranted and is part of what we project in this essay. While we hope evidence of the influence from such scholarship is to be found in this essay, we know we have only begun this engagement and hope that more will increasingly occur. As academics thoroughly trained in the Euro-Western tradition and inheritors of both its privileges and its problems, we wish to further the critical revision of that tradition. Such a wish does not, of course, immunize our position from criticism. Ultimately, the practices that place pluralism pushes onto the agenda would necessarily involve recognition that, as a very prescient reviewer of this essay commented, "the Indigenous traditions and ongoing presence in every part of Canada must be deeply considered and incorporated through authentic partnerships."
8. See the contributions to the 2009 special issue on the cultural politics of the environment in the *International Journal of Canadian Studies* (Haluza-DeLay 2009). Contributors used this lens to examine national parks, land trusts, Mountain Equipment Co-op, Blackfeet understanding of the land, Indigenous–non-Indigenous alliances for land protection, and the organizational culture of Environment Canada.
9. For the interested reader, the concepts discussed here are explored in Taylor's three collections of essays (1985a, 1985b, 1995) and his *Sources of the Self* (1989, pt. 1).
10. We have woefully truncated the line of argument from *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Taylor et al. 1994).
11. This recognition of deep diversity shapes the approach to secularism and "reasonable accommodation" of religious otherness in the report of the Bouchard-Taylor commission (2008).
12. See also Daniel Francis's essay in the *Tyee*, in which he recounts how the contemporary minister of culture articulated the sort of history (political and military achievements) that Canada should support (2012).
13. Central to Lawrence and Dua's dialogue with each other is the way non-White immigrants are trying to inhabit their new homeland without recognition that immigrant successes, however limited by systemic and overt racism, are still founded on colonial appropriation of Aboriginal land. This, they argue, points to the need to decolonize anti-racism as equally necessary but different than the decolonization of mainstream (White, Euro-western) Canadian culture (2005; see also Simpson 2004).
14. We are implying a deeply pluralist conception of stakeholders in oil sands development in the Athabasca region of northern Alberta. The endangered caribou have been refused provincial planning to mediate their habitat loss. Over 1,600 ducks died in a Syncrude tailings pond in an incident in April 2008, which eventually led to prosecution of the company (see Weber 2010).

15. A reader of an earlier version pointed out that "living well together in the land" requires some "niceness." If we overemphasize conflict, we miss the co-operative and other elements that help us move forward. Let it be emphasized, however, that in moving forward we cannot forget the past nor avoid correction of injustice. Decolonization involves healing the land (that is, ecological restoration and social reconciliation), which proceeds from recovering the memory of violence conducted in it, whether that violence be physical, epistemic, or symbolic, or occur in other forms (Kerber 2011; Springer 2011).
16. We draw here on approaches that challenge modernist ones that reify the inertness of non-humans. Raymond Murphy (2004) asserts "the dance of … nature's actants" (utilizing actor-network theory and a form of critical realism), while an entire school of "post-humanism" has developed, and matter is seen to be "vibrant" (Bennett 2010), if not possessing vitality and inventiveness (Braun 2008), or even intersubjectively responsive to a divine creator (see Walsh, Karsh, and Ansell 1996; Atleo 2011).
17. Besides the removal of Aboriginal peoples throughout the Canadian Park system, the Acadian presence was eliminated in Cape Breton Highlands National Park in favour of the later Scottish heritage that followed (Sandilands 2011).

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