

Mondor, N., Cairns, S. & McIlwraith, T. (2023). Interpreting cultural appropriation in outdoor learning. In S. Priest, S. Ritchie & H. Ghadery (Eds). *Outdoor Learning in Canada*. Open Resource Textbook. Retrieved from <http://olic.ca>

# Interpreting Cultural Appropriation in Outdoor Learning

Nathan Mondor, Steve Cairns, and Thomas McIlwraith

Nathan Mondor is Anishinaabe Saulteaux, who has spent much of his life learning traditional practices of his people and culture, as well as traditional bushcraft and survival skills.

Steve Cairns is a Registered Nurse and Certified Educator in Ontario who currently teaches undergraduate nursing students at Nipissing University, in North Bay, Ontario. He is a PhD candidate in nursing education at York University where he is researching nurses who are leaders in planetary health.

Thomas McIlwraith is a settler academic who teaches cultural anthropology at the University of Guelph, in Guelph, Ontario. His research emphasizes community-based scholarship with Indigenous communities in British Columbia, particularly in the areas of land use and oral history.

**Authors' note:** This chapter was prepared through the conventions of both academic writing and oral tradition. Thomas McIlwraith and Steve Cairns provided written texts for the chapter. Nathan Mondor provided his contributions orally, via a zoom interview, and his words were only lightly edited. We worked together to bring the chapter to life, and we hope that the sound of Nathan's voice remains vibrant and visible in the text.

## Introduction to Cultural Appropriation, Identity, and Safety

*If we have been guilty of anything ... we are guilty of disregarding cultural facts. Indian Lore at summer camp has not limited itself to archaeological truth. We have stolen the tipi from the people of the plains, the grotesque and marvellously [sic] hideous masks of the Iroquois, the birch bark crafts of the Hurons and the Rythmic [sic] design of the Haidas and Kootenay Indians of the West Coast (Easthaugh, 1972, p. 2, speaking to the Society of Camp Directors in Toronto, Canada, 1972).*

*People take what belongs to others and this must stop (Borrows, 2022, p. 155).*

The appropriation of the cultural practices of other peoples has been part of outdoor learning in Canada since at least the 1890s when Canadians began to see the outdoors as a place for both recreation and education (Francis, 1992). The appropriation of Indigenous identities and practices has been recognized as a potential problem in children's summer camping since 1972 (Gerber, 1972; Easthaugh, 1972). In outdoor learning more broadly, the application and use of Indigenous perspectives has had both positive and negative orientations. The Canadian

Outward Bound Wilderness School, for example, recognized the need for programming that was specific to Indigenous students and founded the Giwaykiwin program in 1985 (Lowan, 2008). As Lowan describes, Giwaykiwin is a Ojibwe language translation meaning “coming home” and this program within Outward Bound created opportunities for Indigenous students to reconnect with their cultures and the land. Lowan’s study, which emphasized the decolonizing of Indigenous education identified challenges for situating Indigenous representation in outdoor learning programs. The study describes a distinction between Indigenous ways of knowing and the overarching philosophy of Outward Bound, which views experiences in nature as a vehicle for people and groups to develop. Specifically, “for Indigenous people, the land – the natural world including both physical and spiritual entities – is considered home, not a wilderness ripe with challenges” (Lowan, 2008, p. 7). This distinction in worldviews towards nature exemplifies the historical challenge of cultural representation and perception in outdoor learning – and is at the heart of what we illuminate in this chapter.

We ask readers to think about their worldview and unpack their own cultural perceptions as a foundational process for building awareness and knowledge about cultural appropriation and misappropriation in the context of outdoor learning.

In this chapter we offer a spectrum of lived experiences from our perspectives as participants and leaders in outdoor learning. With these experiences in mind, we offer tools to help recognize cultural appropriation and misappropriation. We suggest that the use of Indigenous concepts in outdoor teaching and learning has been done in disrespectful ways, even if with the best of intentions, and raise concerns for the safety of learners in outdoor and land-based teaching settings (Ormsby, 2018; Gignac, 2015). Yet, we are inspired by the educational benefits of incorporating Indigenous knowledges into outdoor learning when done in collaboration with Indigenous peoples. We share our stories of outdoor learning and express the hope that if done properly, the sharing of cultural practices and traditions in

land-based teaching and learning contexts can further the aims of reconciliation in Canada.

**Cultural appropriation** is the “use of a culture’s symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture” (Rogers, 2006, p. 474; cited in Craft, 2022, p. 58). Rogers elaborates, saying that cultural appropriation is an expected and “inescapable” phenomenon when cultures are in contact and that it is inevitably political because it is connected to the assimilation of marginalized peoples (Rogers, 2006, p. 474). Because cultural appropriation is inevitable because all cultures interact with other cultures, Rogers provides an important spectrum along which varying degrees of cultural appropriation are understood. His spectrum comes with four categories of cultural appropriation: **exchange**, **dominance**, **exploitation**, and **transculturation**. Briefly, these four categories are defined as follows (Rogers, 2006, p. 477).

1. Exchange: the reciprocal exchange of cultural elements between cultures of roughly equal levels of power.
2. Dominance: the forced use of cultural elements on members of a subordinated culture through legislation from a commanding culture.
3. Exploitation: “appropriation of elements of a subordinated culture by a dominant culture without substantive reciprocity, permission, and/or compensation” (Rogers 2006, p. 477).
4. Transculturation: where “cultural elements are created from multiple cultures” so that identifying any one culture is difficult (Rogers 2006, p. 477).

Examples from Rogers’ four-part model can be seen in the outdoor learning sector, with the possible exception of “dominance,” where appropriation, or the requirement to take on the characteristics of an external group, is demanded by law or forced on another group of people. There are good examples of **reciprocal exchange** in which outdoor educators use the teachings and practices of Indigenous peoples with permission and in healthy partnership (Lowan, 2009).

The **exploitative appropriation** of Indigenous practices has a long history in outdoor learning, particularly in summer camping, and this category is the one that concerns us the most. Exploitation is more than simply misappropriation where something is borrowed without careful acknowledgement or attribution; exploitation is taking without permission. Indeed, the word misappropriation in this context to mean “a one-sided process where one entity benefits from another group’s culture without permission and without giving something in return” (IPLiCH, 2015, p. 3). In other words, a lack of reciprocity is central to concerns about appropriation. **Transculturation** has occurred in camping circles where elements of Indigenous traditions are amalgamated – languages are mixed, games are imported from across North America, stories and ceremonies are borrowed indiscriminately – in writings by camping pioneers like Taylor Statten and Ernest Thompson Seton (see Wall, 2009; Francis, 1992).

To be sure, some writers take a strong position on cultural appropriation as exploitation, particularly where Indigenous knowledges and practices are concerned. In a recent exploration of these issues in *Voicing Identity: Cultural Appropriation and Indigenous Issues*, Craft, Borrows, and Asch all define cultural appropriation in these terms (Borrows and McNeil, 2022). Asch stresses inappropriate taking from an Indigenous culture (Asch, 2022, p. 139) and Borrows notes that appropriation involves use of aspects of an Indigenous culture without approval and by someone who is not part of the culture (Borrows, 2022, p. 155). Rogers extends the discussion when stating that cultural appropriation is, for some, akin to **theft** (Rogers, 2006, p. 475; also Kramer 2006) and Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have argued as much (Jago 2017; Tallbear 2021; Shore 2020). Amanda Shore describes cultural appropriation as the “unauthorized copying of cultural traditions” (Shore, 2020, p. 4). She applies this definition to the long-standing practices of “playing Indian” at summer camps (also Deloria, 1998) and adds the idea of **racial plagiarism** as a better phrase for the inappropriate use of cultural practices (Shore, 2020, p. 28).

In this chapter, we continue the intellectual tradition of addressing the nuances of cultural appropriation. We discuss the problematic nature of outdoor learning activities that mimic or attempt to represent practices rooted in Indigenous spirituality and customs. We reflect on the impacts of such appropriations on participants in outdoor learning. We also recognize that when done in partnership and collaboration with the owners of cultural activities and knowledges, Indigenous and other ideas can enhance the experience of outdoor and land-based education and may, indeed, further the goals of reconciliation.

### Thomas’ Story: The Academic Context

*I learned some of what I thought I knew about Indigenous peoples at ‘Indian Council,’ a grand ceremony at a summer camp. I remember dressing for the ceremony, wearing an itchy wool blanket and water paint on my face that cracked when it dried. I remember too the grandeur of the ceremony, set in a wooded part of the camp and centred on a large fire. It was a dramatic, impressive event – and intentionally so. As a young person, I have no frame of reference, however, to know what I was participating in was anything but another camp tradition. It did not occur to me that it was fabricated or erroneous. It was simply part of the life of camp.*

*I am an academic and, specifically, a cultural anthropologist. I approach issues of cultural appropriation in outdoor learning contexts with scholarly tools and with only the lived experience of participation in such activities. My training in anthropology began when I was a staff member at camp, and it was at this point in my life that I recognized the problems with cultural appropriation and mockery in camp traditions. This recognition came from the classes I took on Indigenous rights and an opportunity to spend a month living in a reserve community in British Columbia as part of my Master of Arts program. It became clear, slowly, that our camp activities were*

*fictitious, misleading, and strange. They did not align with anything I was learning in my studies. I decided to sit out camp activities at this time, but only raised the issue through a workshop I ran for camp staff. This was the early 1990s and I know now that others were raising questions about these practices at camps at the same time (e.g., Dunlop, 1998).*

*In recent years, I have applied my academic training to understanding the phenomenon of cultural appropriation at summer camps. Naively, I had assumed that it had gone away during the 2000s but, not surprisingly without ongoing education and advocacy, it has not disappeared. But, with recent national inquiries – Truth and Reconciliation (2015) and Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG, 2019) – Indigenous histories are more visible and discussed more openly. This discussion, combined with the possibility that camps are open to an educational role that extends beyond recreation (Ezewski et al, 2021), has meant more opportunities to address these issues in outdoor learning settings. This work for some outdoor educators and their workplaces has included visits to local Indigenous communities to seek their advice on how to reform camp programs, the hiring of Indigenous staff members, ad hoc communities of practices designed to create spaces for conversations among camping professionals, and participation in camping conferences in Canada and the United States. Indeed, this chapter is another chance to discuss appropriation, mockery, and respectful relations in the outdoor learning sphere.*

*Sites of outdoor learning are the perfect places to bring Indigenous issues to light. Camps and canoe trips and extended hikes through Indigenous territories offer young people an opportunity to learn in Indigenous places and, ideally, from Indigenous peoples. In doing so, academic perspectives can inform, and fictional camp rituals*

*can give way to informed perspectives and meaningful relationships with Indigenous peoples and their places.*

### **Steve's Story: The Educator Context**

*Summer camp was a significant part of my life growing up and it has continued to weave a love for the outdoors, camp friends, and a certain kind of 'camp spirit' into the fabric of my life. The privilege of attending a residential summer camp at fourteen helped me return as a leader-in-training and then a staff member. I went on to become an outdoor educator and nurse seeking opportunities to continue that spirit of camping throughout my career and family life. I have worked and lived within Indigenous communities for significant portion of my life. When I think of cultural appropriation, it come into focus when you learn from people who have been affected by it. The words of my friend, colleague, and co-author Nathan Mondor remind me of how different a shared experience at a camp can be, both in the rewards and challenges. I suggest making connections with Indigenous people in your community to learn and be able to recognize and address issues of cultural appropriation when they are happening.*

*In this chapter, Thomas McIlwraith's knowledge and scholarship has crafted tools for this discussion on cultural appropriation. Examples shared by Nathan Mondor and I may help to sharpen the tools within our perspectives, particularly around learning to recognize cultural appropriation and how to act in response to it when needed. As an outdoor educator today, being aware of cultural appropriation and acting on it is part of one's 'toolbox' for collaborating with others and working through challenges. Like any tool, becoming effective in your awareness of cultural appropriation requires practice. Being open to the life experiences of other people and learning from your mistakes also helps.*

*When I first met Nathan at camp, he was doing his best to go home and not on a canoe trip (Figure 1). I had worked with enough campers to know that he was a challenge and over time his energy shifted from wanting to leave to doing every camp activity with gusto. A main strategy that worked for Nathan was to make sure camp did not feel like school. I am not saying it was a smooth transition, but letting go of certain formalities, focusing on being outside and in nature created opportunities for Nathan to connect with cabin mates and staff. At the time I knew Nathan came to camp having experienced some challenges at home and had Indigenous ancestry.*

*Upon reflection, my own tendency as a leader is not to assume difference and to treat others as I would like to be treated. While that approach may seem inclusive, I risk remaining in a myopic camping world of “isn’t this great?” when things are often experienced very differently by other people. Looking back, I would have liked to have more self-awareness in order to interpret what certain camp experiences might have been like for Nathan. For example, the camp hosted a campfire where participants were dressed in costumes. Thomas has mentioned the ‘nuance’ of experiences such as the overt or subtle behaviours at a campfire having different shades of meaning. A campfire creates ambiance. It provokes connection in so many ways to our past and those around the fire. Yet, under the guise of ‘tradition’ the expression of cultural appropriation around such campfires can appear normal for those participating (Shore, 2006). Had I been more aware of Nathan’s cultural background and community, perhaps I could have sought an opportunity to collaborate and reimagine our campfire tradition in a way that respects the ownership of cultural practices and build connections between people.*

The following list of questions may help to recognize and address experiences of cultural appro-

priation. If you find yourself at an outdoor learning activity or event, and it does not feel right, ask yourself:

1. What is the intent of the experience and what factors are contributing to achieve that intent?
2. Who is being represented in the experience and who is not?
3. How might someone looking from inside (camper) or outside (non-camper) interpret the experience?
4. Do those interpretations reflect the intent of the experience?
5. What might be the impacts of those interpretations short and long-term?
6. What action might you take to express yourself and collaborate with others?

Hopefully, you will further this conversation about cultural appropriation in outdoor learning and be part of solutions to a situation of cultural misappropriation when they reveal themselves. Hindsight offers opportunities for leaders to reflect but having the ability to see what is happening in the moment, both through the eyes of an insider and outsider is the challenge. Also, don’t stop at just seeing, make sure you interpret the experience and respectfully act in a way that supports everyone involved.

#### **Nathan’s Story: The Learner Context**

*I’ve experienced lots of things at summer camp that had cultural aspects to them. And these cultural activities have not always been done with the best intent, you know. There’s been things I’ve seen and heard that really make a mockery, or are disrespectful towards the native cultures, in the area.*

*These have often been things done offhandedly without any consideration or respect towards the actual culture. They have created a sense of pan-indigeneity where this thing’s cool from that culture that this other one’s cool from the other culture. None of it really has any backing or merit for what*

it is. One example is totem poles and tipis standing side by side in a summer camp.

Sometimes, these things are done without greater knowledge, or a deeper understanding – there is no silliness or goofiness per se and they may have been done to teach or entertain in a way – but sometimes these activities are absolutely deplorable. I know of one situation where participants in outdoor learning are coming up with huge headdresses and talking about feathers they earn on their shields. It's a straight up mockery.

Other examples include when things are mislabeled, misunderstood, misplaced, like Inukshuks. You see them in Algonquin Park!

You might be paddling out into the middle of Algonquin Park, and you will see these Inukshuks there when they're meant to be in the Arctic. We had our own method of pointing to where we needed to go. We strapped trees, bent them and they pointed to a portage.

Canoes cause concern for some. Canoes are complicated. I'm not saying that canoes are appropriation because they are vehicles for travel. But still people should learn about the style of their canoe, or even the style of their canoe paddle. Outdoor educators must teach people where a particular canoe style is from. I feel the same way about knives and fishing techniques. The point is that appropriated objects and activities



Figure 1: Nathan Mondor on a summer camp canoe trip with Steve Cairns as camp counselor.



Figure 2: Nathan Mondor creating a drum frame while visiting with Steve Cairns, 25 years after their original summer camp canoe trip.

*do not come with reference points without teaching, and it annoys me to see these things out of context.*

*Another example from one of my camp counselors. When we went on canoe trips with the kids in our camp cabin, we carried a “chest” with us. It was heavy on portages! There was a name for this chest – the wani-gan – and we were told that it was an “Indian practice” to have a chest like this with us. In the end it just turned out to be a silly name for a box. It can be little things like this that aren’t actually that huge. But, when you look at all of the things together, appropriation and misinformation, it’s like they don’t know who we are. They don’t know where we’ve come from.*

*So when you’re looking at outdoor learning and summer camps, and appropriation within these activities, understand that much of this is the result of settler or colonial projects. I am concerned that with Indigenous teachings and practices in these contexts that there is no one to oversee or explain the practices and how they have been mixed up. Let me put it this way: I couldn’t go to your university and tell you all these great things, and give you a report, without citing my sources. There’s no accountability if you do not cite. It is the same with people who are not experts, not knowledge keepers, sharing our ceremonies.*

*There is so much potential in outdoor learning. As a younger person, I was displaced from my Nation, my people, and my culture. Through outdoor activities and summer camps I was exposed to some parts of my culture. I heard stories, saw activities, and wanted to learn more. I was OK with seeing some ceremony that was not necessarily fully correct but was done with good. That encouraged me to learn more, rejoice my culture, and become a practicing spiritual member in my community. Without it, realistically, I probably would not be where I am today.*

*So, I want to see these things in camp led by Indigenous people and being done correctly by someone educated in the matter. I don’t mean like a school where you get a certificate. I mean like real life, real experiences, and education through Elders and practice. There is potential to turn the privilege that exist in outdoor spaces and camps around, teach non-Indigenous children properly and increase the exposure of Indigenous children to a different world too. Let’s embrace the potential that outdoor learning holds.*

### **Outdoor Learning, Land-based Learning, and Reconciliation**

The Truth and Reconciliation of Canada’s final report defines **reconciliation** as “an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships” (TRC, 2015, p. 11). Craft and Regan elaborate, calling for concrete action beyond symbolic gestures to achieve change (Craft & Regan, 2020, p. xi). This section emphasizes reconciliation and outdoor learning and does not address directly the related ideas of decolonization or indigenization. For more information about these topics in the context of outdoor learning, see Root (2010); Korteweg, and Root (2016).

In outdoor learning, a common refrain is that being outside in natural settings is the best place to inspire young people and Canadians more generally to care about the environment (see Korteweg & Russell, 2012). Korteweg and Root put outdoor educators at the front lines of environment action (2016). Korteweg and Russell remind us too that outdoor educators have long sought Indigenous worldviews, knowledges and holistic perspectives for living in good ways in order to improve the natural world for all peoples (2012). Specially, they describe the possibility of **land-based education-as reconciliation** in which “environmental education means actively recognizing, centring, validating, and honouring Indigenous rights, values, epistemologies or worldviews, knowledge, language, and the stories of the people of the Land” (2012, p. 7). Moreover, because outdoor educators see the destruction wrought by capitalism exploitation of the earth

and the effects of colonialism on Indigenous peoples, acknowledgment of these facts within outdoor learning is critical: "... in order to heal the painfully damaged relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Acknowledging and attending to the difficult process of decolonization while working towards a respectful Indigenous space of environmental education is a way forward ..." (2012, p. 5).

This chapter has identified a number of **actions** that outdoor educators and the purveyors of outdoor activities can take to further respectful relations. Education itself is critical in all respects. Gestures do not have to always be grand but they must be intentional. The recognition of treaties and territories is important. Korteweg and Russell say: "All Canadians need to learn how they are treaty partners with Indigenous peoples, on Indigenous Land with an obligation to live in peace, harmony, and respect" (2012, p. 6). In other words, Canadians need to understand Indigenous experiences and perspectives better if reconciliation is to be possible; outdoor learning is one possibility to advance such hope because it has the potential to bring people together. Summer camps researcher Amanda Shore encourages discomfort (following Paulette Regan 2010) and a 'pedagogy of solidarity' – bringing participants in outdoor learning activities into relationships so as to experience and learn *difference* between peoples – in outdoor learning, "in order to envision a future for camp education that relies on vulnerability and cross-cultural accountability" (Shore, 2020, p. 3). Daniels (2020) noted a similar possibility in asserting that Indigenous tourism can foster reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and Canadians because such engagements make spaces for dialogue and mutual understanding.

It is important to avoid **performative expressions of reconciliation**. These include activities by outdoor educators which do not involve Indigenous peoples. A land acknowledgement can be important, but it should never be the final step. Christine Luckasavitch, an Anishinaabe archaeologist and researcher reminds us that cultural appropriation is never the way forward (Luckasav-

itch, 2018, p. 14). Indeed, without responsibility, caring, respect, and a desire for understanding, reconciliation can replicate colonial attitudes and signal more to settlers about their internal agendas than actually move forward in better relations between peoples and for the earth (see Shore, 2020).

Nathan Mondor speaks aloud and passionately a summary of the connection between camps and reconciliation.

*Camps offer Indigenous people the opportunity to join staff groups and get work experiences and exposure to new networks. Participants in an outdoor learning program or campers at a camp are enriched through cultural knowledge and, through Indigenous kinship with the natural world, can learn new ways to find harmony with the environment they're in. I like to see more young people becoming gentler and more knowledgeable about our world outside of camp too.*

*I think that education allows a symbiotic relationship to develop. Let's see more Indigenous guides taking people on traditional canoe routes. Let's see outfitters asking permission to travel through an area. There's no need for information plaques on a canoe route if you can talk with the guide about the history of the people and place the group is canoeing through. It's more meaningful and memorable, and hopefully promotes change.*

*And how about a camp day that starts with an offering rather than the National anthem? In my area, it's a tobacco offering and, with proper instruction, campers can understand what that act means. This promotes a deeper connection. I understand that this will be too much for some Indigenous people who prefer a full stop on such activities. But we need to be able to teach and talk to people from outside of our culture about these ideas so that non-Indigenous peoples can understand why we do things.*



*It's hard to respect something that you don't understand. I believe in peace and respect. I believe in the **micro action** over the macro action. We want Nation to Nation relationships in Canada, to be sure, but we can't even get along with our neighbours at the level of community to community. The community relationships need to start first. That's where reconciliation begins.*

### Conclusion

Active education through outdoor learning has a unique impact on people's lives. In this chapter, we offer a significant body of literature, along with stories that have been shaped by friendships, formed through outdoor learning experiences, and include hindsight gained from lived experiences. We encourage participants and leaders in outdoor learning activities to reflect and act upon activities that have the potential for an Indigenous person or culture to be assaulted, challenged, or denied in terms of their cultural identity or experience (Brascoupe and Waters, 2009). We suggest that self-awareness and knowledge of cultural appropriation and misappropriation are essential tools to be crafted by those who share a genuine interest in the potential for reconciliation opportunities through outdoor learning. Make this an essential part of your work as a leader! Developing and utilizing such tools are preconditions to forming relationships with Indigenous peoples and enabling the potential for collaboration of Indigenous knowledge as land-based teaching and learning opportunities.

### References

Asch, Michael. (2022). Reflections on Cultural Appropriation. In J. Borrows & K. McNeil (Eds.), *Voicing Identity: Cultural Appropriation and Indigenous Issues* (pp. 139-154). University of Toronto Press.

Borrows, J.. (2022). Turning Away from the State: Cultural Appropriation in the Shadow of the Courts. In J. Borrows & K. McNeil (Eds.), *Voicing Identity: Cultural Appropriation and Indigenous Issues* (pp. 155-170). University of Toronto Press.

Brascoupe, S., & Waters, C. (2009). Cultural safety exploring the applicability of the concept of cultural safety to aboriginal health and community wellness. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 5(2), 6-41.

Craft, A. (2022). Look at your "Pantses": The Art of Wearing and Representing Indigenous Culture as Performative Relationship. In J. Borrows & K. McNeil (Eds.), *Voicing Identity: Cultural Appropriation and Indigenous Issues* (pp. 57-66). University of Toronto Press.

Craft, A. & Regan, P. (2020). *Pathways of Reconciliation: Indigenous and Settler Approaches to Implementing the TRC's Calls to Action*. University of Manitoba Press

Daniels, J. (2020). Reconciliation for Whom? Fostering Meaningful Relationships Through Indigenous Tourism in Ontario. [Master thesis, University of Guelph]. Retrieved from <https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/handle/10214/21134>

Deloria, P. (1998). *Playing Indian*. Yale University Press.

Ezewski, V., McIlwraith, T. & Fine, S. (2021). The Challenges of Indigenous-Inspired Programming in Children's Summer Camping. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education*, 33(4), 6-17.

Francis, D. (1992). *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Arsenal Pulp Press.

Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage Project (IPICH). (2015). Think Before You appropriate. Things to know and questions to ask in order to avoid misappropriating Indigenous cultural heritage. Simon Fraser University. Retrieved from <https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/resources/teaching-resources/think-before-you-appropriate/>

Jago, R. (2017). On cultural appropriation, Canadians are hypocrites. *The Walrus Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://thewalrus.ca/on-cultural-appropriation-canadians-are-hypocrites/>

- Korteweg, L. & Root, E. (2016). Witnessing Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug's strength and struggle: The affective education of reconciliation in Environmental Education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 21, 178-197.
- Kramer, J. (2006). *Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*. UBC Press.
- Lowan, G. E. (2008). Outward Bound Giwaykiwin: Wilderness based Indigenous Education. [Masters thesis, Lakehead University]. Retrieved from <https://knowledgecommons.lakeheadu.ca/handle/2453/4447>
- Lowan, G. E. (2009). Exploring Place from an Aboriginal Perspective: Considerations for Outdoor and Environmental Education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 14, 42-58.
- Lukasavitch, C. (2018). A necessary movement: The creation of culturally appropriate summer camp traditions. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education*, 30(3), 13-15.
- Meligrana, S. (2022). Culture Vultures: How Ethnic Minorities Attending Universities Respond to Cultural Appropriation. [Masters thesis, University of Guelph]. Retrieved from <https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/handle/10214/26953>
- Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG). (2019). *Reclaiming Power and Place: the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*. Retrieved from <https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/final-report/>
- Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the Settler within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. UBC Press.
- Rogers, R. A. (2006). From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review and Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation. *Communication Theory*, 16(4), 474-503.
- Root, E. (2010). This land is our land? This land is your land: The decolonizing journeys of white outdoor environmental educators. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 15, 103-118.
- Seton, E. T. (1906). *The birch-bark roll of the woodcraft Indians containing their constitution, laws, games and deeds*. Doubleday, Page & Co.
- Shore, A. (2020). Towards a Pedagogy of Solidarity: Uprooting Traditions of Racial Plagiarism and Cultural Appropriation at Camp Ahmek. [Master thesis, Concordia University]. Retrieved from [https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/id/eprint/986830/1/Shore\\_MA\\_S2020.pdf](https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/id/eprint/986830/1/Shore_MA_S2020.pdf)
- Tallbear, K. (May 10, 2021). Playing Indian Constitutes a Structural Form of Colonial Theft, and It Must be Tackled. Unsettle: Indigenous Affairs, Cultural Politics, and (de)colonization. Substack. Retrieved from <https://kimtallbear.substack.com/p/playing-indian-constitutes-a-structural>
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). (2015). *Canada's Residential Schools: Reconciliation (The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume 6)*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.
- Wall, S. (2009). *The nurture of nature: Childhood, antimodernism, and Ontario summer camps, 1920-55*. UBC Press.