GROUP BOUNDARIES AND THE ETHNO-RACIALIZATION OF POACHING

“FOLLOW ALL THE RULES:” HUNTER AND ANGLER IDENTITY FORMATION, GROUP BOUNDARIES, AND THE ETHNO-RACIALIZATION OF POACHING IN ONTARIO

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LAY ABSTRACT

Throughout Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds, racial prejudice and misogyny persist. This thesis analyzes experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination, group boundaries, and identity formation in hunting/fishing. Interviews with 55 White, Asian, and Black Canadian respondents and an analysis of online and print sources (e.g. social media, articles) showed that identifying as a hunter/angler not only involves learning or reaffirming specific roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour based on environmental stewardship, but also racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies that shape perceptions and behaviours towards 'outgroups.' These ideologies define outgroups (Indigenous, Asian, and even White Eastern European peoples) as poachers and a group threat. Men and women of Colour and White women revealed how they experience, challenge, or avoid racism and misogyny. Overall, this study shows how social hierarchies unfold within hunting/fishing and how prejudices embody perceived threats to (predominantly White, male) settlers' sense of group position and the status quo.

ABSTRACT

Throughout Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds, Asian Canadians and Indigenous people have been defined as excessive hunters/fishers and a threat to wildlife and to White Canadians' group interests. These images connect to longstanding racial-ethnic ideologies which have complicated intergroup relations and undergirded racial violence in hunting/fishing.

Using semi-structured interviews with 55 White, Asian, and Black Canadian respondents and an analysis of online and print sources (e.g. social media, articles, websites), this thesis analyzes experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination, group boundaries, and identity formation processes in hunting/fishing. Group Position Theory, Colour-Blind Racism Theory, Stigma Management Theory, and Identity and Social Identity Theories were used to flesh out the collective meanings that inform hunter/angler identities and belief systems, including those that constitute ideological frameworks which distinguish between in and out group members along racial-ethnic lines.

The results showed that identifying as a hunter/angler not only involves learning or reaffirming specific roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour based on environmental stewardship, but also racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial (anti-treaty) ideologies that shape perceptions and behaviours towards 'outgroups.' These ideologies are primarily expressed through Colour-Blind Racism and define and ethno-racialize outgroups as poachers, as inferior, and as a group threat, particularly Indigenous people, Asian Canadians, and to a lesser extent, White Eastern Europeans. From this, feelings of group superiority can develop among White (especially Northern European) Canadians and prejudices can arise as a reactionary response to protect their outdoor privileges and identities.

Additionally, men and women of Colour and White women who hunt/fish revealed various encounters with discrimination (e.g. suspicion, unsolicited education, racial/misogynistic comments) and how they engaged in numerous responses to confront or avoid racism and misogyny. Overall, this study demonstrates the unique ways social hierarchies unfold within hunting/fishing and how prejudices embody perceived threats to (predominantly White, male) settlers' sense of group position and the status quo.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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An earlier version of chapter six was presented at the annual Canadian Sociological Association (CSA) Conference in 2022. A modified version of chapter seven was presented at the CSA Conference in 2023.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Becoming an Outdoors Woman program (BOW)

Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour (BIPOC)

Black Lives Matter (BLM)

Brown Girl Outdoor World (BGOW)

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)

Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO)

Department of Indian Affairs (DIA)

Greater Toronto Area (GTA)

Hockey Diversity Alliance (HDA)

Hudson Bay Company (HBC)

Indigenous Hockey Research Network (IHRN)

Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (MNRF) [Ontario]

New Democratic Party (NDP)

North West Company (NWC)

Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH)

Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC)

Ontario Out of Doors (OOD)

Ontario Provincial Police (OPP)

Ontario Women Anglers (OWA)

Saugeen Ojibway Nation (SON)

Supreme Court of Canada (SCC)

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

DECLARATION OF ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The following is a declaration that the research within this thesis was conducted by Nick Martino, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology. I recognize the important contributions and guidance from my supervisor Dr. Jeffrey Denis and committee members Dr. Victor Satzewich, Dr. Vanessa Watts, and Dr. Howard Ramos (external examiner) in the design of this study, the interpretations of the findings, and/or their feedback throughout the writing of this thesis. In particular, my supervisor Dr. Jeffrey Denis provided invaluable advice and guidance with the theoretical and methodological orientation of this study, the interpretation of the results, and the organization of this thesis.

Chapter One: Introduction

It was October of 2011, and I was on my first moose hunt in Northern Ontario about an hour outside Sudbury in the Robinson-Huron Treaty[1] area and territories of the Anishinaabe people. The hunting group I had joined was comprised of eleven middle-aged and older (White) men (ages 40 to 80 years old approx.) who had been hunting in the area for decades. Before this trip, I had hunted for several years in Southern Ontario forests (Williams Treaties[2] area) but hunting in the Northern landscape was unique and unforgettable.

Being an undergraduate student at the time, my duration at the hunting camp was limited, but my experiences within that short period opened my eyes to the deep-seated prejudices that permeate the hunting (and fishing) worlds. While the hunting trip was filled with laughs as well as celebration after our group got a moose, the resentment and prejudices towards Indigenous people[3] and treaty hunting/fishing rights[4] was clear from the moment I first arrived at the camp. Throughout the entire hunting trip, anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights views were continuously expressed and reinforced through jokes, comments, and stories among the other hunters. Whether it was comments about Indigenous people's perceived ability to hunt all the moose without regulations or sinister 'jokes' suggesting Indigenous people are "fair game" to hunt, I was not only disturbed but astonished at the frequency of these comments and how eager the other hunters were to criticize, degrade, and dehumanize Indigenous people. For instance, while quietly hunting a trail with one hunter, he abrupted pointed out a beer can on the ground and 'jokingly' claimed it was an 'Indian artifact.' Correspondingly, after getting the moose and

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[1] This treaty was signed in 1850 between the British Crown and the Anishinaabe. For the signatory Anishinaabe leaders, this treaty was not intended to be a surrender of land but to share it with settlers in exchange for annual payments. See McNab (2009) and Anishinabek Nation (2022).

[2] The 1923 Williams Treaties, which cover large sections of South-Central Ontario– territories of the Anishinaabe people– were negotiated between the Crown and seven Chippewa and Mississauga First Nations. Within these treaties and with no legal representation, Indigenous leaders purportedly surrendered their inherent rights to harvest in their traditional territories outside the borders of the newly created reserves (Blair 2008). After decades of legal challenges to the 1923 Treaties, the Williams Treaties First Nations reached a settlement agreement, which included the recognition of pre-existing treaty rights, financial compensation, additional reserve lands, and an apology from both Federal and Provincial governments (Government of Canada 2018).

[3] In this dissertation, the term 'Indigenous' will refer to the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people who have originally lived, and continue to live, throughout this land (Canada and the U.S.).

[4] Treaty rights are "context-specific rights" (McLeod et al 2015, 5) that were negotiated between the Crown and particular Indigenous communities after European arrival. Treaty rights are distinct from Indigenous rights. Indigenous rights are "collective and communal rights" (4) that predate European settlement and derive from hundreds or thousands of years of deeply rooted connections with and use of the land. Hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering rights have been agreed through treaties, but they are also inherent rights that originate from Indigenous nations' sovereignty whether treaties were signed or not with the Crown. Indigenous and treaty rights have been recognized within section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution Act 1982* (Ladner 2009; Corntassel 2012; Coates 2000).

extracting the meat at camp, the (White settler) owner of the hunting lodge suddenly suggested we give the leftover carcass to the "F***g Natives."

Unfortunately, this was not the first time I had heard these types of comments, nor would it be the last. Since I began hunting/fishing,[5] I have noticed a consistent pattern where anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty prejudices and ideologies were often expressed by other non-Indigenous, predominantly White settler[6] hunters/anglers throughout various contexts inside and outside hunting/fishing (e.g. hunting camps, social gatherings, hunting/fishing groups on social media, outdoor magazines). In most of these cases, White settlers conveyed how Indigenous people can purportedly hunt/fish "whatever they want, whenever they want" using any method because of treaty rights and how this threatens fish and wildlife populations, public safety, and the cherished virtues of 'equality' (i.e. equal application of laws). Likewise, the prejudices towards Asian[7] Canadian hunters/anglers and other People of Colour were often expressed in similar but different ways. Stories or comments about Asian hunters poaching black bears for gallbladders or Asian anglers illegally catching all the fish in the river were commonly (and abruptly) shared among White hunters/anglers.

After noticing this persistent pattern, I began asking myself: *why are different people, who have no personal connection to each other, drawing on the same arguments and language, almost word for word in many cases, to express criticisms about Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour (BIPOC)[8] hunters/anglers, mainly Indigenous people and Asian Canadians?*

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[5] I had fished occasionally as a child and in my early teens. By 2008, I began hunting and (re)started fishing.

[6] The term 'settler' will refer to non-Indigenous people who came here throughout Canada's ongoing history of settler colonization. However, this term has been criticized when applied to Black or other People of Colour who were forced here by slavery, displacement, or poverty (Sharma and Wright 2008-2009; Mays 2019).

[7] When using the term 'Asian,' I am referring broadly to the distinct ethnicities, cultures, and countries throughout the continent of Asia unless otherwise specified (e.g. East Asian or South Asian). 'Asian Canadians' will refer to those with various Asian backgrounds who were born in or immigrated to Canada. These broad terms were chosen to conceal identifying characteristics of the participants. By doing so, these terms consequently present East Asian or South Asian people as homogenous groups which excludes the complexities and diversity within these broad categories (Huynh and Woo 2015). Indeed, scholars have highlighted problems with the term 'Asian' and how it is used both as a racial descriptor based on phenotypical features and as an ethnic category that conflates distinct cultures (Huynh and Woo 2015; Espiritu 1993).

[8] Scholars have highlighted the complexities, fluidity, and problems with concepts and categories like race-ethnicity, racism, etc. (Hirschman 2004; Miles and Brown 2003), as well as the appropriate terms to use when referring to ethno-racialized groups (Deo 2021). Previous terminology and oppressive language are being redefined, reclaimed, or replaced by oppressed groups and allies; however, some terminology intended to be progressive and anti-racist may create unintended ramifications. For instance, Deo (2021) explains how umbrella terms such as BIPOC are used to capture the shared experiences of oppressed people but also to highlight how Black and Indigenous peoples' experiences differ compared to other oppressed

As I reflected on these questions in relation to my (ongoing) experiences witnessing such prejudices in hunting/fishing, it became evident that these were not isolated beliefs among a few individuals. Rather, these prejudices were a collective phenomenon (Blumer 1958; Denis 2020) that connects to the reproduction and maintenance of historically based ideologies and social hierarchies that have long been integral to settler colonialism (McKay, Vinyeta and Norgaard 2020) and have also shaped (and stemmed from) the sport hunting/fishing worlds (Gillespie 2002, 2007). It is these personal experiences that have inspired my research to further investigate, under a critical lens, the interconnected processes underlying these ideologies and hierarchies and how they impact and shape hunter/angler identities, experiences, and intergroup relations in Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds.

The goal of this dissertation research is to analyze the experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination within hunting and fishing, how group boundaries unfold, and how this connects to the development of hunter/angler identities and belief systems. Specifically, this research aims to investigate how processes of intersubjective meaning-making, hunter/angler identity formation, ethno-racialization,[9] and group positioning converge to define and ethno-racialize out-groups as poachers and as a threat, cultivate or reaffirm White settler Canadians' sense of superiority, and sustain social hierarchies. To analyze these processes, this research will answer the following questions: *What are the meanings and emotional attachments held towards hunting/fishing? How do these meanings inform personal and group-based identities? How are racial-ethnic or other ideologies (e.g. anti-immigrant, settler colonial) learned, reproduced, or challenged within hunting/fishing? In what ways are groups ethno-racialized as poachers and defined as a group threat? What are the experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination? How are these experiences and responses shaped by different contexts? What challenges do hunters/anglers face based on their race-ethnicity, gender, and/or citizenship status?*

The literature shows that throughout Ontario, hunters/anglers of Colour have faced prejudice and discrimination ranging from subtle and blatant racist comments to

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groups. Though this is fundamentally important, the term centres on Black and Indigenous experiences within the 'People of Colour' category which may overlook or misrepresent the experiences or perspectives of other ethno-racialized groups. Depending on the analysis, this terminology may not be suitable when discussing experiences of non-Black, non-Indigenous People of Colour. Additionally, the term 'People of Colour', which consists of Black, Latinx, Asian Americans/Canadians, Indigenous people, Arab Americans/Canadians, and other non-Whites (Deo 2021), may not be accepted by some ethno-racialized groups, or members thereof, in this umbrella category. The term 'non-White,' which is also used broadly in this study, is problematic and reinforces notions that Whiteness is the norm and the standard by which 'non-White' individuals or groups are evaluated.

[9] I use the term ethno-racialization rather than racialization to refer to the process of attributing race and/or ethnicity to criminal practices (Miles and Brown 2003; Mirchandani and Chan 2001; Satzewich 2000) like poaching. This term is useful for analyzing how both White and non-White people face prejudices towards their race and/or ethnicity within hunting/fishing. See chapter two for more details.

exclusion, harassment, intimidation, and assault. By and large, Indigenous people and Asian Canadians are stereotyped and defined as excessive hunters/anglers and a threat to conservation efforts, wildlife populations, and White Canadians' outdoor opportunities (McLaren 2005; Martino 2021; OHRC 2007, 2009). As well, women hunters/anglers have and continue to face gender[10] related barriers and stereotypes of female inferiority (Metcalf et al 2015; Loo 2001; Shaw 1994).

Academics have sought to understand the extent to which prejudiced views are shaped by a perceived threat to the racial (or gendered) order and the 'dominant' group's position, privileges, and sense of superiority (Blumer 1958; Denis 2020; Bobo and Tuan 2006; Smalley 2005). However, the way that such processes connect to hunter/angler identity formations has been largely overlooked. Although a breadth of research has investigated intergroup conflicts in hunting/fishing, especially between Indigenous and White settler hunters/anglers (McLaren 2005; King 2011; Nguyen et al 2016), little research has analyzed the ethno-racialized and gendered hierarchies in hunting/fishing, intergroup relations between White, Asian Canadian, and other hunters/anglers of Colour in Ontario, and how the meanings and ideologies that uphold these hierarchies and impact intergroup relations are learned, reproduced, experienced, and challenged within the process of acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity.

Overall, this dissertation builds on and adds to the literature by showing how becoming a hunter/angler involves learning complex and multidimensional belief systems that are comprised of collective meanings and images about hunter/angler roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour, which rests on environmental stewardship and being a conservationist and influences how one "thinks, feels, and behaves" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 259-260). At its core, rigidly following the written and unwritten rules (e.g. provincial game laws, social etiquette) is the main avenue for upholding these roles and responsibilities and also the primary feature that constructs and reifies group boundaries by distinguishing between authentic (law-abiding) and inauthentic (deviant) hunters, anglers, or 'outdoors-sports people.'

Hunter/angler belief systems, however, have been shaped by overlapping and interconnected racial-ethnic/White supremacist, anti-immigrant, patriarchal, and settler colonial (anti-treaty) ideologies. These ideologies guide the evaluative criteria for determining in-group membership and provide a lens for understanding intergroup relations and defining, perceiving, and orienting towards 'out-groups.' They are often communicated among (predominantly) White-settler Canadian hunters/anglers through frames, styles, and stories reflective of Colour-Blind Racism which work to define and

[10] When using the term 'gender', I am referring to binary, trans, and non-binary people. Within this dissertation, participants only identified as male or female, so one limitation is that it focuses on binary relationships and reproduces binary notions of gender. Future research would benefit by including the accounts from trans and non-binary hunters/anglers.

ethno-racialize groups, particularly Asian Canadians, Indigenous people, and to a lesser extent, White Eastern (and Southern) European Canadians as deviants and poachers who are more susceptible to breaking the rules. As a result, these groups are defined as a threat not only to the environment but to the entire hunting/fishing community, including White Canadians' hunting/fishing privileges, identities, and everything important that hunting/fishing provides.

Interviewees of Colour revealed that these ethno-racializing processes have indeed impacted their experiences with White hunters/anglers. Asian participants illuminated the suspicions, accusations of deviance, and harassment from White hunters/anglers and how their experiences with and ability to manage perceived prejudices was shaped by various factors (e.g. type of comment or behaviour, participant's level of skill and knowledge, fluency of English, etc.). Often, Asian participants were compelled to 'prove' they knew or were following the rules to their White accusers.

Additionally, (White, Asian, and Black) women interviewees revealed that although their hunting/fishing interactions have been mostly positive, ongoing patriarchal (and racial-ethnic) ideologies and gender stereotypes have affected their experiences inside (and outside) hunting/fishing, including how their hunting/fishing skills and identities are often overlooked and underestimated, exclusion from all-male hunting camps, discrimination while shopping in outdoors stores, and even assault.

Through this, a social hierarchy is sustained in terms of perceived morals, law-abiding behaviours, level of experience, and commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities. White settler men, particularly (but not necessarily) those born in Canada with a Northern European (British) background, a family history of hunting/fishing, and extensive settler roots, define and reaffirm their sense of moral and environmental superiority while defining out-groups as inferior and positioning themselves on top of this hierarchy.

At the same time, White and non-White participants' accounts revealed that being a hunter/angler can be uniting, reduce prejudices, and create a sense of solidarity that can transcend race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship, etc. As well, 25% of White participants reported challenging the prejudices to which they were exposed. Most importantly, participants were not 'passive receivers' of racism and discrimination; they actively engaged in a variety of responses to confront, dissipate, or avoid racial tensions (e.g. education, practicing catch-release fishing). Interviews with (White/non-White) women showed that despite the gender barriers and negative experiences, hunting/fishing can be empowering and a site to overcome and redefine gendered stereotypes and advance women's participation in hunting/fishing.

Methodology

To answer the research questions in this study, semi-structured qualitative interviews with open-ended questions were conducted with 55 non-Indigenous hunters/anglers during 2020-2021, and data was collected and analyzed from (online and print) outdoor magazines, online news articles, websites, and social media (e.g. Facebook groups and pages). Group Position Theory (Blumer 1958), Colour-Blind Racism Theory (Bonilla-Silva 2018), theories of stigma management and responses to prejudice (Lamont et al 2016; Noh et al 1999; Brondolo et al 2009) and Identity and Social Identity Theories (Hogg, Terry and White 1995) were used as lenses to analyze these findings (see chapter 2 for more details). These theoretical and methodological frameworks are compatible with each other and useful tools for addressing the research questions and investigating processes of intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning within the hunting/fishing worlds.

Overall, participants in the study were disproportionately male (e.g. 45 men and 10 women) and White (43 participants) followed by East Asian (5), South Asian (5) and Black (2) participants. Of the 55 participants, 53 were Canadian citizens (45 Canadian-born, 8 immigrated) and 2 were non-citizens.[11] All participants resided in Ontario except one individual who had moved from Ontario to Western Canada.

Data Collection

Purposive[12] and snowball sampling methods were used to recruit non-Indigenous hunter/anglers from all social positions through online recruitment advertisements on social media (e.g. hunting, fishing, and outdoor groups/organizations on Facebook, Twitter), by directly emailing or messaging individuals (via Facebook, Twitter), and through family, friends, acquaintances, and strangers.

Interviews were conducted by telephone or video conference platforms like Zoom and ranged from 45 minutes up to 2 hours. These interviews contained open-ended questions that inquired into the participants' overall hunting/fishing experiences, the meanings and emotional attachments held towards hunting/fishing, the ways that hunting/fishing informed identities on multiple levels (e.g. personal, familial, subcultural, regional, and national), the meanings and criteria for being a hunter/angler (i.e. roles, responsibilities, ethical behaviours), their experiences with and views on intergroup relations between White and BIPOC hunters/anglers, and their experiences with and responses to prejudices.

[11] Of the 8 immigrant participants, 2 (East Asian) were from East Asia, 1 (South Asian) was from South Asia, 1 (Black) was from the Caribbean, 3 (White) were from Eastern Europe, and 1 (White) was from Western Europe. Non-citizen participants (2 South Asian) were from South Asia.
[12] People aged 18 years or older who hunted and/or fished were 'purposely' recruited to be interviewed.

Two interview guides were created for White and non-White participants. Both interview guides had the same questions, but the guide for participants of Colour had additional questions inquiring about their encounters with racial-ethnic prejudices and discrimination. This was necessary given the complex, diverse, and fluid ways that People of Colour experience racial-ethnic prejudices in relation to their intersecting social positions (e.g. gender, citizenship, etc.) (Crenshaw 1991). See the appendices for these interview guides.

Using purposive sampling, text from various online and print sources (ranging from 2015 to 2020)[13] relevant to the research questions was gathered to analyze and compare with the interview data. This included text from outdoor magazine articles (online and print) like *Ontario Out of Doors* (OOD) or *Outdoor Canada*, websites of hunting/fishing organizations (e.g. Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH); Canadian Sport Fishing Industry Association), documents and reports from hunting/fishing organizations (e.g. OFAH), online news articles and comment sections (e.g. CBC News, Global News, local news outlets),[14] and social media (e.g. comments and memes posted in Ontario hunting/fishing groups and pages on Facebook).[15]

Coding Typology and Analysis

After the data was gathered and transcribed, pre-coding, first-cycle coding, and second-cycle coding (Aurini, Heath and Howells 2016) were employed to organize and analyze the data. During preliminary coding, excerpts relevant to the research questions were highlighted and assigned a numeric code (e.g. Int1E1). These pre-coded transcripts were uploaded into the Atlas.ti qualitative data software program where they were manually assigned descriptive codes and organized into coding groups. From this, and through constant comparison of the data (e.g. comparing and revising codes and categories), 'first cycle' and 'second cycle' coding took place wherein lower-level descriptive categories were created, revised, and converted into higher-level, analytical categories, which formed the basis of the themes discussed in this research. Both inductive and deductive approaches were used to analyze the data and build themes from the 'ground up' (Glaser and Strauss 1967) and to analyze and compare the data with

[13] Some sources, such as online news articles or reports from organizations, are dated earlier.
[14] Online news articles were found through Google search engine using key words or phrases (e.g. moose hunting Ontario, fishing Ontario, poaching Ontario) pertinent to the study or to corroborate stories and information discussed by participants. Online article links posted in hunting or fishing groups on social media were also reviewed and those of relevance were selected for deeper analysis. For all online articles, the content and the responses in the comment sections were examined and relevant text and information was selected and coded along with the other data.
[15] To protect the identity of the commenters, the names of the hunting/fishing groups and pages on social media (i.e. Facebook) will not be mentioned. In total, there were 7 Facebook groups (hunting or fishing groups in Ontario) and 5 Facebook pages (3 organizations, 1 MNRF affiliated page, and 1 page dedicated to a popular fishing spot in Southern Ontario). For all these sources, every post from 2015 to 2020 was searched and those of relevance were selected and reviewed to pick out appropriate excerpts.

relevant literature using established theoretical frameworks (Willig 2008). While coding, organizing, and writing the findings, some information was altered to protect the participants' identities (e.g. locations, stories, etc.). In certain cases, excerpts were shortened (e.g. omitting phrases like 'you know' or repetitive words) to limit the word count without altering the participants' messages.

Strengths and Limitations of Chosen Methods

Semi-structured qualitive interviews are more fitting to address the research questions in this study compared to methods like quantitative surveys. In contrast to survey research, qualitative interviews enable a greater ability to investigate the subjective and intersubjective meanings held by participants, and researchers can inquire more into the details of people's accounts by asking follow-up questions to clarify or elaborate on their experiences or views (Van Den Hoonard 2012).

Due to the COVID pandemic and social distancing restrictions, interviews had to be conducted via telephone or Zoom. Most participants, except four, chose to be interviewed by telephone. This may have affected the quality of the interviews since speaking face-to-face is an effective sphere to build trust and rapport and observe non-verbal communication like body language and facial expressions (Aurini, Heath and Howells 2016). Nonetheless, telephone interviews had several benefits. First, the convenience and flexibility of telephone interviews may have enticed participation. For instance, many people were multitasking and continuing their daily routines during the interviews (e.g. travelling, cooking, fishing). Second, participants had greater ability to conceal their identity which may have helped reduce social desirability or impression management while discussing sensitive topics (Van Den Hoonard 2012). Given how questions delved into prejudice, discrimination, identity, etc., some participants may have felt more comfortable disclosing their views, experiences, or personal information through telephone rather than face-to face.[16]

There are several limitations within this research. One limitation was the inability to conduct participant observation or in-person qualitative interviews. At first, the study consisted of utilizing these research methods to recruit from and observe intergroup interactions in various fishing or hunting sites, outdoor shops, etc. However, due to COVID pandemic restrictions, these methods had to be discarded. Although telephone interviews offered several benefits, the inability to observe and interview people within hunting/fishing contexts potentially resulted in the loss of important information and insight into the social interactions, dynamics, and diversity among hunters and/or anglers in various locations. Moreover, this impeded the recruitment of participants in the field,

[16] During recruitment, two Asian Canadian participants preferred to answer the interview questions like a survey rather than speak on the phone. They did not provide details for their survey preference, but one participant explained that they were not a 'phone person.' It was unclear whether this preference was due to the sensitive nature of the interview topics.

which may have limited the number of interviews conducted overall. Speaking to people in-person may have garnered a greater number of interviews rather than waiting for them to respond to ads, emails, or messages on social media. In all, future research would benefit by conducting in-person field work in a post-COVID era when things are safer since little research on these topics currently exists.

The second limitation is the use of non-probability, purposive sampling and the relatively small number of participants who were interviewed. Purposive sampling methods are useful for researching members of hard-to-reach populations, but the results cannot necessarily generalize to the larger population of hunters and anglers in Ontario or across Canada (Babbie and Benaquisto 2002). As well, the views or experiences of White-settler, East Asian, South Asian, and Black Canadian men and women who hunt/fish may not generalize to those of the same demographic. Purposive sampling may also promote subjective bias within the process of collecting, organizing, and interpreting the data. Reducing subjective bias required maintaining 'reflexivity' throughout the entire research process and recognizing how my opinions, motives, assumptions, and personal experiences may have impacted and shaped the research design, questions, and interpretation of the results (Willig 2008; Aurini, Heath and Howells 2016).

As such, I have sought to consider and address how my status as a White-settler, hetero-male academic, and the power and privileges I benefit from, not only influences the contours of the research, but also how the research will be received by the public and whether it helps to reduce prejudices and tensions rather than heightening them. That said, as a White-settler who hunts and fishes and is eager to understand the boundaries, prejudices, and hierarchies within hunting/fishing, one goal of writing this paper was to fulfill my settler obligation of investigating and critiquing the racial-ethnic, gendered, and colonial prejudices and ideologies that permeate the hunting/fishing worlds. Although some participants may not agree with all the interpretations, I hope the analysis herein will stimulate ongoing questioning, dialogue, and learning about the prejudices that stem from and sustain the overall ethno-racialized, settler colonial, capitalist system.

Indeed, the research questions in this study and the topic of racial prejudice may have deterred potential interviewees. One limitation was the significant number of people (more than 45 people[17]) who showed initial interest but subsequently declined to participate once the details of the study were disclosed and clarified. In one case, a person withdrew from the study shortly after they were interviewed. Although these individuals did not provide reasons for their decisions, several participants in this study described their hesitancy to be interviewed due to a reluctance to discuss racial-ethnic prejudices, the concern and even assumption that I have anti-hunting/fishing views, and the fear that I

[17] This number is higher. I began counting after noticing the drop-out pattern among several would-be participants.

may negatively portray and further stigmatize hunters/anglers.[18] It is possible that the individuals who refused the interview may have shared the same thoughts and feelings as these participants. Future research should analyze in detail the real and perceived stigmas of hunters/anglers and the stigma management strategies they employ to preserve their group image and outdoor opportunities in Ontario.

The low number of interviews with women and other genders, as well as with members from the BIPOC communities was another limitation. Although East Asian, South Asian, and Black participants, both men and women, provided a wealth of information, the research could be improved with a greater number of interviews with members from these and other demographics.[19] For instance, interviews with hunters/anglers from the LGBTQ2+ communities would offer compelling insight into their perspectives and how they experience and identify with the hunting/fishing worlds.

Most importantly, the lack of Indigenous participants and the absence of community-based research with Indigenous communities are fundamental limitations in this study. This limitation was due in part to the COVID pandemic and restrictions, ethical considerations,[20] and the difficulty of finding an Indigenous community to work with/for during a public health crisis. Since the topic of Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and Indigenous-settler relations were often discussed during the interviews and within this dissertation (see chapter six), the perspectives and experiences of Indigenous hunters/fishers would considerably improve the analysis and provide a greater balance of opinions on these topics.

Direction of Research

The thesis will proceed as follows: Chapter two will review the historical and contemporary literature about racial prejudices and intergroup tensions in recreational activities like hunting/fishing with a focus on the conflicts between Indigenous and settler peoples in Canada regarding treaty rights, as well as conflicts between Asian and White Canadian hunters/anglers. This chapter will highlight how past and present tensions connect to processes upholding settler colonialism (i.e. land dispossession, ignoring treaty

[18] As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, there is a strong perception that hunters/anglers are highly stigmatized by non-hunters/anglers, particularly animal rights activists and vegetarians.
[19] A 2015 fishing survey showed that 81% of all anglers in Ontario were men. Fishing participation rates for women aged 65 and above increased from 2010 to 2015 compared to women aged 18-64 who showed a gradual decrease in participation since 2005. The participation of Canadian women anglers who fished in Ontario but lived in other provinces increased substantially from 2010 (14.1%) to 2015 (19.5%) (Government of Ontario 2020). Unfortunately, there is no available data in Ontario about the racial-ethnic demographics among anglers (or hunters).
[20] In line with the Tri-Council Policy involving research with Indigenous peoples, the McMaster Research Ethics Board (MREB) requires community engagement with and consent from Indigenous nations or communities. While preliminary conversations were held with selected Indigenous community leaders, proceeding with this aspect of the research became increasingly difficult with the onset of the pandemic.

obligations, nation-building, ethno-racialization, exploitation of immigrant labour) to provide the context in which this research is situated. This is followed by an overview of the theoretical orientation, which draws from and blends aspects of Group Position Theory, Colour Blind Racism Theory, Identity and Social Identity Theories, and theories of stigma management to address the research questions and explain the research findings.

Chapter three will analyze the processes of inter-subjective meaning-making and hunter/angler identity formation, including the meanings and emotional attachments held towards hunting/fishing, how they inform identities on multiple levels (e.g. personal, familial, subcultural, regional, national), and the contours of hunter/angler belief systems and role identities (e.g. roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour). This chapter will briefly highlight how these belief systems, as well as national narratives of hunting/fishing, contain ideological frameworks that ethno-racialize groups and nurture White Canadian hunters/anglers' sense of group position, superiority, and ownership over Indigenous land. Analyzing meaning-making and identity formation processes, including hunter/angler identity roles, and the material and symbolic importance of hunting/fishing is vital for understanding ethno-racialization and group positioning processes and how racial-ethnic and settler colonial prejudices and ideologies are learned, reproduced, and challenged while acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity.

Chapter four will delve into the processes of ethno-racialization and group positioning and how participants and online commenters drew on collectively shared frames, styles, and stories reflective of Colour-Blind Racism which work to define and ethno-racialize Indigenous people, Asian Canadians, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern European hunters/anglers as poachers and as a group threat. The way ethno-racializing images of out-groups informed and mobilized some White hunter/anglers to target Asian Canadians and other People of Colour will also be examined. In all, this chapter shows how group boundaries are erected and how social hierarchies unfold in unique ways wherein White Canadian-born hunters/anglers with a Northern European (primarily British) background, a family history of hunting/fishing, and extensive settler history define themselves as morally and environmentally superior and position themselves on top of this hierarchy with all other ethno-racialized groups positioned below.

Chapter five will explore the experiences with and responses to racial-ethnic prejudices and ethno-racialization by East Asian, South Asian, and Black participants. This includes the stigma management and coping strategies that are used, and how their responses and ability to manage racially motivated scrutinization, accusations of poaching, unsolicited education, and racial slurs was shaped by the nature of the racial comment or encounter (e.g. subtle or overt, dirty looks vs accusations), their level of hunting/fishing experience and knowledge, fluency of English, (non)citizenship status, and the racial-ethnic composition of their hunting/fishing partners (e.g. White vs. non-

White). Additionally, this chapter will outline the responses to prejudices by White Canadian (Northern and Eastern European) hunters/anglers and how they were enabled, shaped, or inhibited in various contexts (e.g. online vs in-person, hunting camps, etc.).

Chapter six will elaborate on the fundamental ways recreational hunting/fishing has contributed to processes upholding ongoing racial-ethnic and settler colonial structures. Specifically, this chapter will investigate in more detail how anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights views, which are learned while becoming a hunter/angler and are expressed via Colour-Blind Racism, connect to ideologies that have long ethno-racialized Indigenous people as morally, scientifically, and environmentally inferior to justify land dispossession and settlers' sense of 'ownership' and stewardship over Indigenous land. As well, this chapter reveals how many White and non-White participants supported Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and sovereignty and would often challenge the anti-treaty views they encountered.

Chapter seven analyzes the experiences of women hunters/anglers and the gender-related barriers they face, including how women's hunting/fishing skills and identities are overlooked and underestimated in various contexts (e.g. shopping in outdoor stores), improper/gendered socialization into fishing or hunting,[21] and even sexual and physical assault. As well, this chapter highlights how women-run organizations such as the Ontario Women Anglers (OWA) have significantly helped address the barriers women face by providing a supportive and non-judgemental environment for new and experienced women of all ages to meet like-minded people and learn or fine-tune their fishing skills.

Chapter eight concludes with an overview of the findings and a discussion about the benefits of merging the chosen theoretical frameworks to help analyze and explain the nuances and complexities within the processes of intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning within the hunting/fishing worlds. The contributions to the literature, the limitations of the study, and the directions for future research will also be addressed.

[21] In this dissertation, improper/gendered socialization into fishing and/or hunting will refer to ways that women are either condescendingly taught how to fish (e.g. shown basic skills rather than complex skills) or are not taught how to hunt, especially at a young age, due in part to gendered norms about hunting and male bonding (Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003). As such, improper/gendered socialization into fishing and/or hunting can create barriers for women. See chapter seven for more details.

Chapter Two: Hunting and Fishing as a Site for Reproducing Group Boundaries and Social Inequalities

The following chapter will review the historical and contemporary literature on the prejudices and intergroup conflicts within sport and recreational activities like hunting/fishing, including the ways that group boundaries, social hierarchies and inequalities are reproduced, reinforced, and challenged. First, the experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination within indoor/outdoor sport and recreation will be analyzed. Then, the chapter will focus on White settler Canadians' longstanding prejudices towards Indigenous people and their treaty hunting/fishing rights, as well as the prejudices towards Asian Canadian anglers. Reviewing past and present intergroup conflicts within hunting/fishing and other sport and recreational activities, especially its connection to settler colonialism, will provide the context in which this dissertation research is situated. Finally, the chapter will end with an overview of the theories utilized in this research, such as Group Position Theory, Colour Blind Racism Theory, Identity and Social Identity Theories, and theories of stigma management and responses to prejudice.

Literature Review

Literature from various disciplines (e.g. history, anthropology, cultural studies, sociology, etc.) has illustrated how sport and leisure activities, including hunting/fishing,[22] are a site for reproducing, reinforcing, challenging, and breaking down or reducing group boundaries, prejudice, discrimination, and social inequalities based on race-ethnicity, gender, class, ability/disability, etc. Indeed, sports and recreation can be a microcosm of the wider social order where historically rooted power relations and dynamics unfold (Naurisght and Wiggins 2017; Adair and Rowe 2010; Little 2002).

Of importance to this literature is Cyril Lionel Robert (CLR) James' (2013) seminal work *Beyond a Boundary*, which illustrates how class and racial boundaries and hierarchies in the game of cricket mirrored the colonial power relations in the British West Indies during the mid-20th century. Similarly, other scholars have illuminated how sports have long been an instrument of European, namely British, colonialism and "a vital part of the cultural politics and legitimizing of power in the British Empire" (Maclean

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[22]Though hunting and fishing are often characterized as sport or recreational activities (especially catch-release fishing), this is criticized and contested. Hunting for 'sport,' for example, is misleading as hunters often hunt for food, and, as will be discussed in chapter three, they may hunt for other meaningful purposes that go beyond sport (e.g. national or family tradition, connecting with nature, ethical source of meat, form of therapy, etc.). According to Keogh George (2016), "limiting the term sport to hunting may not capture the complexity of the dynamics associated with hunting activities. Labeling hunting primarily as a 'sport' implies that hunters are merely athletes in a game, attempting to win in the predator–prey contest with animals" (484).

2010, 100). Sports such as hockey,[23] cricket, or association football were used to enculturate Indigenous populations to European colonial values, ideals, and world views with the attempt to instill and naturalize hierarchical arrangements (Ferriter 2017; Maclean 2010).

In Canada, outdoor sport and leisure were fundamental to and accompanied the rise of settler colonial-capitalism and building a nation, an economy, and a national settler identity centred on the wilderness and Whiteness (Kloet 2009; Mair 2007; Mackey 1998, 1999; Hall 2020). At its core, settler expansion and land dispossession accelerated during the 19th century due to the colonial goals and desires for Indigenous peoples' land not only for settlement, but also to preserve a pristine and 'empty' wilderness for an outdoor tourist economy based on sport and recreation, including hunting, fishing, travelling, etc. (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997; Sandlos 2003, 2008; Tough 1992). This will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Adding to this body of literature, scholars have provided insight into the racial-ethnic and gendered dynamics of professional and competitive sports such as the historic exclusion and segregation of People of Colour and/or women in various sports (Ruck 2017) or in the management of sports (Ouseley 2011), the reproduction of gendered and racial-ethnic stereotypes (e.g. women are frail; Black people are 'naturally' good at sports), the racialization and over/under representation of othered groups i.e. Black/Asian athletes in sports media or journalism (Arergaard and Engh 2017; Sutherland 2017; Hylton 2011; Novick and Steen 2017), and the explicit mocking and appropriation of Indigenous peoples' cultures and customs (Fenelon 2017).

Research into the power dynamics within outdoor activities in wilderness spaces have highlighted the prejudices and the various constraints (i.e. intrapersonal, interpersonal, structural) that inhibit participation by women and ethno-racialized groups (Shaw 1994; Finney 2014). Women entering hunting/fishing or other leisure activities continue to be constrained in varying degrees by patriarchal structures and longstanding inequalities that reproduce and are sustained by gender related barriers like improper/gendered socialization and a lack of support from family and friends (due to traditional gender norms and expectations) (Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003; Metcalf et al 2015), an absence of hunting/fishing partners (Metcalf et al 2015; Mitten 1992; Culp 1998), and work and family obligations (Shaw 1994), though this list is not exhaustive. Women may also face threats of violence, objectification, and stereotypes of gender inferiority which impacts how they navigate

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[23] Hockey was utilized as a colonial, assimilative tool in Canadian residential schools. At the same time, hockey became a means for Indigenous youth to find self-worth and endure the dehumanizing and abusive practices in residential schools (McLeod et al 2023; Arcand, McKegney and Auski 2021). It should be noted that hockey's origins stem from games played by Indigenous people, particularly the Mi'kmaq people (See Bennett 2018).

and experience predominantly (White) male activities (Shaw 1994; Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003). As will be shown, women participants in this dissertation described similar experiences and constraints that have shaped or obstructed their hunting/fishing.

Likewise, studies in North America and Europe reveal how racial-ethnic stereotypes and barriers persist within outdoor endeavours and how this can impact and hinder participation by People of Colour when compared to Whites (Finney 2014; Agyeman and Spooner 1997). In the US and Canada, barriers like insufficient time, money, or accessibility to wilderness spaces, which connect to historically rooted racial and socio-economic inequalities, have prevented many Black Americans/Canadians and other People of Colour from participating in hunting/fishing, camping, hiking, etc. (Finney 2014; Taylor 1989; Hunt, Floyd and Ditton 2007; Scott and Tenneti n.d.).

Moreover, longstanding racial-ethnic stereotypes, images, and ideologies about nature and race have constructed the wilderness, countryside, or other green areas (e.g. national or local parks) as an imagined 'White' and 'empty'[24] space for White peoples' outdoor leisure (Agyeman and Spooner 1997; Finney 2014; Mackey 1999). This, in turn, has demarcated racial-ethnic boundaries of who is or is not a legitimate and rightful user of the wilderness. As a result, People of Colour may be perceived as 'out of place' and can face discrimination and even violence in the wilderness, which can act as a significant barrier or negatively impact the way nature or outdoor activities are experienced. For instance, West (1989) found that many Black Americans felt wary or unwelcome by White Americans when entering regional parks. Similarly, Virden and Walker (1999) found that Black and Hispanic Americans felt forests were more threatening compared to White Americans. A report by *Nature Canada* (Scott and Tenneti n.d.), a prominent nature charity, showed that members from immigrant and racialized communities in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) may face several barriers (e.g. physical, economic, language), including the fear of racial encounters with White Canadians. Tirone (1999) found that the leisure and sport activities of South Asian Canadian teens and young adults in Southern Ontario were negatively impacted or hindered due to White Canadians' overt racial prejudice (e.g. hateful remarks towards skin colour, clothing) and indifference towards their cultural or religious heritage.

Furthermore, recent events in the news about the suspicions of and discrimination against Black Americans/Canadians in the wilderness or using public parks corroborates this literature. One case in point is the racist video that went viral in 2020 after Christian Cooper, a Black American and avid birdwatcher, filmed a racist encounter with a woman while he was bird watching in Central Park, New York City (Elliott 2020). Similarly, a

[24] In accordance with the doctrine of discovery and terra nullius, the North American wilderness i.e. Indigenous peoples' land has always been imagined by Europeans as 'empty' to justify land dispossession, exploitation, displacement, and genocide (Asch 2002).

sign on a Nova Scotia cottage reading "Redneck hangout" with a noose as a symbol (Burke 2020) raised concerns among local residents and tourists. Though the sign was eventually taken down, it reflects the fear and prejudice towards perceived racialized 'others' and the defense of perceived White and rural spaces. These racial encounters are not new to Canada. For instance, Martin Luther King Jr and his wife were denied access to Fundy National Park in New Brunswick in 1960 (CBC News 2015a).

Indeed, these stories and experiences with historic and contemporary forms of violence, exclusion, and harassment in the outdoors become part of the collective memory of Black Americans (and Canadians) (Finney 2014; Taylor 1989; Virden and Walker 1999). Finney (2014) explains how a collective memory of slavery, historic violence in the woods (e.g. lynchings, hangings), and the segregation or exclusion from national or regional parks, beaches, and other wilderness areas in the US, may reverberate among the minds of many Black Americans and impede their decisions or desire to partake in outdoor activities. According to Finney, "national parks and forests can unintentionally become sites where African Americans experience insecurity, exclusion, and fear born out of historical precedent, collective memory, and contemporary concerns" (2014, 28).

In Canada and the US, Indigenous peoples have long been, and continue to be, subjected to anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights (settler colonial) ideologies that characterize the diverse Indigenous hunting/fishing practices and treaty rights as a threat to the environment, the economy, and White settlers' outdoor privileges and claims to land and resources (King 2011; McLaren 2005; Bobo and Tuan 2006). While People of Colour have been excluded or faced violence in the wilderness and national parks, Indigenous people were also violently displaced within the process of creating national or provincial parks (e.g. Banff National Park, Quetico Provincial Park) and other areas for White settler leisure during the 19th and 20th centuries (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997). As well, the historic and recent violence towards Mi'kmaq lobster fishers by White settlers in the Maritimes (King 2011; Grant 2020; Wien and Williams 2022) connects to a collective pattern of defending and maintaining White settler power and privilege and the overall settler colonial system.

While sport and outdoor activities are sites for (re)producing groups boundaries, prejudices, and social hierarchies, they also can enable intergroup contact and help nurture intergroup harmony, especially under optimal conditions where there is equal standing between groups, co-operation, common goals, institutional support, and friendship potential (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998; Cunningham 2011; Adair and Rowe 2010; Lee and Scott 2013). For instance, a study about a youth soccer program implemented by a municipality in Ontario, Canada found that a multitude of factors (e.g. relevant programming, understanding of others/trust, dedicated program staff, and resource requirements i.e. volunteers, funding, partnerships) helped foster positive

intergroup relations among several youth as well as between youth and authorities (e.g. police, community centre staff) (Brake and Misener 2020).[25]

Sports and recreation can also be an impetus for social change and a vehicle to challenge and overcome prejudice and discrimination. In his seminal work, CLR James (2013) illustrates how racial boundaries were crossed and altered in the game of cricket due to the successful campaign to appoint a Black cricket captain,[26] Frank Worrell, to the West Indies team in 1959. This was revolutionizing and signalled fundamental changes, particularly within the context of decolonization and the struggle for democratic freedom in the West Indies (Malec and Beckles 1997; Beckles 2014).

Scholars have also highlighted other responses to racial (or gendered) prejudice within sports in North America and Europe and how women and People of Colour have long engaged in resistance or negotiation strategies to overcome the various challenges preventing participation in sports or recreation. For instance, the anti-racism advocacy that emerged to challenge racial chanting and taunting at football games in the UK during the 1970s-80s has had a significant impact inside and outside the sport (Bradbury 2011; Hylton 2011). Alongside the passage of legislation (e.g. *Football Offences Act* 1991 rendering racist chants illegal at games), several official and unofficial anti-racist organizations founded by White and non-White advocates have mobilized and created local, national, and international networks to address, campaign against, and overcome racism and discrimination in football and other sports in the UK and across Europe. The *Kick It Out* (KIO) organization, for example, emerged in 1993 to address racism in UK football and has gained the support and sponsorships from the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA), the Football Association (FA), local and central government officials, and the police to name a few. Fan-led projects, such as *Football Unites, Racism Divides* (FURD) in England, or anti-racist organizations like *Sport Against Racism in Ireland* (SARI) also were established during the 1990s to not only address prejudice and break down barriers but also to create social inclusion inside and outside sports (Long and Spracklen 2011). These groups remain active today and continue to address prejudices and foster intergroup harmony via sport (KIO 2022; FURD 2022; SARI n.d.).

In North America, Black athletes such as Jessie Owens, an American competitor at the 1936 Berlin Olympics hosted by Hitler, as well as boxers Jack Johnson and

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[25] However, scholars also have noted that intergroup contact through sports may not always facilitate positive relationships or reduce prejudices (and may enable prejudices as shown in the literature previously discussed), particularly if such contact is short-term, intermittent, and absent of the optimal conditions mentioned above (Adair and Rowe 2010; Cunningham 2011).

[26] The role of captain in cricket is an important position, even more so relative to the role of captains and managers in baseball and other sport teams. In the West Indies, Black athletes had been playing alongside Whites since the turn of the 20th century, but no Black player had been cricket captain until Frank Worrell. Prior to Worrell, only White captains led Black players which reflected the paternalism and sense of White superiority prevalent within colonial West Indies (Malec and Beckles 1997; James 2013).

Mohammad Ali continued to compete regardless of the prejudiced reactions, racial ideologies, or threats of violence they encountered (Ouseley 2011). In certain cases, racial exclusion compelled Black athletes to adopt alternative measures. For instance, despite being excluded from playing on or against White hockey teams in 19th century Canada, Black Canadians in Nova Scotia formed their own league in 1895 called the 'Coloured Hockey League,' which lasted into the 1930s (Boyd 2020; Pitter 2006).

These and other forms of resistance continue today. In 2020, several NHL hockey players of Colour, including Akim Aliu and Evander Kane, established the Hockey Diversity Alliance (HDA) "to eradicate systemic racism and intolerance in hockey" (HDA n.d.) inside and outside the NHL. Similarly, the Indigenous Hockey Research Network (IHRN) was formed by researchers from Queens University to investigate "hockey's Indigenous past, present, and future" (IHRN n.d.) and how hockey can empower Indigenous individuals and communities and foster positive Indigenous-settler relations. As well, in 2017, the "Apna Hockey" program was established in Edmonton, Alberta[27] to help South Asian youth participate in hockey and to challenge racial stereotypes against South Asians in the sport (Bains and Szto 2020).

Likewise, women partake in all forms of sport and leisure despite gender-related barriers, stereotypes, and violence. For example, Metcalf et al (2015) found that Canadian women hunters used several negotiation strategies to overcome constraints (e.g. lack of time/resources, hunting partner) such as time management, budgeting, and meeting other like-minded people. Similarly, joining women-run sport organizations (Fennell and Birbeck 2019) or participating in activities through social clubs and cultural associations (Tirone 1999) can assist women and People of Colour (of all genders) breakdown barriers and engage in sport and leisure in a safe and welcoming environment.

Additionally, Indigenous people have long resisted colonial attempts to control their hunting/fishing practices and lifestyles (King 2011; McLaren 2005; Pulla 2012). Whether it was/is Indigenous people continuing to hunt, fish, and gather in their lands despite settler occupation or national/provincial park boundaries (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Ipperwash Inquiry 2007; Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997), Ronald Sparrow's 'illegal' gill net (King 2011), or the lobster fisheries of the Esgenoôpetitj First Nation and Sipekne'katik First Nation (King 2011; Grant 2020), there is ample evidence that settler colonial policies have not prevented Indigenous people from asserting sovereignty, upholding Indigenous environmental stewardship, and utilizing hunting/fishing practices that date back long before colonization.

In all, the literature shows that sport and recreational activities, including hunting/fishing, can become sites where historic and contemporary power relations and inequalities unfold, particularly along the lines of race-ethnicity and gender. Indeed, the

[27] Apna Hockey was founded by Lali Toor based on their experiences with racism on the ice.

contours of intergroup relations and social hierarchies within hunting/fishing have shaped and been shaped by historically based and interconnected processes underlying settler colonialism, such as the establishment of ethno-racialized and patriarchal structures and ideologies of White male supremacy (McKay, Vinyeta and Norgaard 2020).

As this dissertation will show, Asian Canadians and Indigenous people were often ethno-racialized as poachers and characterized as inferior in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, hunting/fishing practices, dietary customs, and perceived commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities. This has resulted in scrutinization, racial-ethnic profiling, and, in some cases, violence by predominantly White Canadians. Importantly, the process of ethno-racialization appeared to be heightened for Indigenous people due to the longstanding anti-treaty rights ideologies that continued to be reproduced, reinforced, and challenged among non-Indigenous interviewees and hunters/anglers online. As well, (White and non-White) women's hunting/fishing skills or identities were often overlooked and underestimated by men, and women reported negative experiences ranging from gender discrimination while shopping in hunting/fishing stores to being followed and even assaulted in the outdoors. However, before delving into the findings from this dissertation research, it is necessary to understand the historical and contemporary forms of intergroup relations and conflicts that have shaped the hunting/fishing worlds and the process of becoming a hunter/angler in Ontario.

Historical Context

Hunting and Fishing for Colonial Expansion: Indigenous and White-Settler Relations

The history of Indigenous-settler relationships in what is now the settler state of Canada has long revolved around hunting, fishing, and other harvesting activities. The fur trade economy, which spanned from the early 17th to the late 19th centuries (Payne 2004), was both a result and determinant of these relations and often provided mutual benefits[28] that depended on intergroup partnerships. Although Indigenous people were viewed as 'primitive' and 'unorganized,' European survival depended on entering treaties to establish political and economic relationships with sovereign and diverse Indigenous nations (Coulthard 2014; Asch 2002). However, these treaties and treaty relationships were impacted and complicated by the multifaceted and interconnected processes underpinning European conquest and settler colonization. Specifically, processes of 'othering' and ethno-racialization were crucial for colonial expansion and establishing hierarchal social structures to advance and preserve White European power and interests. Through the categorization and ethno-racialization of Indigenous people into an inferior position below White Europeans, a sense of group superiority had emerged which justified and accompanied the doctrines of discovery and terra nullius (i.e. 'empty' land),

[28] Although mutually beneficial, Watts (2023) notes how most of the wealth was transferred to Europe and did not remain in First Nation communities (Dr. Vanessa Watts, pers. comm., Feb. 2023).

and the objectives and processes of dispossessing and exploiting Indigenous land and resources for world markets and for colonial settlement and nation building (Asch 2002; Reid 2010; Hirschman 2004; Miles and Brown 2003).

As the fur trade dissolved and European political, economic, and military power grew during the 19th century, these colonial processes intensified and shifted Indigenous-settler relationships from a need for peace and co-existence between nations into colonial relationships based on competition, coercion, and domination (RCAP 1996; Miller 2004). Europeans became less dependent on Indigenous people as trade and military partners and more in a position to build the settler state of Canada and carry out settler colonial ambitions that would expropriate land and attempt to destroy Indigenous peoples' beliefs, identities, customs and practices, and social, political, and economic arrangements (Coulthard 2014; Satzewich and Wotherspoon 2000; Tuck and Yang 2012).

By the late 19th century, the process of dispossessing and exploiting Indigenous land coincided with and enabled increased agriculture, urbanization, industrialization, and railway expansion (Miller 2004; Report on the Ontario Game and Fish Commission 1892). The destruction of wildlife populations and habitat and the subsequent threat to Indigenous peoples' food sovereignty and subsistent lifestyles was a result that ultimately advanced settler colonial power and led to legal/non-legal disputes between Indigenous nations and settler Canadian governments regarding Indigenous title to land, treaties and treaty harvesting rights, and the management and conservation of wildlife and resources (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Colpitts 1998; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Pulla 2012).

Indigenous-settler relationships further deteriorated with the decline of hunting and fishing for trade and subsistent purposes, particularly among White-settlers, and the rising popularity of outdoor sport and recreation. For (upper and middle class) White-settlers, hunting and fishing became less a means for survival and more a form of pleasure and recreational sport.[29] The upsurge in sport hunting and fishing, as well as camping, hiking, animal watching, etc., along with the desire to preserve wildlife crystallized into the "conservation movement" which began in the 1880s and persisted throughout the 1900s. Sport hunters and anglers, naturalists, and conservationists, mainly from the middle and upper classes, formed organizations and united to advocate[30] for the preservation of wildlife and the environment via game laws which in turn would sustain a lucrative outdoor tourist economy (Sandlos 2003; Bouchier and Cruikshank 1997).

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[29] Loo (2001) highlights how the turn of the 20th century saw middle class people increasingly hunting for sport and recreation due to their disposable income and improvements to North American transportation, which made it easier to travel and hunt.

[30] The advocacy was based on a 'sporting code' that originated among earlier aristocratic big game sport hunters. The sporting code promoted 'ethical' sport harvesting and insisted that political activism was the responsibility of sport enthusiasts for the conservation of game and resources (Gillespie 2002). The history of the sporting code and how it has shaped contemporary hunter/angler belief systems will be discussed throughout this dissertation.

Government officials shared their concerns and created laws to limit and control hunting and fishing and to acquire and preserve large tracts of land. This included open/closed seasons, licences, harvesting limits, wildlife sanctuaries, national and provincial parks, and increased enforcement and punishment (Pulla 2012; Calverley 1999; Waisberg, Lovisek, and Holzkamm 1997; Report on the Ontario Game and Fish Commission 1892; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Killan 1993).

The success of the conservation movement and the implementation of game laws, wildlife sanctuaries, etc., were pivotal moments that had detrimental consequences for Indigenous people and traditional lifestyles. Through their advocacy, settler sport hunters, anglers, naturalists, conservationists, and government officials fundamentally contributed to processes that expanded, justified, and legitimated settler colonization such as the reproduction of perceived Indigenous inferiority and a sense of White Canadian superiority, land theft, the denial and failure to honour treaty rights, and the oppressive surveillance and control over all aspects of Indigenous life (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Pulla 2012; Calverley 1999; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Tough 1992) .

As early as mid-19th century, aristocratic big game sport hunters were instrumental within European empire expansion into what is now Western Canada. Through their hunting expeditions, European sport hunters helped create maps from previous fur trading routes and (re)named iconic landmarks that would assist in claiming ownership over land perceived to be ‘empty.’ To navigate the land, Indigenous people were hired as guides and viewed with both admiration and disdain. Sport hunters admired Indigenous peoples’ hunting and tracking skills, but simultaneously viewed them and subsistent lifestyles as ‘uncivilized’ and ‘inhumane’ compared to Europeans and sport/trophy hunting. Within their journals and published books, Indigenous hunters and fishers were depicted as ‘savages’ that enjoyed indiscriminately and excessively slaughtering animals, which created and added to previously established representations and stereotypes while also reaffirming White European superiority (Gillespie 2002; Loo 2001).

During the conservation movement, sport and conservation enthusiasts and government officials would build off and reproduce these negative images and attribute the depleting wildlife to the supposed inferiority of Indigenous peoples’ harvesting practices, morality, and biological traits. This guided and justified the creation and aggressive enforcement of provincial game laws despite treaties established with the Crown that assured the continuation of traditional hunting, fishing, and harvesting (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Pulla 2012; Calverley 1999; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Killan 1993; Tough 1992).

Provincial game laws and harvesting limitations differed from and did not acknowledge the environmental stewardship and hunting/fishing practices of Indigenous nations. Indeed, these laws were ultimately created for reasons that extended beyond

conservation and towards acquiring land, erasing, or controlling the subsistent lifestyles of Indigenous nations, and defending and maintaining the economic aspirations and leisure interests of settler Canadians. Game officials specifically targeted Indigenous communities and used violent and oppressive measures to impose game laws and exclude Indigenous people from their homelands and sources of food, medicine, etc. Indigenous people were harassed, arrested, assaulted, and removed from their land for continuing their traditional lifestyles and harvesting methods (as outlined in the treaties) (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Waisberg, Lovisek, and Holzkamm 1997; Pulla 2012; Calverley 1999; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Killan 1993).

The creation of national and provincial parks are clear examples that illustrate the hostile exclusion and displacement of Indigenous people for the interests of sport and tourism. The Nakoda (Stoney) people who lived near the Rocky Mountains in present day Alberta were excluded from their lands and food sources to facilitate sport and recreation around iconic landmarks through the making of Banff National Park in 1885 (Binnema and Niemi 2006). The Keeseekowenin Ojibway band in Manitoba were violently removed from their lands to create Riding Mountain National Park in 1936 for tourism, game protection, and the broader attempt to assimilate Indigenous people into agriculture (Sandlos 2008). In Treaty Three territory (Northwestern Ontario), the creation of Quetico provincial park in 1913 resulted in numerous Ojibway bands and reserves being displaced and excluded, at gun point in some cases, to make way for a 'sportsman's paradise' (Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997).

Despite this, Indigenous people resisted (and continue to resist) the vicious enforcement of game laws and settler encroachment on their territory through various methods, including (though far from exhaustive) the continuation of traditional lifestyles despite game laws, taking legal action, and/or confronting local Indian agents and the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA)[31] about the violation of the treaties. In particular, Indigenous leaders demanded that the DIA and government officials honoured the treaties established with the Crown and emphasized their nation to nation understanding upon which the treaties were founded (Pulla 2012; Calverley 1999). For Indigenous nations, these treaties were based on sharing the land and establishing peace and intergroup partnerships, rather than surrendering their rights and title to the land. The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and the subsequent *Treaty of Niagara 1764*, for instance, were foundational agreements between Indigenous nations and the British that were intended to maintain peace, respect each other's sovereignty, and assure that Indigenous nations were free to hunt, fish, and harvest as they have done for generations without interference from settlers or the Crown (McLeod et al 2015; Borrows 2002; Gehl 2014).

[31] The DIA, which was changed to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, was dissolved in 2017 and replaced by two departments: Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada and Indigenous Services Canada (Government of Canada 2021).

However, treaty making for the Crown and the settler state of Canada was shaped by a paternalistic sense of superiority and the goal of legitimating colonial expansion and land dispossession through the supposed surrender of land, sovereignty, and rights (Coates 2000; Long 2006; Krasowski 2019). The paternalistic stance is evident within the *Royal Proclamation* and the assumption that the Crown owned Indigenous lands and had the duty to 'protect' Indigenous people (Coates 2000). Additionally, several treaties, especially the numbered treaties following Confederation, aimed to legally dispossess Indigenous land in exchange for monetary and other benefits, which was unclear (perhaps on purpose) to the signatory Indigenous leaders. For example, historical accounts of the Treaty 9 negotiations in 1905 (Northern Ontario) reveal how Ojibway and Cree leaders understood the treaty differently than government representatives. These representative's oral explanation of the treaty appears to have differed substantially from the written treaty which aimed to cede land to the Crown despite the (verbal) promise to honour and protect traditional territories and hunting and fishing lifestyles (Long 2006).

Overall, as has been well documented, the DIA ignored the grievances from Indigenous nations and failed to honour treaty harvesting rights and treaty obligations. The pressures and advocacy from sport and conservation enthusiasts and provincial officials, as well as *Indian Act* policies and processes of 'civilizing' and assimilating Indigenous people into agricultural or industrial lifestyles, contributed to the Crown's reluctance to honour treaties and to the continuation of settler colonization and nation building at the expense of Indigenous peoples' sovereignty and ways of life (Pulla 2012; Sandlos 2003, 2008; Calverley 1999).

Despite these colonial forces, the resistance from Indigenous leaders and activists persisted throughout the 20th century, and by the 1980s, their efforts would successfully result in the 'recognition and affirmation' of Indigenous and treaty rights in section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution 1982*.[32] Although enshrined in the *Constitution*, the details were not fully outlined and would be left for future court cases and the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) to determine the meaning and scope of Indigenous and treaty rights and to what extent the Crown can infringe on such rights[33] (Coates 2000; Ladner 2009). In the

[32] In addition, Section 25 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* ensures that rights under the Charter "shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada" (Government of Canada 2022), including rights and freedoms within the *Royal Proclamation 1763* and those that currently exist (or will be acquired) through land claim agreements.

[33] Though beneficial to Indigenous people, section 35 and the 'recognition' of Indigenous and treaty rights places them under judicial interpretation and parliamentary authority that ultimately upholds settler colonial power by allowing the infringement of these rights if they challenge the Crown or interfere with the privileges of settler Canadians. Furthermore, these rights are primarily defined by non-Indigenous individuals within the Canadian legal and political system who do not fully understand or respect Indigenous philosophies and worldviews (Ladner 2009; Coulthard 2014; McLeod et al 2015; Corntassel 2008, 2012).

decades following the *Constitution*, landmark court cases such as *Sparrow (1990)* and *Marshall (1999)* further recognized and clarified the scope of treaty harvesting rights (and provided a basis for other Indigenous nations to have their rights affirmed) but would ignite intergroup conflicts and tensions between Indigenous people and White Canadians, politicians, and sport organizations that would endure into the 21st century (Coates 2000; King 2011; McLaren 2005).

Racial-Ethnic Hierarchies of Settler Colonialism: The Experiences of Asian Canadian Fishers

Throughout settler colonization in Canada, people from outside Europe (Africa, Asia, South Asia, Middle East, etc.) were 'othered' and categorized into a racial hierarchy below Whites which justified enslavement, exploitation, and eventually the prejudice and exclusion (then re-inclusion) of non-European immigrants into the settler state of Canada. Before and after Confederation, racism and racial-ethnic ideologies strongly impacted immigration preferences and policies and the goal of building a White-settler nation and identity. By the 19th century, scientific and biological explanations of race-ethnicity and White (Northern European) superiority were widespread and embedded within policies that aimed to expand settlement with (preferred) immigrants from Northern Europe, particularly those with British, Dutch, German, or French descent (Satzewich 2000).

During this time, the demand for labourers to help the nation building project forced policy makers to allow (unpreferred) immigrants into Canada from Southern and Eastern Europe as well as from outside of Europe (e.g. Asia) (Galabuzi 2005). According to Satzewich (2000), the White European category we know today differed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries where Europe was conceptualized as a land with several inherently different (White) races. In particular, people from Eastern and Southern Europe (and also Irish and Jewish people, the working class and peasantry in Western Europe) were not considered 'White' but racialized as 'others' who were inferior (i.e. socially, culturally, spiritually, politically, economically) compared to 'White' Northern European (primarily Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) groups.

Regarding Eastern Europeans, Anglo-Canadian and American officials viewed Ukrainian immigrants, for example, with uncertainty about their presence in North America and whether their racial inferiority was inherent or if they could assimilate and become 'White' (Satzewich 2000). In Canada, Clifford Sifton, Minister of Interior from 1896-1905,[34] characterized Ukrainian immigrants as "beasts of burden" (Satzewich 2000, 281) but felt they were useful and compatible for settler frontier expansion in the West. Nevertheless, the dominant view among Canadian politicians and citizens at the turn of

[34] Clifford Sifton also was instrumental in opposing treaty rights and (re)defining Indigenous people as a group threat within a series of annual meetings that were part of the Commission for Conservation (1909-1921). The commission was formed by federal statute in response to the advocacy of the conservation movement to provide recommendations for protecting and benefiting from natural resources (Tough 1992).

the 20th century was that Ukrainian and other Eastern Europeans were inferior and a group threat. As a result, early Ukrainian immigrants faced aggressive racial prejudice and discrimination (e.g. racial slurs, degradation, exclusion) within their interactions. Though Eastern Europeans and Southern Europeans have now become 'White,' these divisions persist but are minimal and are often expressed through jokes (Dunk 1991); however, the findings from my dissertation research will show that Eastern and Southern Europeans are (still) ethno-racialized as deviants and poachers in varying degrees within the contemporary hunting/fishing worlds in Ontario.

Immigrants from East-Asia, particularly China and Japan, also settled in predominantly Western Canada, but were exploited for railway and industrial development and excluded once their labour was no longer needed. Racist ideologies and stereotypes characterized Asian people as an inferior race with immutable traits that were a moral, cultural, and economic threat to White Canadians. Specifically, White politicians, journalists, and various unionists perpetuated the notion that Chinese and other Asian immigrants or citizens were uncivilized, unsanitary, sexual predators, drug users, and docile or competitive workers that would lower the standards for White workers and corrupt the social fabric of Canada. These images persisted throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and fuelled the rise of violent confrontations, as illustrated within the 1907 race riots in Vancouver,[35] and discriminatory policies such as the Chinese head tax in 1885, the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1923, which banned Chinese immigrants until 1947, the denial of voting rights for Asian and South Asian Canadians in B.C., the internment of Japanese Canadians and the seizure of property (houses; fishing boats and gear) during WW2, and the attempts to reduce economic competition from East Asian and South Asian workers in various industries (Galabuzi 2005; Goutor 2007; Price 2007; Baird 2019).

The fishing industries in B.C.'s coastal regions reveal how intergroup relations between East Asian and White Canadian fishers were complex, conflict ridden, and dominated by anti-Asian prejudice and fear. In the late 19th century, East Asian Canadians, particularly from Japan, established vibrant fishing communities along the Fraser River where they would acquire a large portion of the allocated fishing licences for lucrative fish such as salmon. At first, Japanese fishers received few complaints from the White fishing community, but by 1893 tensions over immigration and access to resources and licences erupted and would escalate into a deep-seated backlash of anti-Asian prejudice within the fisheries during the 20th century. Fishing unions representing White (and sometimes Indigenous) fishers, journalists and politicians were at the forefront of scapegoating Japanese fishers as an economic threat and lobbied to reduce or revoke fishing licences for Japanese Canadians, tighten naturalization laws, and maintain the

[35] Motivated by anti-Asian sentiment, a mob of angry White protestors stormed and vandalized property in several Asian communities (Price 2007; Baird 2019).

fishery for White (British) Canadians. For instance, in the 1920s, the B.C. government responded with restrictions that reduced and withdrew licences from Japanese fishers[36] while transferring them mostly to White fishers (Baird 2019; Roy 1989).

Although intense racialization and discrimination towards East Asian Canadians was prevalent, some White Canadians associated with unions and churches expressed solidarity with Asian Canadians and attempted to improve Asian-White relations by organizing intergroup events (i.e. joint church services, fund raising, social hours); though, with limited success (Baird 2019; Roy 2016). Moreover, harmonious intergroup relations existed in different fishing regions of B.C. where competition was minimal and co-operative interaction between Japanese and White fishers prevailed. The small fishing community in the Brechin neighbourhood in Nanaimo, B.C., for example, exemplified how Japanese and White fishers and their families established long lasting friendships on and off the water in the decades before and after WW2. Compared to other areas, Japanese Canadians were less segregated and positive intergroup interactions were frequent throughout daily life in Brechin, particularly in the fishing industry. There was no competition between Japanese and White fishers regarding fishing licenses largely due to the Japanese fishers' small scale fishing operations that pursued less-desirable species such as Cod and other bottom feeding fish rather than salmon (Baird 2019; Roy 1989).

Nonetheless, East Asian and White Canadian relations continued to be damaged by prejudice and a sense of White (British) Canadian superiority in various regions and contexts throughout Canada during the 20th and 21st centuries. By the early 2000s, East Asian anglers in Ontario would face prejudiced reactions from White anglers reminiscent of the racism faced by East Asian fishers in B.C.'s commercial fishing history. Like the BC context, East Asian anglers in Ontario would be scapegoated as a threat to the environment, the economy, and (predominantly) White Canadians' privileges and access to resources (OHRC 2007). The next section will delve into the contemporary intergroup relations and group prejudices to set the context for the analysis within this dissertation.

Contemporary Context

Contemporary Treaty Disputes

By the turn of the 21st century, treaty relationships were fully eroded by the goals and multifaceted processes underpinning settler colonization and neoliberal capitalism which propelled and justified ongoing dispossession and exploitation of Indigenous land, the displacement, subjugation and genocide of Indigenous people, the violation of treaties and nation to nation relations, and settler expansion and illegal encroachment. At its core, ideologies of White supremacy and hetero patriarchy have guided and justified these processes and have become interwoven into the fabric of Canadian institutions, culture

[36] 1,374 Japanese fishers lost their licences between 1922 and 1927 (Baird 2019).

(and subcultures), collective memories/beliefs, nationalistic narratives, and daily life (Pictou 2015; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2017; Tuck and Yang 2012; Glenn 2015).

At this point, however, the policies that maintain colonial structures and enduring inequalities are not as overt as those from previous colonial governments that were responsible for the residential school system, forced sterilization, violent displacement, or famine (Logan 2015; Pictou 2015). Rather, they have become covert, shape shifting, and aim to pacify resistance, undermine assertions of Indigenous sovereignty, and uphold and legitimize settler colonial power and control under the guise of 'reconciliation' and the 'accommodation' and 'recognition'[37] of treaty rights and cultural differences (Coulthard 2014; Tuck and Yang 2012; Alfred and Corntassel 2005). While approaches to recognition and reconciliation uphold colonial structures in subtle and less bloody ways, state-sanctioned violence is still used to try to subdue Indigenous peoples' assertions of sovereignty and resistance to ongoing settler colonization and colonial-capitalist projects that exploit and destroy ecosystems and sacred places. This state-sanctioned violence is exemplified in the events at Oka in 1990, Ipperwash provincial park in 1995 (McLaren 2005), Gustafsen Lake in 1995 (Shrubsole 2011), and the current resistance to fossil fuel and resource extraction projects such as the Coastal Gaslink pipeline (Kestler-D'Amours 2020).

The violent/non-violent and overt/covert modalities underlying the myriad dynamics of settler colonial-capitalism are clearly visible within the opposition towards Indigenous peoples' treaty harvesting rights and wildlife management. Criticisms towards the discourse of 'recognition' notwithstanding, the *Canadian Constitution Act 1982* and the subsequent landmark cases that recognized, upheld, and defined Indigenous and treaty harvesting rights (e.g. *Sparrow 1990*, *Marshall 1999*) was met with strong opposition from White-settler hunters and fishers, provincial and federal wildlife officials i.e. the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry (MNRF) and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), politicians, and influential sport organizations, such as the Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH). Their opposition was founded on the view that treaty rights would threaten conservation, the economy, and settler Canadians' outdoor leisure privileges, access to resources, and, as will be discussed, their identities (personal, subcultural, national), social relationships, therapeutic benefits, etc. Building off stereotypes from the 19th century conservation movement, White sport anglers/hunters and commercial fishers across Canada continue to view Indigenous peoples' hunting, fishing, and harvesting practices as excessive and inhumane. Indeed, treaty rights are still characterized by these groups as "special rights" that allow 'unregulated' harvesting and

[37] The recognition or 'granting' of treaty rights, though beneficial, also perpetuates colonial hierarchies and serves to maintain Crown-colonial sovereignty and to re-colonize Indigenous-settler relations (Coulthard 2014; Pictou 2015). For instance, numerous Supreme Court decisions allow for the infringement of Indigenous rights and self-government (e.g. Sparrow, Marshall 2).

also contradict the deeply held values of equality and fair treatment (King 2011; McLaren 2005; Martino 2016, 2021).

For Indigenous people, the *Sparrow* (1990) decision was a milestone and the first case under section 35 of the *Constitution* to further define Indigenous and treaty harvesting rights and set a precedent for future court cases. This case arose when Ronald Sparrow, from the Musqueam band in B.C., was arrested and charged for violating federal fishing regulations by using a net larger than the imposed limit. Sparrow and the Musqueam band successfully appealed to the Supreme Court which recognized that their right to fish for food was constitutionally protected under section 35. However, the decision did not address or outline the right to commercial harvesting and contained criteria that allowed the government to justifiably infringe on Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and regulate their use of the land if they are perceived to endanger fish and wildlife (McLaren 2005; King 2011; Coates 2000).

Following the *Sparrow* (1990) decision and within the context of rising tensions over and resistance to the ongoing dispossession, exploitation, and desecration of Indigenous lands and sacred places (e.g. Oka crisis), Indigenous nations across Canada experienced an upsurge of anti-treaty rights sentiment, racial prejudice, and protests throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Sport clubs and organizations, such as the OFAH, were at the forefront of treaty opposition in Ontario and led a public smear campaign which consisted of demonstrations and the circulation of posters, flyers, and reports with criticisms about treaty rights. In particular, the OFAH played a fundamental role advocating against treaty rights cases, co-management agreements, and land claims and ultimately provoked racial prejudice and intergroup conflicts by providing the arguments and propaganda that fuelled and attempted to legitimize the anti-treaty rights lobby (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; Martino 2016, 2020). The OFAH's anti-treaty advocacy is exemplified in their vigorous opposition against the legal challenge to the 1923 Williams treaties by the signatory First Nations, the Algonquin Land Claim, and commercial fishing and co-management agreements between First Nations and the MNRF in the Bruce Peninsula and Lake Nipissing (OFAH Annual Report 2013; McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005).

By 1993, the OFAH's aggressive and persistent advocacy contributed to anti-treaty protests and intergroup tensions in the Bruce Peninsula in reaction to the *Jones* (1993) decision recognizing the Saugeen Ojibway Nation's (SON)[38] right to fish commercially. Consequently, the decision did not define the criteria or the extent of commercial activity (e.g. geographic range, harvesting seasons, etc.), which would be

[38] The Saugeen Ojibway Nation (SON) is made up of the Chippewa of Nawash Unceded First Nation who live on Georgian Bay and the Chippewa of Saugeen First Nation who live on the shores of Lake Huron. Both share traditional territories in the Bruce Peninsula (Chippewa of Nawash 2022; Saugeen First Nation 2021).

contentiously negotiated in the subsequent decades resulting in multiple co-management and commercial agreements involving the SON, the MNRF, and the Federal and Ontario Governments (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; Gowan 2013).

The opposition towards *Jones* and treaty rights in general would explode and by the summer of 1995, tensions would culminate into hostile protests and violent confrontations that became known as the "summer of hate."[39] Treaty opponents, particularly the OFAH, claimed that the SON fishery would decimate fish populations and the sport fishery and threaten the recreational opportunities and equal treatment of settler Canadians (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; OFAH Annual Report 2013). Despite efforts to educate the public about treaty rights, responsibilities, and Indigenous peoples' environmental practices, knowledge, and long-standing relationships with the land,[40] Chippewa fishers from Nawash experienced racial prejudice, violent assaults, and the destruction and vandalism of property (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005).

In the face of widespread prejudice, many non-Indigenous people and organizations were in solidarity with the Chippewa of Nawash and supported their treaty fishing rights, which nurtured intergroup alliances against a backdrop of anti-treaty prejudice. For instance, when a Nawash woman and her daughter were confronted by a mob of 75-100 angry protestors[41] for selling fish at a market in Owen Sound, many non-Indigenous anglers, academics, anti-racist organizations, unions, and faith based groups united to provide support for the woman and the Chippewa of Nawash, and to counter the violence, racism, and treaty opposition directed against them (Wallace, Struthers and Bauman 2010; McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005).

By the end of the decade, violent conflicts would subside in the Bruce Peninsula, but deep-seated resentment and anti-treaty protests would persist up until and after fishing agreements were reached between the SON and the MNRF in 2000, 2005, and 2013. For instance, the OFAH continued monitoring, criticizing, and opposing the SON-MNFR agreements within their official annual reports (OFAH Annual Report 2013). Likewise,

[39] This summer witnessed many other violent confrontations across Canada. At Ipperwash provincial park in Ontario, Indigenous activist Dudley George was shot and killed by an Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) officer. In B.C., violence escalated between Indigenous Sun Dancers and non-Indigenous locals and RCMP officers at Gustafsen Lake (McLaren 2005; Shrubsole 2011).

[40] In March 1995, the Chippewa of Nawash hosted a conference in Port Elgin, ON called the "Nawash Fisheries Conference," which aimed to tackle misconceptions and create dialogue and intergroup alliances. Indigenous and non-Indigenous fishers, scientists, biologists, and sport groups were invited to discuss shared concerns about conservation and combine knowledge for the purposes of co-managing the fishery. However, this conference was unable to build relations with and gain support from many settler anglers and organizations like the OFAH (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005).

[41] This included non-Indigenous anglers who were connected to the OFAH and an elected politician (Koenig 2005; McLaren 2005; Wallace, Struthers and Bauman 2010).

sport fishers gathered in 2013 to protest the new fishing agreement, the perceived impact on sport fishing, and the lack of consultation from the government (Gowan 2013).

Although treaty opposition continued throughout the 1990s, the *Marshall* (1999) decision exacerbated anti-treaty protests and prejudice towards Indigenous people, especially First Nations in the Maritimes. *Marshall* (1999) was a landmark case that further defined treaty rights and recognized the right to commercial harvesting, but also reaffirmed the government's ability to infringe on such rights for conservation purposes. This case resulted when Donald Marshall Jr, a Mi'kmaq fisher from the Atlantic coast, was arrested and charged for fishing and selling eels without a licence. Marshall appealed to the Supreme Court arguing that his right to sell fish was enshrined within the Friendship Treaties of 1760-61. In September 1999, the Supreme Court acquitted Marshall and affirmed the Mi'kmaq's treaty right to a limited commercial fishery to earn a 'moderate livelihood' (King 2011; Coates 2000; Krause and Ramos 2015).

Mi'kmaq communities celebrated the decision and were hopeful not only to gain economic independence, but to assert their law and sovereignty over the management and conservation of land and wildlife and build inclusive and sustainable commercial fisheries in accordance with Mi'kmaq spiritual and cultural teachings of stewardship and responsibility (Barsh 2002; Stiegman 2003; Pictou 2015). As some Mi'kmaq communities across the Atlantic coast began exercising their rights in the commercial fishery, they were met with a strong anti-treaty backlash from settler sport enthusiasts, fishing unions and organizations, and government officials, particularly from the DFO. Consistent with the anti-treaty ideologies discussed so far, Mi'kmaq fishers' treaty rights were defined as a threat to conservation, lobster and other aquatic populations, and settler livelihoods (King 2011).

This backlash is clearly revealed when the Mi'kmaq from Esgenoopetitj (Burnt Church) in New Brunswick began fishing for and selling lobsters according to their own regulations and traditional teachings (Barsh 2002; King 2011). Like Indigenous people in Ontario and beyond, Esgenoopetitj fishers experienced harassment, intimidation, and violence from settler fishers, the Maritimes Fishermen's Union, and the DFO. In Yarmouth, southwest Nova Scotia, fishers from L'sitkuk or Bear River First Nation faced anti-treaty aggression and opposition when hundreds of settler fishing boats gathered at a popular fishing harbour to protest *Marshall* and prevent Mi'kmaq fishers from entering the water (Stiegman 2003; Pictou 2015).

At the height of the tensions, the Supreme Court re-visited the *Marshall* decision and in an unprecedented move, publicly clarified the government's ability to infringe on treaty rights and regulate commercial harvesting for conservation purposes. This clarification, known as *Marshall II,* had ramifications that extended beyond the concerns and goals of conservation and essentially upheld Crown colonial power and control over Indigenous land, resources, and decision-making authority. In addition to satisfying the

settler fishing industry, *Marshall* reaffirmed the importance of the conservation discourse as an effective political tool for undermining Indigenous sovereignty and legitimizing Crown authority (King 2011; Coates 2000; Stiegman 2003).

Although the *Marshall* case facilitated conflicts and anti-treaty prejudice in various regions, this decision also laid the grounds for positive intergroup alliances between Indigenous (First Nation) and non-Indigenous communities in southwest Nova Scotia where a long history of colonialism has created deep-seated divisions, segregation, and inequalities. For example, as tensions proliferated at the harbour in Yarmouth, the potential for violent clashes was diffused when leaders from local First Nations, particularly L'sitkuk (Bear River First Nation), engaged face to face with non-Indigenous fishing leaders to address the issues and build a dialogue. Through this, intergroup alliances were nurtured by highlighting their shared and interconnected lifestyles and common concerns over the DFO's move to privatize the fisheries management, and the desire to preserve and create inclusive and small-scale fisheries, sustainable resource management, and community-based decision-making authority (Pictou 2015; Stiegman 2003; Stiegman and Pictou 2010).

Similar alliances have formed on the West coast. For instance, in response to treaty opposition and ongoing conflicts on the Lower Fraser River between First Nation fishers and White settler anglers, the "Fraser River Peacemakers" was established in 2009 as an Indigenous-settler cooperative organization involving several First Nations and sport groups with the goal of collecting information on conflicts, promoting etiquette and harmony, curtailing tensions, and addressing issues of conservation[42] (Nguyen et al 2016).

Since the *Marshall* decision and the formation of these alliances, tensions continue to lurk beneath the waters in the Maritimes and across settler Canada. In a study about Mi'kmaq-settler relations fifteen years after the *Marshall* decision, Krause and Ramos (2015) found that despite positive (or at least nonviolent) intergroup relations and interactions, the residual resentment from *Marshall* persisted among White-settler fishers. Indeed, aggressive treaty opposition and violence towards Mi'kmaq fishers resurfaced in Nova Scotia in 2020 when the Sipekne'katik First Nation asserted their sovereignty and launched their own commercial lobster fishery. At least several hundred White-settler fishers and their supporters raided and vandalized two Mi'kmaq lobster storage facilities resulting in one facility and a vehicle being set on fire (Grant 2020).

In all, the longstanding anti-treaty and anti-Indigenous ideologies perpetuated by predominantly White settler hunters/anglers has resulted in violence and deep-seated prejudices towards Indigenous people from coast to coast. The multitude of treaty-related

[42]Unfortunately, recent updates about the Fraser River Peacemakers cannot be located. Their website appears to have been disabled and their social media account (Facebook) has not been active since 2018.

conflicts shows that this is not a series of isolated events, but rather a collective pattern that operates across time and space. As will be discussed in this dissertation, the anti-treaty ideologies continue to pervade hunting/fishing and connect to micro-level, collective processes of ethno-racialization (of poaching), group positioning, and defending White settlers' power, privileges, and sense of superiority.

Violence Towards Asian Canadian Anglers

Alongside the embedded prejudices towards Indigenous people and treaty harvesting rights and practices, other non-Indigenous, People of Colour who hunt and fish have experienced various forms of racism and discrimination, though in ways different from Indigenous people. By the 1960s, the restructuring of Canada's immigration policies shifted from a race-based system, which historically favoured White, Christian immigrants from Northern and Western Europe to a skills-based points system that further extended citizenship to people outside of Europe such as the Middle East, Asia, and Central and South America. With more non-European immigrants of Colour settling into urban and rural cities throughout Canada and participating in outdoor activities, processes of racialization (McCalla and Satzewich 2002) and discrimination continue to create barriers and inequalities that impact racialized groups in multiple and intersecting ways (Galabuzi 2005; Satzewich 1998; Scott and Tenneti n.d.; Tirone 1999).

The prejudiced backlash against East and Southeast Asian Canadian fishers, which occurred primarily on the West coast in the late 19th century, continues to affect intergroup relations and experiences throughout contemporary life in Ontario (Baird 2019; OHRC 2007, 2009). Like the experiences of Indigenous people, Asian Canadian anglers from various backgrounds are subjected to racial discrimination such as aggressive acts of harassment, intimidation, and violence, especially in small rural towns with predominantly White Canadian populations (OHRC 2007, 2009; Wente 2007).

Although the research about East/Southeast Asian anglers' experiences in Ontario is limited, the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) has provided valuable insight through a 2007 inquiry into anti-Asian prejudice and its impact on Asian anglers and communities. This inquiry was launched after numerous cases were reported ranging from racial slurs and vandalized fishing gear to racially motivated attacks in which unsuspecting Asian anglers were pushed into the water at public fishing docks, piers, and bridges throughout Southern and Central Ontario (OHRC 2007, 2009).

Above all, the OHRC inquiry revealed how the prejudiced and xenophobic attitudes and assaults towards Asian anglers are rooted in ongoing racial stereotypes which characterize Asian Canadians as 'outsiders' whose cultures and values are purportedly incompatible for Canadian life. Asian Canadians are also defined as excessive 'poachers' that are ignorant of and disrespectful towards Canada's provincial game laws and more likely to over-fish, fish in protected areas, and fish without a licence.

However, the inquiry found that the racial connotations underlying the stereotypes were masked by a concern for conservation and over-fishing. Many submissions to the inquiry from White Canadians denied that race was a factor and placed the onus on the fishing practices of Asian Canadians. Contrary to their claims of non-racism, those submissions revealed how such attributions were based on unfounded generalizations and ultimately worked to reproduce racial stereotypes and justify the hostility towards Asian anglers. For instance, White respondents frequently referred to a single incident of a perceived fishing violation from an Asian angler to rationalize the backlash and to negatively characterize the broader Asian fishing community as a group threat[43] (OHRC 2007, 2009).

Additionally, the inquiry suggested that these tensions unfolded within a context of increased competition between residents, seasonal residents, and visitors regarding access to resources and waterways in rural and largely White communities. Within this homogenous setting, non-Whites are highly visible and receive a disproportionate amount of scrutiny which reinforces the notions they are ‘outsiders’ and a potential threat to conservation, Canadian values, and White Canadians’ recreational and economic opportunities (OHRC 2007, 2009).

Consequently, the racial assaults against Asian anglers caused significant distress and fear which extended beyond those directly affected and permeated among Asian Canadians across Ontario. The inquiry highlighted how verbal and physical assaults traumatized many anglers, their families, and the community leaving varying degrees of psychological, emotional, and physical harm and a profound sense of vulnerability and disadvantage. In some cases, Asian fishers sustained serious physical injuries. Moreover, several Asian anglers did not report incidents to police due to fear of reprisal or a sense of helplessness, while others changed their fishing habits by fishing in groups or avoiding places where assaults happened. As well, many fishers expressed a lack of faith in Canada’s dedication to ensuring an inclusive, multicultural society (OHRC 2007, 2009).

The findings from the inquiry propelled the commission to collaborate with 22 organizations and institutions for solutions to combat the assaults on Asian fishers, provide support for those affected, and educate the public about the impacts of racism and racial profiling. Through dialogue with various municipalities, government ministries (i.e. the MNRF), police forces, education systems, and anti-racist and sport organizations, including the OFAH, commitments were established to implement initiatives such as education and training programs about racism and increased police presence and surveillance of popular fishing locations, though this list is not exhaustive.

Specifically, the OFAH condemned the assaults on Asian fishers and committed to reducing stereotypes and educating their membership and the public about angler

[43] The inquiry stressed how there was no evidence of illegal fishing by Asian Canadians in all the incidents (OHRC 2007, 2009).

harassment through their website and magazine, the *Ontario Out of Doors* (OOD). In the spring of 2008, the OFAH published an article on their website condemning the racial assaults and emphasized how vigilantism must be avoided and that hunters/anglers should call authorities if they witness hunter or fisher harassment and inappropriate hunting/fishing practices (OFAH 2008; OHRC 2009). Through this, the OFAH not only condemned the attacks towards Asian Canadians, but simultaneously and indirectly reinforced racial stereotypes that Asian anglers do in fact illegally fish and should be reported rather than confronted or assaulted. Aside from publishing articles and official statements, it appears the OFAH's contributions were minimal.

A 2009 follow-up report to the inquiry was optimistic about the progress made through the combined efforts of enhancing public awareness about racism against Asian Canadians. However, the report emphasized that long term commitments to anti-racist initiatives was imperative and that many organizations fell short of their promises through half implemented projects and inadequate dedication. Furthermore, the OHRC highlighted how reported incidents had decreased since 2007, but that Asian anglers continue to face racial stigmatization and harassment and that many discriminatory acts go unreported. Today, the media coverage of prejudice towards Asian anglers has substantially decreased and the OHRC has not conducted any inquiries or reports since. This raises important questions: has anti-Asian prejudice substantially decreased since the inquiry? Do Asian anglers continue to be ethno-racialized as deviants? Do they experience harassment or assault? If so, in what ways? Are Asian anglers' experiences similar or different from other ethno-racialized groups within hunting and/or fishing? As the findings will show, interviews with East Asian, South Asian, and White Canadians revealed that not only do anti-Asian prejudices persist, but that the potential for violence remains.

Group Positioning in a Multi-Racial Hierarchy: Not All Oppression is Experienced the Same

Despite common experiences of prejudice and discrimination, not all oppressed groups have been impacted the same way. Scholars have highlighted how racialized groups are positioned differently within Canada's racial-ethnic hierarchies, wherein White (Northern) Europeans are placed at the top and considered to be the standard against which non-Whites are compared. These ethno-racialized and stratified structures intersect with, shape, and are shaped by other structures based on gender, class, citizen/non-citizen status, religion, etc. which reproduces myriad forms of prejudices and inequalities that have affected some ethno-racialized groups, and individuals within them, more than others throughout numerous contexts and periods of Canada's (ongoing) colonial history. Indeed, the various and complex ways people experience race, gender, class, etc. are impacted by their positions within multiple intersecting structured systems which organizes and guides social relationships, allocates varying degrees of power and

advantage, and shapes peoples' identities, behaviours, and experiences (Collins 2000; Zinn and Thornton-Dill 1996; Crenshaw 1991; Bonilla-Silva 1997).

Gender, for instance, intersects with and shapes how race-ethnicity is experienced in various contexts, including hunting/fishing, and how White women may face gender discrimination despite the (White) privilege they are afforded. At the same time, Indigenous women or other women of Colour, such as Asian women, face additional barriers compared to White women due to their positions in a gendered and ethno-racialized hierarchy within the settler colonial system (Lawrence and Dua 2005; Coulthard 2014; Iwamoto and Liu 2010; Collins 2000; Zinn and Thornton-Dill 1996; Crenshaw 1991). As this dissertation will show, one participant, an Asian women and skilled hunter/angler, reported experiencing both gender and racial-ethnic discrimination whereas White women only reported gender discrimination. In short, the experiences of Asian Canadians and other People of Colour may vary within different contexts based on intersecting positions of race-ethnicity, gender, etc.

Additionally, studies have shown that the racism East and Southeast Asian Americans experience simultaneously targets their race, ethnicity, and immigration status which differs from African Americans or other People of Colour. Asian Americans have reported racist encounters in which their ethnicity and cultures are often confused and conflated, or their citizenship status is questioned due to longstanding stereotypes that characterize Asians as 'perpetual foreigners' (Iwamoto and Liu 2010; Grossman and Liang 2008). Additionally, Asian Americans are subjected to the 'model minority' stereotype which perpetuates the myth that Asians are academically superior, face minimal discrimination, suffer less emotional difficulties, and do not need social support. Unfortunately, the pervasiveness of these myths masks the ongoing prejudice and discrimination Asian Americans (or Canadians) face throughout many spheres of life (e.g. school, employment, etc.) (Grossman and Liang 2008).

Above all, Indigenous people experience intersecting oppressions profoundly different than other People of Colour due to historical and ongoing processes of settler colonialism which not only aim to erase Indigenous bodies from the land, but their histories, cultures, spiritual connections, sovereignty, stewardship, etc. The ongoing processes upholding colonial structures range from land dispossession, exploitation, and state-sanctioned violence to treaty violations, unclean drinking water, and invasive surveillance and control over all aspects of Indigenous life (Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Lawrence and Dua 2005). Unlike other People of Colour in Canada, Indigenous people continue to live with the "…the daily realities of having their land, culture and government authorities simultaneously attacked, denied and reconstructed by colonial societies and states" (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 599). Additionally, settler colonization is shape-shifting and multidimensional and impacts First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people

across the land, especially Indigenous women, in multiple and diverse ways with varying outcomes (Logan 2015).

Although non-Indigenous People of Colour face oppression and exploitation, they too are sometimes characterized as 'settlers' who can be complicit within colonial nation-building projects (e.g. occupation and settlement, resource extraction) and benefit from ongoing land theft, appropriated wealth, and the displacement and genocide of Indigenous people (Lawrence and Dua 2005; Tuck and Yang 2012). However, Sharma and Wright (2008-09) stress how many immigrants, migrants, or refugees are people who have been impacted by historical and ongoing European colonization, global capitalist development, persecution, and war, and in many cases, are Indigenous people themselves. Therefore, immigration or migration is one (or the only) solution for people who also have been displaced from their land and livelihoods. Although a comprehensive discussion on this topic goes beyond the scope of this research, questions arise to the extent that those from colonized countries outside North America remain complicit or seek to become allies that respect Indigenous sovereignty, treaty relationships, and support and contribute to decolonization and the repatriation of land (Tuck and Yang 2012). As the findings in this dissertation will show, most participants of Colour supported Indigenous peoples' rights and sovereignty; however, some shared similar anti-treaty views as White Canadians.

In all, the ways that racial-ethnic prejudices are experienced within the hunting/fishing worlds will vary in relation to one's race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship status, etc. and within the context of ongoing settler colonialism. As the data will show, East and South Asian participants' experiences with (and management of) prejudice and discrimination was not only shaped by their positions in intersecting social structures, but also their fluency of English, level of experience, background of fishing partner(s) (e.g. fishing with White anglers), and other factors discussed throughout this dissertation. Additionally, the way Indigenous people and treaty rights were defined and scapegoated by White Canadians, and by some non-White Canadians, reveals the emergence of a unique, ethno-racialized social hierarchy within hunting/fishing, which mirrors the broader racial order in Canada, and positions oppressed groups on varying levels in terms of perceived threats to the environment and the hunting/fishing community. Indeed, the data suggests that although Asian and Indigenous peoples are ethno-racialized as poachers and a threat, there is greater disdain towards Indigenous people due to treaty rights which is shared by White and non-White hunters/anglers alike.

Theoretical Orientation

This dissertation draws on Group Position theory, Colour-Blind Racism theory, Identity and Social Identity theories, and theories of Stigma Management as lenses to analyze processes of intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning within the hunting/fishing worlds. Specifically, it investigates how racial-ethnic, gendered, anti-immigrant, and anti-treaty/anti-Indigenous

prejudices and ideologies, which manifest within hunter/angler belief systems, are learned, reproduced, reinforced, experienced, and challenged among White, East Asian, South Asian, and Black Canadians while acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity. The collectively shared racial-ethnic meanings and images, which inform and are shaped by the racial and colonial ideologies within hunter/angler belief systems, are often expressed through frames, styles, and stories resembling Colour Blind Racism which performs the boundary work of ethno-racializing Asian, Indigenous, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern and Southern European peoples as poachers, deviants, inauthentic 'sports people,' and a group threat.

Through Colour Blind Racism, White settler Canadians (particularly with a Northern European background and a long settler history) not only define the inferiority of ethno-racialized 'others,' but also define or reaffirm themselves as true and authentic sports people and superior in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, hunting/fishing practices, stewardship, and commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities. This, in turn, impacts how one's race-ethnicity, gender, and immigrant status are experienced within hunting/fishing and how responses to prejudices and/or discrimination are shaped, enabled, or constrained in various contexts.

Settler Colonialism and Hunting/Fishing

Settler colonialism is a shapeshifting, multidimensional structure and an ongoing process rather than an event that occurred in Canada's history (Wolfe 2006; McKay, Vinyeta and Norgaard 2020). It is a system that embodies a "constellation of power relations" (Coulthard 2014, 14) and is sustained by a "series of complex and overlapping processes" (Simpson 2017, 45) that intersect to maintain colonial (and racial, patriarchal, class-based) structures, inequalities, and hierarchical relations with the goal of dispossessing land and maintaining White settler power, privilege, and the overall settler colonial system.

Scholars have highlighted how racism and racialized structures emerged through European conquest, colonialism, and slavery and contained an ideological framework that positioned White, Christian, (Northern) Europeans at the top of the 'natural' racial order which informed and justified land theft, genocide, and forced labour (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Steinmetz 2014; Hirschman 2004; O'Brien 2009; Tuck and Yang 2012). Indeed, settler colonialism has developed in conjunction with capitalism[44] to dispossess and (attempt to) erase Indigenous people, appropriate and exploit land, resources, and people for world markets (i.e. chattel slavery; immigration and exploitation of ethno-racialized groups), and institutionalize ideologies of White supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and property rights wherein anything can be bought and sold (Coulthard 2014; Glenn 2015; Simpson 2017).

[44] Tuck and Yang (2012) assert that "colonialism is not just a symptom of capitalism" but that "capitalism and the state are technologies of colonialism, developed over time to further colonial projects" (4).

Though slavery ended and genocidal policies have transformed,[45] these racialized structures continue to position Indigenous people and other People of Colour on varying levels of an ethno-racialized social hierarchy below White (Northern) Europeans, which (re)produces inequalities, allocates different rewards and opportunities (e.g. social, political, economic) based on race-ethnicity, and shapes intergroup relationships, interactions, and individual experiences (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

Additionally, the settler colonial system is largely patriarchal in that gendered structures and inequalities not only accompanied European settlers but were established as a colonial tool to disrupt Indigenous peoples' social, political, economic, and familial institutions by undermining Indigenous women's roles in their societies, especially their leadership roles and decision-making authority (Simpson 2017; Coulthard 2014). For instance, Indian Act policies sought to accomplish this goal through tactics such as 'enfranchisement' and the erasure of Indigenous women's 'Indian status' and those of their children[46] (Gehl and Eberts 2021; Simpson 2017). As such, ethno-racialized structures intersect with gendered and other structures (e.g. class, sexual orientation, etc.) to (re)produce social hierarchies that serve to uphold the settler colonial system.

As mentioned in the previous section, settler hunting/fishing (for recreation instead of a source of food) and the development of settler hunting/fishing (sub)cultures were vital for settler expansion and nation building during the 19th century. Hunting/fishing was a sphere where Indigenous people and treaty rights were continuously defined and racialized as inferior and a threat to the environment, the nation's economy, settler/national identities, and to settler's hunting, fishing, and outdoor recreational opportunities. This not only contributed to the broader processes of racialization that helped justify land dispossession and genocide (Bonilla-Silva 1997), but also laid the grounds for a strong anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights (settler colonial) ideology that persists today among settler hunters/anglers and has a profound impact on Indigenous-settler relations.

Therefore, the analysis in this dissertation will situate hunting/fishing as a social world that unfolds within the context of settler colonialism and also a world containing a set of micro-level processes (e.g. intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, group positioning) that contribute to the maintenance of colonial and

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[45] Scholars have highlighted how settler colonialism increasingly operates in subtle ways (e.g. settler discourses and policies of reconciliation and recognition, settler moves to innocence) (Coulthard 2014; Tuck and Yang 2012).

[46] For decades, Indian Act policies aimed to erase Indigenous women's (and their children's) 'Indian statuses' through various means (e.g. marriage to a non-Indigenous man). In 1985, Bill C31 amended the Indian Act to resolve gender discrimination; however, this legislation has created ongoing implications (i.e. second generation cut-off provisions) that continue to (re)produce gender discrimination and enact genocidal and sex-based discriminatory policies (Gehl and Eberts 2021; Native Women's Association of Canada 2022).

racial structures and the overall settler colonial system. Indeed, the social hierarchies in hunting/fishing are not only a microcosm of the broader settler colonial order, but also a fundamental component of it, and the racial prejudices, misogyny, and other forms of oppression that are experienced in this world can be linked to the broader social structures that interact to sustain the settler colonial system. The following theoretical and conceptual frameworks will help analyze the social hierarchies that pervade hunting/fishing as they unfold within and contribute to settler colonialism.

The Ethno-Racialization of Poaching

The concept of 'ethno-racialization' is useful for analyzing the racial-ethnic hierarchies within hunting/fishing in Ontario and the way racial and ethnic meanings are attributed to deviant or criminal behaviours like poaching. Within analyses of racism and/or settler colonialism, the term 'racialization'[47] is predominantly used to investigate processes of racial-categorization, historically-specific racism(s) (Omi and Winant 2015; Miles and Brown 2003), and the racialization of crime (Mirchandani and Chan 2002), including how Indigenous people and even White Eastern and Southern Europeans were racialized as inferior and/or deviant, albeit in different ways,[48] by Northern, primarily British, European Canadians during the 19th and 20th centuries (McCalla and Satzewich 2002; Satzewich 2000).

As the following chapters will show, remnants of Canada's earlier ethnic (and racial) hierarchies (Porter 1965) have endured within contemporary hunting/fishing in Ontario. However, the concept of 'racialization' may not fully capture the complex and nuanced ways that both race and ethnicity are assigned to deviance and crime in hunting/fishing. Therefore, this thesis will use the concept of 'ethno-racialization' to analyze the complex, fluid, and overlapping ways that meanings of race, ethnicity, and immigrant status become attached to poaching, including how Indigenous people (namely First Nations people), Asian Canadians, and White Eastern and Southern European

[47] Since Fanon's use of the term, racialization has been defined and employed in varying ways (Miles and Brown 2003). Omi and Winant define racialization as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (2015, 111). Miles and Brown use the concept of racialization "to denote those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities" (2003, 101).

[48] Whereas Eastern or Southern European immigrants were racialized as inferior 'others' that could not properly assimilate into (British) Canadian society at the turn of the 20th century, they were still given citizenship to help expand European settlement and to provide a steady stream of exploitable labour for the settler colonial, nation-building project (Satzewich 2000; McCalla and Satzewich 2002). By contrast, the racialization of Indigenous people as inferior and criminal differs significantly from that of Eastern/Southern Europeans as this racialization not only created the racial and legal category of 'Indians', but it informed and justified genocidal policies (e.g. residential schools, land theft) and the criminalization of Indigenous peoples' cultural and religious practices (e.g. Sun dance, Potlach) (McCalla and Satzewich 2002) and hunting/fishing lifestyles (Sandlos 2003).

Canadians, especially immigrants, are ethno-racialized as poachers and considered a group threat.

Indeed, scholars have highlighted the benefits of applying an ethno-racial perspective[49] (Aranda 2017) or an ethno-racialization model[50] (Brown and Jones 2015) to understand the intersections of race, ethnicity, pan-ethnicity, citizenship, etc. Yet, no research to my knowledge has sought to investigate the ethno-racialization of poaching in Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds. As such, utilizing this concept with the chosen theoretical frameworks (below) can greatly assist with understanding how shared racial-ethnic meanings about poaching are communicated and reproduced during hunter/angler identity formation and how prejudices and feelings of group superiority can develop or become strengthened through this process.

Group Position Theory

Herbert Blumer's (1958) Group Position Theory is appropriate for analyzing the prejudices within hunting/fishing and how groups (e.g. East Asian, South Asian, Indigenous peoples, and other People of Colour) are defined and ethno-racialized as a threat to White (predominantly Northern European) settlers. Group Position Theory posits that racial prejudice is rooted in a collective and historically based sense of group position and superiority felt by members of the 'dominant' racial group. According to Blumer, racial prejudices emerge through a collective, definitional process of defining and redefining 'subordinate' racial groups as inferior and a group threat to the 'dominant' group's power and privileges. In other words, racial prejudice arises as a protective shield from real or perceived threats to the 'dominant' group's position by outgroups. Through the collective process of defining 'subordinate' groups and the positional arrangements between them, 'dominant' group members define themselves and develop collectively shared feelings of superiority and a sense of group position at the top of a racial hierarchy.

Blumer (1958) explains how definitions of 'out-groups' are communicated and reproduced within a network of ongoing interactions among dominant group members (e.g. leaders, officials, organizations, lay people, etc.) where feelings, ideas, and abstract images of 'subordinate' groups are expressed through "talk, tales, stories, gossip, anecdotes, messages, pronouncements, news accounts, orations, sermons, preachment"

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[49] Aranda (2017) explains how an ethno-racial perspective can help investigate how processes of racialization operate through the "intersection of various markers of social identities such as colourism (phenotype and other physical racial markers), ethnicity (e.g. culture, including language and religion), and national origin (including stereotypes related to the nation of origin's position in the capitalist world system)" (2236). My use of 'ethno-racialization' in this dissertation aligns with this definition but extends further to analyze how various markers of social identities come to signify deviance in hunting/fishing.

[50] Brown and Jones (2015) propose an ethno-racialization model to strengthen the analysis of group formation and group identities by focusing on mutually constitutive processes of racial-ethnic ascriptions and identification/mobilization.

(5), and if continuously reinforced, a sense of group position and superiority is fostered or strengthened.

These abstract images, which characterize outgroups as an entity and a threat (i.e. those 'immigrants'), can transcend individuals' actual encounters and immediate experiences and become a shared image within the dominant group. They are forged in the 'public arena' (i.e. legislative assemblies, public meetings, conferences, the media, etc.), particularly by prominent spokes-people (e.g. leaders, public figures, etc.) or interest groups, and are proliferated by 'big events' that touch on deep sentiments, raise questions about the nature of intergroup relations, and encourage a strong identification with one's racial group.

At the core of his argument, Blumer (1958) states that racial images and attitudes reflect and depend on the positional arrangements of racial groups. He articulates how racial prejudices contain four types of feelings, including feelings of superiority, feelings that the 'subordinate' race is inherently different, feelings of proprietary claim to privileges and advantages, and a fear that the subordinate group will threaten the 'dominant' group's position and privileges. Blumer asserts that the first three types of feelings can elicit "aversion and antipathy" (4) but are not enough to constitute and explain racial prejudice. He highlights how these feelings existed within societies (e.g. certain forms of feudalism, caste relations) where no racial prejudice pervaded since the established order was not challenged and subordinate groups 'knew their place.' The fourth feeling– a fear that subordinate groups will threaten the dominant group's position– is the main element underlying and arousing racial prejudices and results when outgroups transgress group boundaries and challenge the status quo.

For Blumer, the sense of group position provides the 'dominant' group with the framework for understanding intergroup relations as well as the beliefs, feelings, standards of judgements, and ways of orienting towards outgroups. Whether dominant group members are rich or poor, liberal or conservative, or they have feelings of hostility or benevolence to out-groups, the sense of group position provides a "common orientation" (4) of where they fit within the established racial order. This is crucial for strengthening racial identification, constructing group boundaries, and mobilizing dominant group members to defend their group position when threatened. However, Blumer (1958) explains that racial prejudice and a sense of group position can diminish when processes of defining subordinate groups as a threat do not keep up with changes in the social order, such as when elite leaders define intergroup relations as harmonious, 'big events' are not racialized, or if leaders and laypeople challenge their group advantage in solidarity with out-groups.

Research using Group Position theory has provided compelling insight into the ways that racial prejudices rooted in perceptions of group threat unfold within various contexts and between multiple oppressed groups (Bobo and Tuan 2006; Bobo and

Hutchings 1996; Denis 2020). A growing body of literature has used Group Position theory to analyze Indigenous-settler relations within hunting/fishing and how racial prejudices arise in response to Indigenous peoples' treaty hunting/fishing rights.

Bobo and Tuan (2006) found that strong racial prejudices anchored in feelings of group threat had erupted among White American anglers when the Chippewa in Wisconsin exercised their spearfishing rights and sovereignty. White American anglers mobilized to form an anti-treaty campaign that (re)defined Indigenous people as inhumane fishers and a threat to fish populations, White American's fishing opportunities, and the fundamental ideals of 'equality.' Likewise, my previous research (Martino 2016, 2021) showed that the 'recognition' of treaty hunting/fishing rights of Indigenous people in Ontario has reinforced anti-treaty views among many settler hunters/anglers and prominent organizations, mainly the OFAH, who feel that such rights will threaten the environment, the cherished values of equality, and settlers' group position and hunting/fishing privileges.

In the Maritimes, Krause and Ramos (2015) found that despite reports among Mi'kmaq and settler commercial fishers that intergroup relations were friendly after the treaty disputes linked to the *Marshall* decisions, group threat prejudices towards Mi'kmaq fishers still lingered among White settler fishers who felt the Mi'kmaq had a greater advantage over settlers due to treaty rights. Similarly, Denis (2020) found that intergroup contact and friendships between Indigenous and settler people in Northern Ontario was not enough to prevent White settlers from expressing laissez-faire racism about Indigenous people to defend their group position and group interests, particularly around 'big events' such as the relocation of an Indigenous child welfare centre to a small, predominantly White settler town. Though Denis' research was not centred on opposition to treaty hunting/fishing rights,[51] it shows how racism is used to defend White settlers' group interests when they are perceived to be threatened by outgroups whether it is an Indigenous child welfare facility or the assertion of Indigenous sovereignty or treaty rights.

In all, Group Position Theory is useful for analyzing how racial prejudices within hunting/fishing and a settler colonial context are rooted in perceptions of group threat and how collective, definitional, and ethno-racializing processes unfold. Indeed, Asian, Indigenous, and, to a lesser degree, Eastern/Southern European peoples, are defined as morally inferior, as poachers, as inauthentic sports people/in-group members, and as a threat to the environment, which in turn, is perceived to threaten (predominantly) White Canadians' hunting/fishing privileges, identities, and the overall hunting/fishing community. Additionally, this theoretical lens is useful for analyzing how Whites respond

[51] Denis (2020) does provide some examples of White Canadians' opposition to treaty harvesting rights.

to prejudices within their interactions, and in the process, challenge their own and other settler Canadians' sense of group position and superiority.

Colour-Blind Racism Theory

Bonilla-Silva's (2003, 2018) Colour Blind Racism Theory is complimentary to Group Position Theory and suitable for analyzing the subtle and seemingly non-racial ways racial ideologies are reproduced through Colour Blind Racist language and how a sense of group position and superiority develops among predominantly White Canadian hunters/anglers. As the findings will show, it is through Colour-Blind Racism that White Canadians perform the boundary work of defining and ethno-racializing out-groups as poachers and a group threat, while simultaneously defining themselves as superior on the one hand and defending the racial-ethnic order on the other.

According to Bonilla-Silva (2018), Colour-Blind Racism is a racial ideology that operates as an interpretive repertoire comprised of frames, styles, and stories that social actors can utilize to convey or justify their racial views and defend racial inequalities in a seemingly fair, non-racist, and tolerant manner. It is the ideological framework through which intergroup race relations are understood and where dominant group members acquire the guidelines and scripts that inform the development or maintenance of a racial identity and a sense of group position within an ethno-racialized social hierarchy. Through Colour Blind Racism, dominant group members can freely express their racial views, defend the status quo, and attempt to maintain a positive self image while navigating conversations about racial topics across varying contexts and interactions.

Frames are central to Colour Blind Racism as they "set the path for interpreting information" and "provide the intellectual road maps" (Bonilla-Silva 2018, 39) that dominant group members can draw on while maneuvering around the "rocky road of domination" (ibid). There are four main frames within Colour Blind Racism: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and the minimization of racism. These frames are often used in combination and in varying emotional tones (e.g. sympathy, disgust, anger, etc.).

Abstract liberalism is the primary frame underlying the ideological structure of Colour-Blind Racism. This frame appropriates ideas based on political and economic liberalism (i.e. equal opportunity; free choice and individualism) in an abstract way to explain and justify racial inequalities and the racial order. Through abstract liberalism, social actors can oppose meaningful approaches used to alleviate racial inequalities (e.g. affirmative action, honouring treaty rights and obligations) while appearing 'fair' and non-racist (Bonilla-Silva 2018).

The frame of 'naturalization' enables White people to reduce racial phenomenon to a natural occurrence. Segregation, for example, can be framed as 'natural' based on the notion that members of racial groups are 'inherently' drawn to each other. This not only

justifies segregation but overlooks and silences the impacts of racial policies or discriminatory treatment within housing, employment, etc. The ‘cultural racism’ frame uses culturally based arguments, instead of biological ones, to define racial groups and explain racial inequalities. For instance, overt racist explanations that have attributed racial inequalities to biology (e.g. Blacks are naturally lazy and inferior) have been replaced by cultural explanations (e.g. Blacks are having too many kids) which are more covert but still work to define and racialize groups as inferior compared to Whites (Bonilla-Silva 2018).

Finally, the ‘minimization of racism’ frame is used to downplay that racism persists and that it no longer impacts People of Colour’s experiences and opportunities. Accusations of racism, for example, can be explained away as ‘hypersensitivity’ and that discrimination is mostly a thing of the past. In short, these frames, used alone or in combination, allow Whites the ability to safely express anti-Asian or anti-Indigenous views or oppose treaty rights within hunting/fishing while appearing fair, reasonable, and solely concerned with protecting conservation and the hunting/fishing community (Bonilla-Silva 2018).

Bonilla-Silva (2002, 2003, 2018) explains that since overt racism is generally no longer accepted in a post-civil rights world, racial ideologies are expressed in covert and subtle ways using ‘stylistic elements’ which are “linguistic manners and rhetorical strategies” (2018, 51) that allow users to justify and defend racism and racial inequalities in a highly flexible manner without directly mentioning race. Bonilla-Silva outlines five stylistic elements such as the avoidance of race talk, semantic moves, the role of projection, the role of diminutives, and rhetorical incoherence. Avoidance of race talk allows Whites to define racial-ethnic groups as a threat without directly naming them, while semantic moves are verbal strategies (e.g. I’m not racist, but…) used to simultaneously conceal and advance racial ideologies. The role of projection reverts racial accusations back to the accuser/receiver (i.e. they’re the most racist) whereas the role of diminutives attempts to cushion one’s racial views (i.e. I only oppose treaty rights a little bit). Rhetorical incoherence (e.g. grammatical mistakes, lengthy pauses, etc.), though not explicitly a stylistic element, results when discussing sensitive racial topics and attempting to convey one’s racial views.

Racial stories, according to Bonilla-Silva (2018), are narratives or folklore about out-groups that are shared among members of the ‘dominant group’ and are frequently utilized to justify or defend the racial order. There are two types of racial stories: story lines and testimonies. Story lines are a “fable-like” and contain a “common scheme and wording” (2018, 61) that render them a powerful ideological tool due to the story teller’s and audience’s shared understandings about racial-ethnic groups within these stories which make them believable and considered true. Testimonies are first-hand accounts where the speaker is (or close to) the main character in the story, which gives storytellers

more credibility and a greater capacity to gain sympathy from the audience, persuade opinions, present a positive self image, and express their views on racial topics (Bonilla-Silva 2003, 2018).

A breadth of studies has illustrated how the tenets of Colour-Blind Racist ideology are used by Whites in various realms of life. For instance, Colour Blind Racism was apparent within the dating reality series, *the Bachelorette*, when the first Black lead, Rachel Lindsay, appeared on the show in 2017 (the show began airing in 2003). Coded racial language about interracial relationships and marrying a Black woman as well as the minimization of race, to name a few, were often expressed by White contestants, and these clips were chosen by the production crew to be on the show (Brühwiler 2019). In addition, Pérez (2013) shows how racism in stand-up comedy can be overt but that comics learn to utilize rhetorical strategies (e.g. avoid overt ridicule, self-deprecation, creating distance, and denying racism) reflective of Colour-Blind Racism to intentionally breach etiquette and constraints and explicitly express racial stereotypes while "deflecting offensiveness" (479) in a humorous and apparently non-prejudiced manner. Although the public expression of Colour-Blind Racism is often filtered covertly, Pérez states that within stand-up comedy, "racism is hidden in plain sight" (479).

Within hunting/fishing in Ontario, my previous research (Martino 2021) found that White settler hunters/anglers and prominent sport organizations (e.g. OFAH) drew on frames of abstract liberalism (e.g. equal opportunity) and used semantic moves (e.g. equating Indigenous and settler cultures, spirituality, connections to the land) to oppose and undermine Indigenous peoples' treaty hunting/fishing rights and claims to land in a seemingly fair and reasonable manner. Conversely, Robertson (2015) contends that Indigenous people in the US largely face overt racism (e.g. sports mascots, Halloween costumes, 'playing Indian,' etc.), instead of covert Colour-Blind Racism; the issue is that anti-Indigenous racism has become normalized, legitimated, and invisible in the US to the point that White Americans do not feel many racializing practices and behaviours are racist.

Overall, Colour Blind Racism is suitable for analyzing processes of inter-subjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning that construct group boundaries and foster a sense of group superiority and a position at the top of an ethno-racialized social hierarchy inside (and outside) hunting/fishing. Building on my previous research about treaty opposition within hunting/fishing (Martino 2016, 2021), this dissertation research will show how (predominantly) White hunters/anglers often drew on unique frames to characterize and ethno-racialize groups, mainly East Asian and Indigenous peoples, as poachers, as inauthentic sports people, and as a group threat.

However, like Blumer's (1958) Group Position theory, Bonilla-Silva does not address how Colour-Blind Racism (or group positioning) connects to settler colonialism.

As such, using these theories individually within a settler colonial context is incomplete and cannot fully analyze how these processes converge, particularly in hunting/fishing, without drawing on the main points from multiple theories. To further understand how these processes unfold, Identity and Social Identity theories can help analyze how Colour-Blind Racism and a sense of group position is learned, reproduced, and challenged during hunter/angler identity formation and maintenance. These theories will be discussed in the next section.

Identity and Social Identity Theories

According to Blumer (1958), group identities and a sense of group position are formed among 'dominant' group members during a collective process of defining 'subordinate' groups as inferior and a threat throughout myriad forms of interaction. However, Blumer does not address how other types of identify formation interact with and help shape a sense of group position and superiority. Indeed, Identity and Social Identity theories are useful tools to analyze how a sense of group position does not form in isolation but can develop simultaneously within other realms of identity formation, like during the development or maintenance of hunter and/or angler identities (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000).

Identity and Social Identity Theories are distinct but similar frameworks that aim to analyze and explain the social aspects of the self, including how the self is a collection of multiple and discrete but interrelated identities and how these identities are adopted and influence individual behaviour. Both theories conceptualize the self as "multifaceted and dynamic" and the link that "mediates the relationship between social structures and individual behaviour" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 255). However, there are differences between these theoretical frameworks. Identity theory is rooted in Sociology and concerned with the positions people occupy and relevant role expectations, whereas Social Identity theory stems from Psychology and focuses on the (socio-cognitive) processes of group identities, group behaviours, and intergroup relations (Hogg, Terry and White 1995).

Identity Theory seeks to analyze the structure of an individual's self and how multiple identities situated within multiple social structural positions have associated roles that provide the meanings and expectations on how to think and behave in relation to that role and identity (e.g. parent, sport team, racial-ethnic group, hunter/angler, etc.). Accordingly, *role identities* are "self-conceptions, self-referent cognitions, or self-definitions that people apply to themselves as a consequence of the structural role positions they occupy, and through a process of labeling or self-definition as a member of a particular social category" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 256). Role identities give meaning to the self and distinguish between each role and where it is located within the structure of a person's sense of self.

Additionally, Identity theorists look at identity salience and the degree that one identity and its associated role will be activated across different contexts and social networks and how some roles may compliment or contradict other roles. Identity salience also connects to an individual's *commitment* to a particular role identity and position, especially where important relationships hinge on those roles. As such, a strong commitment to one or more identities will strengthen their salience and align their feelings and behaviours with relevant role expectations and guidelines. Although Identity theory looks at self labelling and how role identities, identity salience and commitment guide behaviours, this theory falls short of outlining the socio-cognitive processes and structures that impact behaviours and conformity to norms, and it does not focus on how people's identities shape the views towards and relations with out-groups (Hogg, Terry and White 1995).

Social Identity Theory, by contrast, fills this gap with an emphasis on the socio-cognitive processes underlying self-categorization and group membership and how group identities influence intergroup relations and perceptions and behaviours towards out-groups. Social Identity theorists propose that the social categories or group memberships that individuals identify with "describe and prescribe" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 259-260) the defining characteristics of that group and provide the guidelines for how members should "think, feel and behave" (ibid.) in comparison to relevant out-groups in various social contexts. Identifying with a group involves two social-psychological processes of categorization and self-enhancement. Categorization refers to how individuals identify with a particular group and how boundaries between in and out group members are refined with normative and stereotypical distinctions. Self-enhancement assists the categorization process to ensure in-group norms and stereotypes are favourable through comparisons to relevant out-groups (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000).

A synthesis of both theories is beneficial for analyzing hunter/angler identity formations and how acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity not only involves learning hunter/angler belief systems, including the roles, responsibilities, and ways of perceiving in and out group members, but also racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies that shape the evaluative criteria for determining who is a 'true,' authentic hunter/angler based on race-ethnicity or one's immigrant status. As will be discussed in this dissertation, these ideologies and racial-ethnic/colonial meanings are (re)produced by hunters/anglers through frames, styles, and stories reflective of Colour-Blind Racism, which shapes how one "thinks, feels and behaves" (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 259-260) towards certain groups and performs the boundary work of categorizing and ethno-racializing groups (Indigenous, Asian, and other People of Colour) as morally inferior or inauthentic group members. From this, a sense of group position and superiority can be fostered inside (and outside) hunting/fishing among (predominantly) White settlers born in Canada, particularly with a Northern European background and

long settler roots (though this is not always the case) who define themselves as superior in comparison to 'outgroups.'

Identity and Social Identity theories have added to the literature on hunter/angler identity formations. Though very similar and overlapping, hunters and anglers are not homogenous groups and there are differences between and within the hunting/fishing worlds that reveal the diversity and complexities of hunter/angler identities (Miller and Maanen 1982). For instance, there are several niches or subgroups within fishing that have produced different 'types' of angler identities in relation to different fishing practices. Fly fishers and Bill fishers, for example, have created distinct subgroups within the broader fishing subculture that are separate from 'ordinary' anglers not only because they target specific species, but because they acquire specialized and unique fishing skills, practices, and fishing gear (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Kitner and Maiolo 1988).

Similarly, Miller and Maanen (1982) drew on Social Identity Theory to analyze the identities of commercial fishers in New England and found social divisions between two broad types of commercial fishers: traditional and non-traditional fishers. 'Traditional' fishers were socialized into the trade through their fishing family and have developed a fishing identity that is linked to their family's identity in their small communities. Their fishing identities were often taken for granted, and they were not eager to project these identities outside of work. 'Non-traditional' fishers, by contrast, did not enter fishing via family but rather took up the trade later in life, sometimes by accident. With no fishing background, non-traditional fishers were left to create their own fishing identities and often sought to advertise and reaffirm them in public. Consequently, group boundaries were erected and maintained among both groups of fishers. For instance, many traditional fishers saw non-traditional fishers as inauthentic based on several notions, including how they were improperly socialized into the industry and had a romanticized view of fishing.

Additionally, research using a Social Identity approach[52] has analyzed the conflicts within environmental management (Colvin, Witt and Lacey 2015) and how group affiliations shape perceptions towards wildlife control measures (Eeden et al 2020; Jaebker et al 2021). Using this theoretical lens, Eeden et al (2020) analyzed the views towards lethal and non-lethal wildlife controls in Australia (e.g. kangaroos, wild horses, dingoes, red foxes) among animal rights activists, conservationists, and farmers to understand how their identities were predictors for such views. As predicted, all groups supported non-lethal measures and were less supportive of lethal measures, except farmers who supported lethal actions due to crop damage from 'pests.' Building off this research, Jaebker et al (2021) looked at the extent that hunters from Texas supported lethal and non-lethal measures to reduce wild pig populations based on their affiliation

[52] The 'Social Identity approach' is a combination of Social Identity Theory and Self Categorization Theory (Hornsey 2008).

with hunting, agricultural, or conservation organizations. They found that all types of wildlife controls were accepted by most hunters except the use of toxicants and non-lethal deterrents. Particularly, hunters affiliated with agricultural organizations were the main supporters of both lethal and non-lethal actions given the damage to farming by wild pigs.

Although the literature has provided important insight into hunter/angler identities and group interactions, limited research has analyzed the ways in/out group boundaries and a sense of group position is fostered within the process of acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity. As such, Identity and Social Identity theories, in conjunction with the theories previously mentioned, will assist with analyzing the complex processes unfolding within the hunting/fishing worlds.

Stigma Management and Responses to Prejudice and Discrimination

Theories and research about stigma[53] management and responses to racial prejudice and discrimination fit well with those previously mentioned and are an appropriate lens to analyze the ways racism is challenged (or not) within hunting/fishing. Research has outlined the diverse, everyday responses and coping strategies utilized against racism, and how they are shaped, enabled, and constrained in varying degrees by an array of historical, cultural, social structural, and institutional factors within and across a variety of contexts (Mellor 2004; Noh et al 1999; Lamont et al 2016; Lamont and Mizrachi 2012). The earliest writings about responses to prejudice are reflected in Allport's (1954) seminal work, which discusses the socio-cognitive processes involved when a person responds to prejudice, including the denial of group membership, withdrawal, passivity, strengthening group ties, and prejudice against out-groups. Scholars have since analyzed many responses ranging from anger suppression to threats of violence and how different types of coping may be required in different temporal and situational contexts (Brondolo et al 2009). As such, ethno-racially stigmatized individuals are compelled to develop a wide range of coping responses to anticipate and manage diverse situations and various types of racism and discrimination. This requires immense cognitive flexibility and emotional work to determine the appropriate response and to adjust accordingly in relation to numerous factors that may enable or inhibit the effectiveness of the response (Brondolo et al 2009; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012; Dickter and Newton 2013).

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[53] Although the stigma concept has been widely applied and undergone various definitions, sociologists have analyzed how stigmatization is a process involving the convergence of interrelated components (i.e. labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination) (Link and Phelan 2001), as well as the exercise of power, the formation, maintenance or transformation of group boundaries, and how this influences relationships, social interactions, mental and physical health, and life chances (Lamont and Mizrachi 2012; Lamont et al 2016; Link and Phelan 2001). Of the three types of stigmas outlined by Goffman (1963), a stigma based on group membership (i.e. 'tribal' stigmas) or racial-ethnic stigmatization is the most relevant for this dissertation.

The most prominent responses and coping strategies to racism have been divided into two broad domains: *problem-focused* strategies based on direct, confrontational action and *emotion-focused* strategies which are passive/avoidant, indirect responses used to deflate conflict and manage the self (Mellor 2004; Noh et al 1999; Brondolo et al 2009). Problem-focused (confronting) strategies involve taking direct action against racism and attempting to modify the environment or the perpetrator by confronting and challenging the source of grievance. Confronting strategies unfold in diverse forms and vary according to several factors (i.e. physical, social, and temporal contexts; availability of cultural repertoires) (Lamont et al 2016; Brondolo et al 2009), but generally include speaking out, taking legal action, educating the offender, or in some cases, resorting to violence and intimidation (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012; Mellor 2004).

Fleming, Lamont and Welburn (2012) showed how African Americans maintained dignity and redefined racial meanings by drawing on several strategies, but 'confronting' racism with education about Black culture and history was the most common. Other confronting strategies included addressing and highlighting the harm and unfairness of racism, submitting formal complaints, suing, or sometimes violence. In a study comparing the racial dynamics in the U.S., Brazil and Israel, Lamont et al (2016) illustrate how the interplay of historical, socioeconomic, and institutional elements, the availability of cultural repertoires, and the salience of group cohesiveness and group boundaries distinctly shaped experiences with and responses to racism within each country. In all, these two studies showed that 'confronting' was the most common response among African Americans. For Lamont et al, the Civil Rights era legitimated confrontational strategies and provided a trove of cultural repertories about group disadvantage and deep-seated racism that has empowered and mobilized People of Colour to confront ongoing racial oppression.

Research has also delved into the ways White settlers respond (or not) to racism expressed by other Whites in various contexts. Traoré (2017) found that several White settlers in Southern Ontario (who identify as anti-racist or allies) would address racism within their everyday, interpersonal interactions by confronting the perpetrator and attributing a racist identity to them or by using counterclaiming strategies (e.g. education) to correct racial bias in a less hostile manner. Likewise, Dickter and Newton (2013) found that non-targets of racism resorted to confronting strategies, especially in private settings and in the presence of others, among other things (e.g. offensiveness of comment; deterring future comments, etc.).

In contrast, emotion-focused strategies consist of passive, forbearing responses to real or perceived racism(s) which are used to deflate or avoid conflict, control emotions, and protect or manage the self. Due to the subtle, indirect, and seemingly innocuous nature that racism(s) unfold, there may be different challenges (e.g. determining if behaviours/comments are racially motivated) and greater constraints in the way people

appraise, experience, and respond. Those affected may be reluctant to report incidents or take direct action, and instead, engage in forbearing responses such as ignoring, re-interpreting the situation, or avoiding certain people and situations (Noh et al 1999; Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012).

Deflating and avoiding conflict and managing the self and emotions are forbearing strategies driven by a concern to appear positive and to evade aggravation and emotional or physical strain. The emotional and cognitive work that is needed to formulate an appropriate response demands focused and flexible calculation, the consideration of various scenarios, and consideration of the pragmatic constraints of each potential response (e.g. professional, material, and emotional costs and benefits). Controlling emotions during and after a racist experience (e.g. managing anger or strategic silence) may be the only feasible option and requires strenuous self discipline, but is also motivated by a desire to either preserve energy or to disconfirm stereotypes (Lamont et al 2016; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012).

Studies by Fleming, Lamont and Welburn (2012) and Lamont et al (2016) found that in addition to using confrontation strategies, African Americans drew on emotion-focused responses geared towards managing the self and emotions by controlling anger and remaining calm to disprove stereotypes (i.e. 'angry Blacks' stereotype). Lamont et al (2016) showed that many African Americans actively demonstrated competence, hard work ethic, self-improvement, and upward mobility (via the pursuit of education, employment, opportunities, etc.), which are responses used to contradict widespread stereotypes of laziness and dependency. Correspondingly, Fleming, Lamont and Welburn (2012) found that managing the self can involve magnifying the salience of non-racial identities wherein some African Americans sought to enhance their professional identity over their racial identities to avoid confirming stereotypes and racial encounters in workplace settings.

Similarly, Mellor (2004) and Ziersch et al (2011) explored how Indigenous Australians living in urban areas engaged in both confronting and self management responses in relation to the meanings and interpretations of racist events and against the backdrop of ongoing settler colonialism. Mellor (2004) revealed that some Indigenous individuals defended and protected the self through the acceptance of racism as a part of life (i.e. resignation of fate), seeking social support, or avoiding racist situations within interpersonal and institutional contexts. Others reinterpreted the racist experience or reaffirmed a positive sense of self by attributing weaknesses to the perpetrator's character. Similarly, Ziersch et al (2011) found that in addition to avoiding situations and seeking social support, many Indigenous Australians questioned the racist nature or downgraded the severity of their experience. Some made a conscious decision to ensure the racist encounter did not harm their self perception or impact their health. Although a substantial amount of agency was revealed, responses were also constrained due to settler

colonial structures which reproduce systemic inequalities in all domains of life and add to the challenges of managing the self and emotions without damaging mental and physical health.

Ethnic and cultural norms and values also may influence how certain groups experience and respond to racism. In contrast to confronting responses that align with Western, North American values of direct action and self assertion, forbearing responses may be more congruent with some Asian cultural values which promote humility, emotional restraint, interdependence, conformity to norms, and the preservation of interpersonal relationships (Noh et al 1999). Studies in both Canada and the U.S. show that forbearing and passive responses were the preferred and more effective coping strategies that resulted in better mental and physical health outcomes for Asian Americans/Canadians (Iwamoto and Liu 2010; Noh et al 1999).

Furthermore, the level of group identification and attachment to ethnic values can shape the degree to which racism is experienced and the effectiveness of coping strategies. Although a strong racial-ethnic identity may amplify the susceptibility to psychological harm from racism, such attachments can act as a buffer against stress and mental illness, especially if the coping strategies are culturally suitable. Noh et al (1999) showed that forbearing responses (ignoring, seeking social support) were more effective at mitigating the effects from perceived racism among Southeast Asian refugees in Canada if they held a strong ethnic identity and attachment to ethnic values and communities. Conversely, those with a strong ethnic identity who failed to use forbearing responses were more vulnerable to the psychological consequences from racist experiences.

Overall, the theories and literature on stigma management and responses to racism provide a framework for understanding how and why members from oppressed or privileged groups confront racism or use forbearing strategies and how such responses are shaped, enabled, or constrained in varying degrees by numerous factors. Understanding the ways that racism is addressed (or not) within hunting/fishing by White and non-White Canadians can assist with analyzing not only how similar anti-racist practices unfold across various social worlds, but also how hunting/fishing can be a site to challenge (Colour-Blind) racial ideologies and White settlers' sense of group position and superiority inside and outside hunting/fishing.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the historical and contemporary literature on intergroup relations and the dynamics of racial-ethnic prejudices within sports and outdoor recreational activities like hunting/fishing. Reviewing this literature, especially the longstanding prejudices towards Indigenous and Asian hunters/fishers, has provided the background context to situate the analyses of intersubjective meaning-making,

identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning in the following chapters of this dissertation.

Additionally, this chapter outlined the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that will assist with investigating these interconnected processes and how becoming a hunter/angler involves learning not only complex belief systems that dictate the roles and responsibilities associated with hunter/angler identities, but also learning racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies via Colour Blind Racism. Indeed, Group Position theory, Colour-Blind Racism Theory, and Identity and Social Identity theories provide a lens to analyze how non-Indigenous, predominantly White settler Canadians develop a sense of group superiority through Colour Blind Racist language that defines and ethno-racializes certain groups (e.g. Indigenous, Asian, and even White Eastern European peoples) as poachers and as a threat to hunting/fishing. As well, theories of stigma management and responding to prejudice can help examine how some White-settlers and People of Colour use various strategies to confront and challenge racial-ethnic, xenophobic, or colonial ideologies or avoid racial conflict, including how such responses are shaped, enabled, or constrained by various factors.

Overall, the literature on prejudices within sport and recreational activities like hunting/fishing provides the grounds to further investigate how prejudices, group boundaries, and a sense of group position develop and connect to hunter/angler identity formation in Ontario. Moreover, drawing on these theoretical and conceptual frameworks is useful as one theory alone cannot fully explain the complexities and nuances within these phenomena. The following chapters will now delve into the research findings.

Chapter Three: Intersubjective Meanings and Hunter/Angler Identities: Roles, Responsibilities, and Group Boundaries

Throughout Canada's ongoing colonial history, hunting/fishing and being within (or 'overcoming') nature has not only informed and shaped national narratives and a Canadian identity (Mackey 1998, 1999; Kloet 2009), but also the emergence of outdoor sport (sub)cultures and collective hunter, angler, or 'sport person' identities that have developed roles, responsibilities, group boundaries, and evaluative criteria about authentic in-group membership (Wamsley 1994). This 'sport-person' or 'outdoors-person' identity, however, has historically been rooted in Whiteness, masculinity, and upper-class privilege and has been guided by a 'sporting code'[54] that promoted 1) hunting/fishing for recreation and adventure rather than a source of food, 2) responsibilities to be a conservationist, and 3) a multitude of ethical beliefs, practices, and proper killing techniques (e.g. sympathy for prey, fair chase, clean kill, no spearfishing or netting fish, etc.) that the true sportsperson abided by (Gillespie 2002; Wamsley 1994; Loo 2001; Bouchier and Cruikshank 1997).

From this, boundaries were constructed between authentic and inauthentic sports- or outdoors-people, and those who engaged in 'un-sports-like' practices were defined as deviants, poachers, and a group threat. In many cases, these boundaries were ethno-racialized. As discussed in chapter two, during the 19th century (and continuing today), Indigenous peoples' treaty hunting/fishing rights and lifestyles were considered by White, elite, and predominantly male hunters/anglers and government officials to be excessive, inhumane, and a threat to the environment, the outdoor sport and tourist economy, and the overall settler colonial project (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Tough 1992; Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997; Pulla 2012). Similarly, East Asian fishers, particularly from China and Japan, working in the canneries on the Westcoast at the turn of the 20th century were defined as a social and economic threat (Baird 2019; Roy 1989). Together, this history illustrates early processes of hunter/angler identity formation, ethno-racialization (of deviance/poaching), group positioning, and the expansion and legitimation of White supremacist and settler colonial (anti-treaty rights) ideologies which

[54] Although the ethics of recreational fishing/hunting date back to the 15th century Europe (Fennell and Birbeck 2019), the 'sporting code' emerged in North America during the shift from hunting/fishing for subsistence and survival to leisure and sport during the 19th century. This code was (re)created by upper-class, male sport hunters during the mid-1800s and was adopted by other sport hunters/anglers during the conservation movement at the turn of the 20th century. The sporting code was/is a set of principles that outlined the practices of a true sportsperson in contrast to the (unethical) methods used by subsistence hunters/fishers. As mentioned, these early sport hunters/anglers frowned upon harvesting for food instead of sport and specifically defined Indigenous people and lower-class (White) 'pot hunters' as uncivilized and inhumane. The values and guidelines within the sporting code continue to inform hunter/angler belief systems (Gillespie 2002; Loo 2001; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Altherr 1978; Sandlos 2003).

laid the foundation for the 'ideal' hunter/angler identity and an ethno-racialized social hierarchy inside (and outside) the hunting/fishing worlds.

Today, the definitions and images of an 'authentic' hunter/angler or sportsperson continue to be shaped by the sporting code and by ongoing and overlapping racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, patriarchal,[55] and settler colonial ideologies. The findings from this dissertation will show that becoming a hunter and/or angler not only involves learning belief systems comprised of shared meanings about the roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour that embody a true hunter/angler identity, but also the meanings and images that constitute the ideologies mentioned above, which continue to define and ethno-racialize selected groups as poachers and a threat. These ideologies construct and reinforce symbolic boundaries,[56] assist with group positioning, and help maintain historically based hierarchies in terms of perceived morals, law-abiding behaviours, levels of experience, and perceived commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities.

This ethno-racialized hierarchy is a microcosm of the broader social order but has manifested in the hunting/fishing worlds in unique ways. As the findings will show, Asian Canadians, Indigenous people, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern Europeans are defined as poachers and positioned on the lower end of this hierarchy in comparison to the supposed moral, scientific, and environmental superiority and law-abiding standards of predominantly White (Northern European) Canadian-born hunters/anglers.

To understand the social hierarchies in hunting/fishing and how prejudices and ideologies are communicated, experienced, and responded to, it is imperative to analyze the subjective and intersubjective meanings and identity formation processes involved in becoming a hunter and/or angler and how they connect to group positioning and ethno-racialization processes that sustain this hierarchy and shape intergroup perceptions, interactions, and relations. Investigating the fundamental meanings and emotional attachments to hunting/fishing can provide a greater understanding into how and why the prejudices within hunting/fishing can often elicit a strong, and even violent, backlash towards ethno-racialized groups based on a perceived threat to everything considered sacred that hunting/fishing provides.

Research into the process of becoming a hunter/angler has provided compelling insight about the career trajectory or stages within hunter/angler identity formations (Kitner and Maiolo 1988; Bryan 1977; Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006), the meanings

[55] The findings revealed that all male interviewees supported and encouraged women's entry into hunting/fishing. Women participants, however, revealed that misogyny persists, and that women's hunting/angling identities are often overlooked due to ongoing assumptions that hunting/fishing is mostly a male activity. See chapter seven for more details.
[56] Lamont and Molnár (2002) define symbolic boundaries as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space" which "separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership" (168).

and emotions connected to hunting/fishing (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Franklin 1998), the identity politics involved (Dunk 2002; Martino 2021), and the belief systems that contain the norms and values (Schroeder et al 2006) that inform hunters/anglers' collective (and personal) identities. For instance, Kitner and Maiolo (1988) outlined the career advancement involved in becoming a 'Bill-fisher'[57] and showed how it consists of learning not only the practical skills, proper equipment, etc., but also the "rules, beliefs, actions, lore and customs" (215) and how to perceive and enjoy the affective and social aspects of Bill-fishing (e.g. thrill of catching a big fish, building relationships). Other studies found that hunting/fishing were associated with meanings about family bonding (Toth and Brown 1997; Virden and Walker 1999) and have highlighted the importance of family for the socialization into hunting/fishing, especially for women (Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003). Hunting/fishing also holds significant meanings related to a sense of independence, freedom, and self-sufficiency (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002; Franklin 1998), as well as a source of food, relaxation, and connecting with nature (Toth and Brown 1997).

Regarding hunter/angler values and belief systems, Schroeder et al (2006) identified four main ethics that anglers ascribed to such as following regulations, a preference for catch-release fishing, sharing fish, and not wasting fish. Likewise, Bryan (1977) found that as anglers developed greater skills and knowledge, they developed a greater appreciation for preserving habitat and fish populations and gained a preference to fish for the experience instead of consumption. A study of duck hunters in New Zealand (McLeod 2007) found that they adhered to three main ethical discourses to legitimize hunting, especially in the face of anti-hunting groups, such as the ethics of a clean kill, competence in nature (hunting is natural, humans are part of food chain), and that hunters contribute to wetland conservation (e.g. paying fees) and help keep populations balanced. Correspondingly, Lord and Winter (2021) found that duck hunters in Australia promoted a range of ethical guidelines such as humane killing, practice (shooting) in the field, respecting nature (e.g. no littering), and obeying the game rules. These ethics not only worked to preserve waterfowl and wetlands but also to protect the image of hunters from public disapproval and anti-hunting opposition.

The findings from this dissertation research expand on this body of literature by revealing the dynamic ways ethno-racialization, group positions, and social hierarchies unfold in hunting/fishing in Ontario and how it links to intersubjective meaning-making and hunter/angler identity formation and belief systems. Building on the literature, the following chapter will delve into the meanings and emotional attachments to hunting/fishing, analyze how hunting/fishing informs the participants' identities on

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[57] Like Fly-fishing for trout or other species (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002; Washabaugh and Washabaugh 2000), Bill-fishing is a specialized type of sport fishing which involves targeting large fish species in the ocean (e.g. marlin, swordfish) which has developed into a niche or clique within the broader sport fishing (sub)culture (Kitner and Maiolo 1988).

multiple levels (i.e. the interplay of personal, subcultural, national identities), and outline the roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour embedded in hunter/angler identities. Above all, this chapter will show that acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity and becoming socialized into the outdoor community involves learning about not only hunter/angler roles and expectations (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000), but also racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial meanings and ideologies which reaffirm ethno-racialized hierarchies and highlight one's position within them.

"It's Who I am:" The Meanings of Hunting/Fishing and its Importance for Personal and Group Identities

At its foundation, acquiring a hunter/angler identity involves the interplay between personal and group-based identities and the amalgamation of internal and external meanings of what constitutes being a hunter, angler, or 'outdoors-person' (Stets and Burke 2000; Howard 2000). The meanings that participants held towards hunting/fishing were overlapping, mutually reinforcing, and informed and shaped their identities in various ways and throughout multiple levels, including personal, familial, subcultural, regional, and national levels. From bonding moments with family and friends to the freedom of accessing vast wilderness, these shared meanings are rooted in deep sentiments, emotional attachments, and nostalgic memories that extend from childhood to nationhood and are centred around the wilderness and the love of being within nature.

Identity and Social Identity theorists have illustrated the complexities of identity formation and how one's sense of self may be comprised of multiple identities and related roles that can span across numerous social categories and may overlap, compliment, or conflict with one another in varying ways. These identities may be hierarchically arranged which are shaped by the level of commitment to each identity and the degree that they become salient within or across different contexts, situations, interactions, and people inside and outside numerous social networks (Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker and Burke 2000).

Participants illustrated the nuances and complexities within hunter/angler identity formations in the way such identities were reported to be salient (or not) in certain contexts and how/where it was positioned among several identities (e.g. occupation, parental status, etc.) within the structure of their self. For some participants, hunting and/or fishing was simply a favourite leisure activity or hobby, but for many, it was considered a passion, a family tradition, and a prominent feature of their personal and/or national identities. On a personal level, most participants highlighted their passions for hunting and/or fishing and how it informed their identities:

> It is core to my identity (White, male Int24C10).

> It's who I am if that makes sense…It identifies who I am, what I do. The only vacation my husband and I have ever taken have involved hunting, fishing or

> firearms. For our honeymoon, we went to the Arctic on a caribou hunt. We got married at our fish camp (White, woman Int53C32).
>
> I have a strong affection with angling. I consider myself as an angler, a sportfisherman, so it's extremely important for me. In fact, it's something that defines me. Like, it is something I've pursued all my life. Even as a kid, I was always fascinated with fish and fishing to be honest. When I was a toddler, we used to go to fish markets at home [South Asia], so I used to actually look at the fish and study it's gills, so yes, being an angler is very important to my identity (South Asian, male Int45C1).

The meanings about hunter/angler identities were also communicated in hunting/fishing groups on social media in the form of memes. Below is a quote from a meme posted on a fishing group in Facebook:

> I am a Fisherman! It is not merely something that I do. It is who I am! Fishing is not simply my escape. It is where I am supposed to be. It is not a place that I go. But a lifelong journey I am taking. It is a passage that was shown to me and I will continue to show to others. When you understand all of this, you will then know me. And we will fish together (Unknown, social media 2020).

The examples above suggest a shared understanding about the passions and importance of these activities for one's (personal) identity and for identifying as a member of the outdoor community. The similarities between the participants' comments and the online content reveal how intersubjective meaning-making can permeate throughout online and offline spheres of life and develop into a shared sense of attachment and commitment, which is vital to a collective hunter and/or angler identity irrespective of one's race-ethnicity, gender, or citizenship. Though the latter quote utilizes traditional gender language (i.e. 'fisherman'), hunting/fishing was just as important for many women and their identities compared to men, and the research will show that women hunters/anglers are breaking traditional gender norms and boundaries and making their mark within the outdoor community (see chapter seven).

The primacy of hunting/fishing for thirty-seven participants' identities were strongly connected to bonding experiences with family and friends and continuing a family tradition:

> Fishing is more than a sport for me, and I feel more connected to my grandfather through the sport…He passed away before we were born. So, fishing is sort of a way to honor his memory for me and keeping his legacy (South Asian, male, Int49C4).

> It connects me to the roots of the past where my family hunted, like my great-grandparents hunted and many of my relatives hunted and just a sense of connection to the earth and to the land (White, male Int30C4).

> I'd say it's a big part of my identity. Living in a rural area and having all these outdoorsy options, it's something that definitely I guess makes me, 'me.' My family, they're big into all that outdoorsy stuff, so the history of my family like there was loggers, and they worked in the trades (White, woman Int42C4b).

These quotes illustrate the deep sentimental memories attached to hunting/fishing and how these activities form the basis in which familial relationships are strengthened, legacies are continued, and identities are molded. For some participants, it connects them to a regional/rural identity as well as their settler roots and a nostalgic memory of working and living off the land. As will be discussed later, the importance of hunting/fishing as a vehicle for connecting participants to their family's settler history is also linked to symbolic national images of early pioneers overcoming a tough, unforgiving climate and landscape.

The knowledge and ability to hunt, fish, and survive off the land was also a primary feature of the participants' personal and hunter/angler identities. Thirty-five participants expressed pride in their hunting and fishing skills and problem-solving abilities, their knowledge of the environment, and the sense of independence it provides:

> Learning those skill sets and understanding seasonal weather changes, behavioral patterns in fish, those skills and learning how to adapt is definitely important in being an angler (South Asian, male Int34C57).

> There's a certain amount of pride that comes with knowing that what I am eating tonight, I provided for myself…Being able to rely on myself for some of my own needs and not having to rely on a grocery store and also really knowing that meat does not come in a foil, a styrofoam package wrapped in plastic (White, male Int21C5d).

Sixteen participants also emphasized the freedom associated with hunting/fishing and the ability to access substantial amounts of forests and lakes:

> For me, what it means is that I have the right to fulfil my passion. And what it means to me is that I have the freedom to do it, and I have the right of choice. And the waters here in Ontario are vast, I mean I have been to North Ontario walleye fishing and everything (White, woman Int27C33).

> There is so much wilderness right now, there is so much forest to enjoy here. That is a huge thing for me to know that I can just drive across this huge country and

> hunt, fish and do all those things. If I want to camp, live in a tent, whatever I want to do (White, male Int18C26).

As the quotes above show, the centrality of the wilderness and connecting with nature is interwoven throughout numerous meanings held towards hunting/fishing and is fundamental to the participants' identities in varying ways.

In all, these shared meanings, experiences, and emotional attachments appear to inform both personal and collective identities and can provide insight into the dynamics of group positioning and why perceptions of group threat can illicit strong reactions that hinge on racial-ethnic prejudices and xenophobia. Indeed, any real or perceived threats to conservation and wildlife populations, hunting/fishing opportunities, and access to resources (whether from in or out group members) can penetrate much deeper and become a threat to personal (and group-based) identities, social and intimate relationships, connections with nature, a sense of freedom, and family (and national) traditions among others.

Additionally, the significance of the wilderness, both materially and symbolically, for hunter/angler and Canadian identities has far reaching implications for upholding settler colonialism. Specifically, settler peoples' connections to the land are one ideological pathway that undermines Indigenous peoples' histories, identities, and land-based relationships or equates them with those of settlers which works to justify and legitimize land dispossession and settler's sense of ownership and management over Indigenous land. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Group Identities and Group Boundaries: Roles and Ideologies

Group positioning and racial-ethnic boundaries in hunting/fishing are most visible when focusing on group-based identity formation and the meanings and norms about group membership that are learnt and unfold subjectively and intersubjectively. Blumer (1958) explains how group identities and a sense of group position are formed during a collective process of defining in and out groups and the relations and positions between them and how images of outgroups are constructed and reproduced in myriad forms of interaction and communication among members of the 'dominant' racial-ethnic group(s). However, he does not provide details on the boundary work involved within this process and how other types of identify formation interact with and help foster a sense of group position and superiority. Identity and Social Identity theories can assist in understanding how group positions do not form in isolation, but rather develop simultaneously within other realms of identity formation like during the development of hunter and/or angler identities.

According to Identity and Social Identity theories, identifying with a group involves seeing from the group perspective and sharing similar meanings and experiences that nurture a sense of belonging and what it means to be a group member. These

collective meanings “describe and prescribe” (Hogg, Terry and White 1995, 259-260) the characteristics and role expectations of members, including the guidelines for how one should “think, feel, and behave” (ibid.) and the evaluative criteria for determining in/out group membership. This forms the basis of intersubjective belief structures which outline the boundaries within the group and between relevant outgroups and shapes how members construct their identities, interact with in/out group members, and navigate and perceive their social worlds (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000). Thus, by identifying with a group like hunters/anglers, group boundaries are reproduced and sharpened as members learn about and adopt the belief structures that distinguish and contrast features of what constitutes an authentic group member.

As participants articulated multiple and overlapping meanings held towards hunting/fishing, they revealed the merging of personal and group-based identities and a shared understanding of in/out group boundaries and what defines being a true hunter, angler, or ‘sportsperson.’ This understanding stems from, and forms the basis of, unique and complex classification and belief systems, which contain a web of shared meanings not only about the written and unwritten rules that inform hunter/angler identities, but also meanings which ethno-racialize groups and establish symbolic boundaries and social hierarchies in terms of perceived morals, law-abiding behaviours, and the level of commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities. Therefore, as the findings will further show, becoming a hunter/angler involves learning, negotiating, reproducing, reinforcing, and challenging belief systems comprised of collective meanings that underlie hunter/angler identities and provide the ideological lens for evaluating, perceiving, and ethno-racializing groups and positioning them on varying levels of a social hierarchy within hunting/fishing.

Overall, these belief systems are multifaceted, fluid, adaptable, and differ within hunting and fishing, but fundamentally revolve around conservation, the role of being an environmental steward, and having a deep appreciation for and connection with nature (Schroeder et al 2006; Gibson 2014). There are strong expectations of maintaining that role and upholding its responsibilities to be considered a ‘true’ or authentic sportsperson. Rigidly following (and enforcing) specific written and unwritten rules such as provincial game laws, social etiquette, and ethical practices is sacred and at the centre of hunter and angler responsibilities, which not only ensures the preservation of wildlife, but also the existence of the outdoor community and the continuation of the passions, relationships, identities, etc. that rely upon the environment. Indeed, studies of hunters/anglers have shown that following the rules and committing to the role of a conservationist is integral to the ethics and value systems within fishing (Schroeder et al 2006; Bryan 1977; Elmer et al 2017) and hunting (Lord and Winter 2021; Gibson 2014). As a result, there is a strong belief and expectation that hunters/anglers regulate their own and others’ behaviour to protect the image and future of the sport hunting/fishing community (Lord and Winter 2021).

Being classified as an 'inauthentic' sportsperson varies depending on the severity of the offence, but those who do not 'follow the rules,' particularly official game rules, are labelled as a poacher and a threat to conservation and the group. The label of a poacher within the hunting/fishing worlds is powerful and stigmatizing and can result in consequences ranging from rejection by other group members to violent assaults.

Although the labelling of poachers operates regardless of one's social position(s), those with certain racial-ethnic and immigrant statuses are perceived to be more likely to disobey and disregard the laws, etiquettes, and role expectations connected to hunter/angler identities. In many cases, certain racial-ethnic groups (e.g. East Asian and South Asian people) are perceived to be immigrants or 'perpetual foreigners' (Huynh and Woo 2015) who have fixed and inherent immoral features and hunting/fishing methods that are allegedly incompatible with the values and norms in the Canadian sport hunting/fishing community. One participant, a White, male hunter/angler, discusses the racial-ethnic and xenophobic views in hunting/fishing and provides an explanation:

Q-Do you feel there are any kind of ethnic or racial divisions within hunting or fishing?

> I think that there is concern between some groups that other groups don't follow the rules as well as they do, or they don't care to follow the rules. I've noticed this feeling among some hunters and anglers that foreigners or outsiders or people who aren't fully established long over the course of many generations Canadian, that they don't have that same respect for the ecosystem or the environment as they do. And I think that there's issues in the conservation world in terms of littering and stuff like that and irresponsible hunting. It's something that's going to exist in any sport. And in terms of my own observations, you'd be hard-pressed to convince me that one race is more irresponsible than the other when it comes to the way that they participate. I think that there are perhaps methods from other cultures that don't align with the traditional methods of hunting and fishing that are considered responsible here. I think that's more common in fishing than it is in hunting but there are people who will try baiting multiple hooks or fishing with nets; those sorts of sustenance focused, high-capacity fishing methods, which are, I think, pretty common in a lot of places where fishing is something that people do for sustenance (White, male Int37C11).

The participant gives insight into how (predominantly non-White, non-Euro) immigrant people are categorized primarily by White-settler hunters/anglers as deviants that hunt/fish irresponsibly and strictly for sustenance rather than sport or recreation,[58] and therefore, are considered a threat to wildlife populations. As the data will show, this

[58] As will be explained momentarily, the debate about harvesting for sport vs food is more pronounced within fishing compared to hunting because anglers can fish for both recreation (i.e. catch and release) and sustenance.

is a common image that was expressed or acknowledged within the interviews and the comments online. Moreover, the emphasis on *culture* rather than *race* regarding deviant behaviours and practices resembles a prominent frame within Colour-Blind Racism (i.e. cultural racism[59]). This will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.

These meanings and images constitute racial-ethnic and xenophobic ideologies which pervade hunter/angler belief systems and inform and are reproduced through an ethno-racialization process that creates and reifies racial-ethnic boundaries by categorizing specific groups as 'poachers' and inauthentic group members. This ideology provides the framework for understanding the nature of intergroup relations, particularly Indigenous-settler treaty relations, which shapes how members from the BIPOC community are evaluated and perceived as well as how they experience and interact with (predominantly White-settlers) in the hunting/fishing worlds. As such, phenotypical features, cultural backgrounds, immigrant statuses, and other traits such as (limited) fluency and use of English or holding treaty harvesting rights become a signifier for deviant behaviour and a perceived inability or refusal to understand, follow, and respect the rules. As the findings will show, ethno-racialized groups consequently receive greater scrutiny, stereotyping, stigmatization, harassment, and violence (see chapters four and five).

Interviews and online content overwhelmingly revealed how Asian, Eastern European, and Indigenous hunters/anglers are defined as poachers and thought to have a higher proclivity (or ability)[60] to break the rules intentionally or unintentionally. Xenophobic sentiments and the perpetual foreigner stereotype often undergirded definitions of Asian Canadians, and to a lesser degree, Eastern Europeans, regardless of their citizenship status. As a result, they are positioned lower in the ethno-racialized hierarchy compared to the presumed moral and environmental superiority of predominantly White-settler, Canadian born hunters/anglers with Northern (British) European roots and a long settler history. The way in which East Asian and Eastern European (immigrant) hunters/anglers are defined as deviants is exemplified in the following excerpt:

> I would say, stereotypically sort of, that there is something to be said about immigrants being a bit more bold in terms of breaking the rules and catching fish for food and keeping them. And when I say immigrants, I would include White Europeans as well. I hate to generalize, but I would say Eastern Europeans such as myself and Asians will keep more fish on average than Canadians, or they might be a little more ignorant towards the rules than Canadian born Canadians, whether

[59] The cultural racism frame explains deviant characteristics based on 'culture' rather than 'race' but still reproduces racial ideologies which uphold racial hierarchies (Bonilla-Silva 2018).

[60] Indigenous peoples' treaty hunting/fishing rights were perceived to 'allow' lawless hunting/fishing practices. For more details on settlers' anti-treaty views, see chapter six.

> the Canadian born person's heritage is Asian, African, European, doesn't matter. I think just in general immigrants are more ignorant towards the rules (White, male Int22C23).

This quote highlights the anti-immigrant and racial-ethnic views and feelings that underlie (and are shaped by) the images of Asian and Eastern European hunters/anglers. The participant, an immigrant from Eastern Europe, not only perpetuates anti-immigrant stereotypes about Asian immigrants but also Eastern Europeans despite their own racial-ethnic and immigrant status.

Considering such contradictions, scholars have sought to understand internalized prejudices and the strategies that individuals employ to distance themselves from racial-ethnic stereotypes. Strategies such as 'defensive othering'[61] may be used by members of stigmatized groups to avoid stereotypes and to align with the dominant group, but they consequently validate and strengthen group-based stereotypes and reinforce racial-ethnic boundaries and hierarchies (Pyke 2010; Allport 1954). The participant's remarks reflect this strategy, and given their racial-ethnic and immigrant status, these views could be extremely powerful at confirming negative images of Eastern European hunters/anglers.[62] Additionally, the attempt to downplay racial-ethnic features while chastising specific racial-ethnic immigrants resembles a strategy reflective of Colour-Blind Racism (e.g. semantic moves) to avoid appearing racist (Bonilla-Silva 2002, 2018), but it still accounts to a process of othering and ethno-racialization.

Consistent with Group Position theory (Blumer 1958), the reproduction of ethno-racializing meanings and images in various interactions inside/outside fishing[63] among White-settlers, even by those from stigmatized White European ethnicities, works collectively not only to define and position perceived out-groups as inferior and a threat, but also to foster a sense of group superiority and group identity among White settler (predominantly Northern European) Canadians. In the process, a dominant image of what constitutes a true (Canadian) hunter/angler continues to be based on 'Whiteness' but is narrowed down to specific features (i.e. White, Northern European, Canadian-born with a hunting/fishing family and a long settler history) which reveals the complexities and dynamics of group positioning among White Europeans.

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[61] Pyke (2010) explains how defensive othering occurs when an individual utilizes stereotypes against members from one's own racial-ethnic group to distance themselves from such stereotypes and stigmatization.

[62] At the same time, there is a body of literature that highlights how ethnicity is fluid and ethnic boundaries are continually changing (Howard 2000). Those with White European ethnicities have greater freedom and choice to self-identify in ethnic or racial terms and can shift, cross, or blur ethnic boundaries and assimilate into the broader White category when necessary (Nagel 1994; Waters 1990; Wimmer 2008).

[63] Participants explained how these meanings and images were communicated through social media (hunting/fishing groups on Facebook), outdoor shops, interactions with other anglers by the water, or during social gatherings.

To fully understand how and why ethno-racialization and group positioning processes unfold within hunter/angler identity formations, it is necessary to further outline the multiple layers that comprise hunter/angler belief systems, such as the collective meanings held towards hunting/fishing (e.g. connecting with nature), the guidelines and evaluative criteria for authentic in-group membership (e.g. following written/unwritten rules), how they inform hunter/angler identities and roles, and how/why perceived or actual threats against conservation can invoke deep-seated prejudices and even violence.

Learning or strengthening the appreciation for and connection to nature was a common theme within the participants' accounts about what it means to be a hunter and/or angler:

> If you look often at an outdoors person becoming an outdoors person, I think more often than not, you'll gain an appreciation for the outdoors, the environment and that kind of stuff, rather than losing an appreciation if that makes sense. I think you'll care more about the environment after getting into activities like hunting and fishing because you rely on these resources and so, of course, you start to see how much they mean and you care more about them, or you pay attention to something that you may have not before (White, male Int22C7).

Indeed, research has shown that becoming a hunter/angler involves developing a connection with nature and committing to the conservationist role. As previously mentioned, a study about angler identity formation found that as anglers became more specialized over time (i.e. greater skills, knowledge), they developed a greater appreciation for the preservation of habitat and fish populations (Bryan 1977). Likewise, participants articulated the importance of being a conservationist for hunter/angler identities and the role expectations of upholding those values and practices:

> Conservation is extremely important for an angler identity because among most fishers and hunters right now, conservation practices, which promote the future of our fisheries and etc. are extremely important. So, a sense of being a conservationist is strongly ingrained in that identity as a fisher; they just go hand and hand. (South Asian, male Int34C7).
>
> Well, that's part of most outdoor sportsmen is recognizing our responsibility to preserve, to look after the areas we hunt and fish. There is a sense of responsibility! I mean, you hunt, you fish, you use the land, you have a responsibility to look after it and to protect it (White, male Int30C12).

These accounts reveal the boundary work involved in negotiating the meaning of an 'ethical' sports person and in-group member which relies on the moral propensity to fulfill the stewardship role. The boundaries around authentic group membership are much clearer when contrasted with 'inauthentic' members that break hunting/fishing rules– poachers. As mentioned earlier, the label of a poacher is powerful and stigmatizing and

sets the boundaries for the norms, values and codes of behaviour that are promoted, expected, and enforced. One participant described the disdain for poachers within the hunting/fishing community:

> I think people in the community don't want to be classified as a poacher. It is something that is the ultimate kind of evil label, and I think the public is more likely to throw that label on somebody because they don't maybe understand differences in hunting and regulations and stuff like that, but I think as a hunter, like if I was classified as a poacher, that would be the ultimate negative label (White, male Int31C29).

As the participant outlines the impact of the poaching label, he illustrates the sense of stigma attached to hunters (and anglers) that is learned when acquiring a hunter/angler identity and that permeates throughout the hunting/fishing worlds. This provides insight into another dimension behind the strict expectations of maintaining the stewardship role. Rule following behaviour not only protects the environment, but also the image of the hunting/fishing community and, thereby, works as a form of stigma management (i.e. disconfirming stereotypes). A tarnished public image is perceived to result in further regulations and closures to access points for water or land which threatens hunting/fishing opportunities and everything held sacred that hunting/fishing provides. Thus, each individual hunter/angler is expected to police the behaviours of themselves and others to protect the group's public image, and, in turn, protect their group interests and privileges.[64]

The fundamental importance of following the rules, particularly provincial game laws, is crucial for upholding the responsibilities of a true hunter/angler and is the moral foundation on which hunter/angler identities and group boundaries are established. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

> All anglers need to follow the laws (anonymous, social media 2020).

> I think as a hunter, if you want to maintain the sport and it's something you care about, then you have to be paying attention to like limits and following the rules that are set aside by biologists and people that research it because if you don't follow that, you're depleting a resource and that activity of hunting, it is not going to be around forever (White, male Int31C3).

For some participants, relationships with other hunters/anglers were conditional on following the rules. One participant stated how "I had a friend.. I had to discontinue

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[64] Lord and Winter (2021) found similar results among hunting organizations in Australia who encouraged hunters to be "hunting ambassadors" (12) by obeying rules and ethics to protect against public disapproval of hunting.

my friendship with him because I noticed that every time we went fishing, he was catching and keeping everything" (White, male Int35C9).

The expectation and eagerness to enforce the rules and police the behaviour of other hunters/anglers is fundamental to the conservationist role. Several participants and hunter/anglers online described stories of confronting people who were perceived to be breaking the rules. One participant, an avid hunter/angler, explains how "there was *another* incident this year where I caught a guy fishing out of season, and I got into a shouting match with him" (White, male Int2C7, emphasis added).

Within the hunting/fishing groups on social media, these boundaries and the enforcement of rules were continuously reinforced and reaffirmed by posting news articles about the prosecution of rule offenders or posting amateur pictures and videos of rule violations. These posts garnered praise as well as anger and frustration, which plays a subtle but important role in promoting and enforcing hunter/angler codes of behaviour and distinguishing between authentic vs inauthentic in-group members. For instance, in a popular fishing group on Facebook, one angler posted a story about their encounter with 'snaggers'[65] who they claimed to have verbally warned. This provoked a series of reactions:

> Shoot all the snaggers I say (anonymous, social media 2020).
>
> Boot the snaggers every chance you get (anonymous, social media 2020).
>
> Ok, I'll admit it, every time I went to the river, I ended up calling the ministry. F***n disrespectful scum bags (anonymous, social media 2020).

One explanation for the eagerness to enforce the rules among fellow hunters/anglers and partake in a form of 'vigilantism' is the view that the MNRF is underfunded, lacks enough conservation officers, and cannot properly enforce game laws.[66] An avid hunter/angler explains:

> The MNR is probably one of the best government organizations there are, but because they have to be. They're so underfunded…You get some people that come in, and they poach, they take fish out of season, or they're taking animals out of season, or they take too many and go over their limits, and realistically, they don't have enough officers or availability to enforce a lot of it… One of the guys that I fish with actually got to report two guys that were poaching bass out of season to the MNR and got them taken care of at least. That was probably the first

[65] Snagging refers to an illegal and unethical practice of using a large hook without bait to 'snag' the fish anywhere on its body, rather than using bait and techniques to entice a bite and catch the fish through its mouth (Government of Ontario 2022). Snagging would be considered poaching.
[66] In 2019, the Ontario government made deep cuts to the MNRF (Galea 2019); however, in 2021, the government announced the hiring of 25 additional conservation officers (Government of Ontario 2021).

> good story I heard about that in a while, but unfortunately a lot of it goes on and a lot of it doesn't get caught (White, male Int19C16).

In severe cases, some will undertake intimidation, vandalism, and violence to inhibit poaching. In response to a post on social media about an alleged 'snagger', one angler expressed their anger and concerns about the lack of consequences for alleged poachers and reportedly engaged in violence:

> We ran into this!!!! We called cops and everything; had video evidence, cops caught them and released them, back to the creek they went!!!! Best motive for me SMASH THERE TEETH IN walked up and down the creek smashing people and there equipment if they where set up snagging, MNR is nothing they don't have enough funding to employ more people and the police don't wanna deal with the complaints!!!! Break there set ups and they will fuck off [sic] (anonymous, social media, 2020).

As the comments show, there can be intense outrage towards hunters/anglers that are perceived to be offending without repercussion and exploiting the inadequacies within wildlife enforcement which appears to be a motivator to enforce the rules, and for some, ironically engage in unlawful behaviour. Conversely, there is praise and feelings of gratification when offenders are caught and reprimanded. Unfortunately, this eagerness and sense of responsibility can be taken to extreme ends such as violence. Given the racial-ethnic meanings, images, and stereotypes surrounding poaching, this helps explain why certain ethno-racialized groups are targeted with violence and harassment (see chapter four).

In addition to official rules, there are sets of *unwritten rules* within hunter/angler belief systems regarding social etiquette and ethical practices that are encouraged, expected, and sometimes debated. Though these unwritten rules differ between hunting and fishing, there are commonalities that exist in both such as giving each other proper space and respecting public or private property to name a few. One participant explains:

> I think there's definitely a lot of unspoken rules in both communities. I think one that we already talked about is giving each other space. So, if you are hunting in public land and there's a car already parked on that side of that lot, you have to really consider like the size of the property and if it's land that can handle two people. You have to know where the other hunters are for safety aspects (White, male Int31C30).

Another participant, who is an avid (East Asian) angler, describes in more detail the unwritten rules within fishing:

> One thing is like giving people some space. Not walking through a body of water or boating through a body of water when someone is fishing…It could be also just

> being very loud and obnoxious. Some of the people, they do drugs when they're out in the water… Not leaving trash. Some people leave trash or, as an example, let's say during salmon season, people will catch a fish and they will gut it and throw it out on the grass. That's not a cool thing to do either. If you're cutting your line, don't throw the line on the ground…In terms of protecting the environment and as anglers, we try to hold ourselves up to higher standards– how you handle a fish or how you catch a fish. If someone is going over, and let's say they spot a fish, and they try to catch it with their bare hands or with a net, which you can't do, it's stuff like that (East Asian, male Int48C11a).

Both participants reveal the importance of giving others proper space to hunt/fish either for safety reasons or to avoid disturbing peoples' experiences. Within fishing, the latter participant articulates the role of anglers as environmental protectors who have the responsibility of upholding 'higher standards' such as the proper disposal of fish carcasses and litter as well as handling and catching fish in an ethical (and legal) manner.

The standards for proper handling and fishing techniques connect to the broader discussion in the fishing world involving catch and release practices (versus fishing strictly for food) and other ethical guidelines which are sometimes debated. The ethics of catch and release in sport fishing are rooted in the 'sporting code' which encourages humane practices to ensure the survival of fish populations, so other anglers can continue to enjoy fishing. Proper handling of fish, particularly when taking and posting a picture on social media, is highly encouraged, expected, and policed in online fishing groups. Anglers who were perceived to be handling the fish improperly would often be informed or chastised. For example, when one angler posted a picture of themselves holding a fish incorrectly, another angler corrected him by saying, "nice fish, now work on proper handling and etiquette on and around the water and you're on your way to success" (anonymous, social media, 2020). The reason for this is two-fold. First, proper handling increases the fish's chances of being revived when released back into the water. Second, properly handling and reviving the fish shows respect and promotes conservation, which also acts as a form of stigma management and protects anglers' public image, especially in the face of criticisms from animal rights advocates.

At the same time, there are debates and divides between anglers who practice catch and release and those who fish for food (Schroeder et al 2006; Campbell 1989). A participant explains:

> There is just a lot of sport fishermen that don't believe in keeping their fish. They release everything. In my family, there were certain kinds of fish that we keep and that we eat and that we freeze them, but we're respecting all the rules and regulations obviously. But there is a group of fishermen out there that purely do it for sport and they like to catch and release (White, male Int10C10).

This debate is prevalent within fishing groups on social media. For instance, one angler advocated for catch and release and blamed subsistent anglers for allegedly decreasing fish populations which led to the closure of fishing in certain areas:

> No one should count on fishing and hunting for food. This is a sport; harvesting is bad for the sport. And you're the same people complaining about how fishing sucks now. Sad to say. But it's the harvester's fault. Please learn catch and release. This way we can all keep catching fish (anonymous, social media, 2020).

Additionally, although there are official catch limits for various species, there is an unwritten rule, particularly in fishing, to avoid consistently keeping fish and reaching the limits, so that fish populations are preserved:

> So, catch and release, a buddy of mine says, 'catch your limit, but limit your catch;' meaning like don't take everything you get, right, just take what you need and put everything back…There is an unwritten thing where like even if you're catching your limit, people will look at you like you really need that much? (White, male Int35C8)

As mentioned earlier, following the official and unofficial rules is motivated by a desire and duty to avoid stigmatizing hunters/anglers and to maintain a positive public image (Lord and Winter 2021). Managing the self and one's behaviour becomes a form of stigma management on behalf of the group and is thought to prevent the loss of hunting/fishing opportunities via the closure of public access to land or water due to complaints over unethical and illegal behaviour (i.e. littering, leaving carcasses, etc.). Therefore, those who break the rules are felt to be hurting the hunting/fishing community as a whole and ruining opportunities for everyone:

> Anglers within our group, we try to promote good etiquette because we know how easy it is to lose our access to our shorelines. We have already seen certain areas being closed to fishing and there's more and more pressure to prohibit fishing within areas…We don't want to lose any more. We don't want a few bad apples to be so visible to the general public that they view all anglers as people without etiquette, that we get more of our shorelines closed. And we have to fight tooth and nails just to maintain our shoreline access (East Asian, male Int52C54).

> Now snagging is cheating and where is the fun in that, like come on now. Just gives the rest of us a bad name and we suffer the consequences (anonymous, social media, 2020).

Alongside the responsibilities of following (and enforcing) the rules, participants utilized a frame comprised of a shared sense of duty to preserve the environment for 'future generations,' including everyone outside hunting/fishing. The prevalence of this language throughout the interviews (and outdoor organizations) suggests an available

frame within hunter/angler belief systems that provides the scripts and meanings about the hunter/angler role and duty to preserve the environment and ultimately the hunting/fishing community. This is exemplified below:

> You want to take care of it [nature] for future generations because my aunts and uncles and grandparents, they all took care of it and that way down the road when I have my kids I can take them to the same lakes, and hopefully they'll be able to enjoy the kind of fishing that I did as a young kid growing up (White, male Int11C1).

These feelings and beliefs about the duty to preserve the environment for others is crucial for a hunter/angler identity and appears to give a sense of purpose and strengthen one's devotion to the hunter/angler role and the community. This is based on a view that they are fulfilling a noble and altruistic obligation to preserve the environment and the future of sport hunting/fishing as well as ensuring the passions and traditions continue for everyone.

The use of this language by non-Indigenous sport hunters/anglers, however, has significant implications. It illustrates how racial and settler colonial ideologies permeate covertly within hunter/angler belief systems which indirectly and perhaps unintentionally contributes to glossing over land dispossession and legitimizing settlers' sense of ownership over Indigenous land. Within this frame, there is a vision and assumption that settlers are and should be preserving (Indigenous) land for present and future *settler* generations, but participants did not mention or consider Indigenous sovereignty and stewardship.

Though the meaning behind 'future generations' intends to include everyone, Indigenous people and their longstanding relationships to this land are rendered invisible and become merged within the confines of a settler Canadian future where settlers replace Indigenous people as stewards of the land (Wolfe 2006). The ongoing history of treaties, betrayal, and land theft that enabled non-Indigenous people to hunt/fish and live on this land is disregarded, and instead, a conflict-free future is envisioned where settlers, particularly settler hunters/anglers, are carrying out their role as conservationists and the responsibility of preserving the environment for the benefit of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike. The 'future generations' language does not directly advocate for the erasure of Indigenous peoples or Indigenous histories, but its ideological functions work to overlook, undermine, and replace Indigenous stewardship and ownership with that of settlers and justify and legitimate land theft from the past and pre-emptively for the future.

In short, identifying as a hunter/angler includes learning and adopting belief systems with a web of shared meanings about relevant roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour which fundamentally revolve around conservation, environmental stewardship,

and the sacredness of following the rules (Hogg, Terry and White 1995). However, within hunter/angler belief systems are meanings and images that constitute racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies that continue to define and ethno-racialize certain groups as poachers and a threat. As such, understanding these belief systems, the importance of hunting/fishing for one's identity, and the deep sentimental meanings, emotional attachments, and nostalgic memories that hunting/fishing provides can help illuminate the ways intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning reproduce social hierarchies in Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds.

As well, the settler colonial ideologies within settler hunting/fishing that work to justify land dispossession and the replacement of Indigenous people as land stewards intersect with and are strengthened by national meanings and narratives about Canadian identity, culture, and heritage. Within these meanings and narratives is a romanticized settler history of the fur trade accompanied with images of early pioneers enduring a tough wilderness and surviving by hunting and fishing. As will be shown in the next section, imagery of Indigenous people is appropriated in hunting/fishing and in national narratives to provide settlers with a "link to the land" (Mackey 1998, 152) and to equate Indigenous-settler histories, cultures, experiences, and connections to the land. This helps settlers 'become Indigenous' (Mackey 1998, 1999) and legitimizes settlers' sense of ownership over Indigenous land.

Hunting, Fishing, and National Identities: Reproducing Settler Colonial Ideologies

Hunting and fishing (and trapping) have been an integral part of settler colonial expansion and building a nation and a national settler identity. Since Confederation, Canadian national identity and mythology have been defined by symbolic images of the 'Great North' and the vast and pristine wilderness that is home to an abundance of wildlife, which provided settlers with plentiful hunting, fishing, and other outdoor sport opportunities (Mackey 1998, 1999; Wamsley 1994). For this reason, hunting/fishing has played a pivotal role in shaping national narratives, identities, and a sense of heritage through images of a mythical and romantic history of the fur trade, settler expansion, and pioneers enduring an unforgiving northern climate and landscape through hunting/fishing lifestyles. Likewise, these images reciprocally shape hunting/fishing identities and allow hunters/anglers to return to a settler history, build relationships with nature, and partake in and enact a national (and familial) tradition that is considered a significant part of Canadian identity and heritage (Mackey 1998, 1999; Wamsley 1994; Franklin 1998).

At its foundation, the wilderness and connecting with nature have been central to the various meanings held towards hunting/fishing and to the participants' identities on multiple levels. These symbolic images and meanings of nature become the link that connects, mutually reinforces and shapes personal, familial, (sub)cultural, regional, and

national identities in a reciprocal fashion and strengthens the importance of hunting/fishing for those identities in varying degrees.

Accordingly, the importance of hunting/fishing for a national identity rests on the symbolic images of the wilderness and experiencing the outdoors. This is clearly articulated in the following excerpts:

> *Q: Do you think hunting/fishing is important for a national identity? Why or why not?*
>
> I would say, yeah, it's pretty important to the identity of being Canadian. We have such great natural resources here, and we have so many lakes and majority of the world's fresh water is here kind of thing. That is just part of it, you know, part of being Canadian is going fishing with your dad or whatever as a kid. Even if you don't catch anything; just being outdoors and experiencing the Canadian outdoors is just part of being Canadian (White, woman Int28C6).
>
> I think it is because we have so much territory and our natural resources are so abundant and through our history, hunting and fishing has been an important part and continues to play an important part particularly for rural populations. I just think it's important for Canadians to experience nature (White, male Int13C2).

Throughout these participants' responses, there are several meanings that are complementary and range from childhood memories and family bonding to settler histories and rural traditions which intermingle with and connect to national narratives of experiencing the wilderness. As well, the participants illustrate how these various meanings towards hunting/fishing are fluid, interactive, and not only inform perceptions of a national identity but also shape and connect familial and regional identities.

Moreover, participants emphasized the benefits of having the freedom and ability to access the vast number of lakes and forests and how this informs Canadian identity:

> Hunting and fishing to me is part of Canada…Just even Ontario, there are thousands upon thousands of lakes and woods and that is what is beautiful about Canada. And we have the freedom to go enjoy those lakes and the woods and camping (White, male Int18C12b).

The freedom to access and enjoy the land was a theme expressed earlier at the personal level and shows how such meanings inform, operate at, and link together other levels of identity. Within these excerpts, the wilderness is what defines a Canadian identity and the freedom to hunt/fish and 'take advantage' of the outdoor opportunities is a means to simultaneously enact Canadian and other identities.

Although participants thought hunting/fishing was important for a Canadian identity, many had difficulty answering relevant questions and acknowledged the

ambiguity and flexibility that has problematized Canadian identity formation since Confederation (Mackey 1999).[67] Specifically, eighteen participants expressed mixed views and believed it was a disappearing tradition or asserted that its national importance was felt more by rural populations or strictly among hunters/anglers:

> *Q- Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for Canadian national identity?*
>
> Personally, I do. It actually makes me sad that in the news you hear more and more townships and municipalities are passing by-laws that prohibit the discharge of firearms within their limits which then infringes on hunting or different types of hunting, but I do think it's what our country was built on was a self-reliance in the 'great white north,' and so, I think it is a very important part of our national identity, but it is a part that is disappearing (White, male Int21C7a).
>
> That is a hard one. Suburban and rural? Yes. In the urban, I don't think anybody who has ever been, has not had the opportunity to hunt before, or a background to it would really understand… If you haven't experienced it, it's hard to associate with identity (White, male Int30C5).

The perceived differences towards hunting/fishing and national identity reveals the complexities and nuances within collective identity formation and adds to the ongoing identity politics that have long complicated the construction of a Canadian identity (Mackey 1999). What remains clear is the importance of being in and enjoying the wilderness for Canadian (or rural) identities.

In addition to Canadian identity, hunting/fishing was also considered an important part of Canada's culture and heritage[68] that needed to be maintained. For thirty-one participants, hunting/fishing conjured up romantic images and nostalgic memories of the fur trade, nation-building, and (white) settlers surviving off the land. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

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[67] Mackey (1999) explains how "The project of Canadian nation-building is an extremely contradictory, conflicted, contested and incomplete process" (31).

[68] Culture and heritage are overlapping but separate concepts and scholars have outlined various definitions. Culture has been defined as a "collective representation" comprised of a "set of publicly shared codes or repertoires, building blocks that structure people's ability to think and to share ideas." (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003, 735). Concurrently, heritage is defined as a "cultural practice" (Smith 2006, 11) or a "mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past" (quoted in Nagy-Sándor and Berkers 2018, 402) which reproduces a multitude of values and ways of understanding. Constructing, practicing, and preserving heritage may be orchestrated by experts like archaeologists, architects, museum curators, etc., or it may occur through "economic and/or leisure practices and/or social and cultural practices" (Smith 2006, 13) that connect to (national) identity formation. At the same time, the discourse of heritage can also reflect and result from unequal power relations between those who can define and reproduce what constitutes heritage and those who cannot (Smith 2006, 13).

> Canada was built on the fur trade and that is what really funded our country to become a country. So, hunting and fishing has always kind of been a big part of Canadian culture and just basic survival as Canada was becoming a country (White, woman Int28C7).

> Even if it's become a bit less prominent in terms of our culture now in certain parts, as heritage, it's a huge thing. So, when the first people that sailed from Europe to Canada, they came here basically all because of hunting and that's why they stayed. So, yeah, I believe it's a huge part of the heritage that we even see it today with the Hudson Bay Company; how they started off as a trapping company selling furs and now they're still here today, and they're like one of those big, more iconic Canadian brands (White, male Int38C6).

As these quotes show, the participants articulate a romantic, conflict-free version of the fur trade and nation building with hunting/fishing as the primary means in which the nation and national identities, culture, and heritage are established. Iconic images of the Hudson Bay Company are viewed as symbols of Canada's hunting/fishing past and present and hold deep sentimental meanings that are intricately woven throughout hunting/fishing and national discourses.

These meanings and iconic images connecting hunting/fishing with national narratives also allows one to return to and re-enact a settler Canadian history and engage in both a national and family tradition:

> I think it is a very prominent feature of Canada's heritage. I know my grandmother showed me letters from her great uncle and from her father going back and forth about her great-uncle trying to persuade her father to come over and, in his words, 'all you need to make it work in Canada is a strong work ethic and a good rifle.' That was his words and that's one that has always stuck with me (White, male Int19C14).

> The Indigenous people being here, that was a main part of their existence. The settlers that came here after the fact, same thing; and now in a modern time, a few hundred years, it goes further than that– it's traditional, like I told you with my grandfather. My grandfather learned from his grandfather that his family have been in the area since the late 1700s. They came from Europe that long ago and had been hunting those woods since that time, so you're looking at 250 years of tradition (White, male Int1C35).

Both participants show how hunting/fishing is a crucial means to connect with their family's settler histories and continue the longstanding use of the land that spans over several generations. Part of this is a feeling they are partaking in and contributing to a national tradition that is perceived to be vital to Canada's culture and heritage. The first excerpt shows the strong influence that stories of one's settler history can have on

reaffirming the role of hunting within familial and national traditions. The second participant also emphasizes their family's history of hunting/fishing and settlement but shows an attempt to equate settler and Indigenous peoples' use of and relationships with the land. Equating Indigenous and settler experiences and cultures was common within several participants' accounts and has been shown to be a linguistic strategy utilized by settler hunters/anglers and sport organizations to oppose and undermine Indigenous peoples' treaty hunting/fishing rights and their claims to land (Martino 2021).

Correspondingly, responses also revealed similar processes that unfold within broader national narratives wherein representations of Indigenous people are appropriated to symbolize Canada's heritage and early foundations. Mackey (1998, 1999) shows that within modern national narratives, which celebrate cultural pluralism, multiculturalism and 'tolerance,' Indigenous people are depicted as part of Canada's past and as background helpers to settlement, settler progress, and the development of an industrial settler nation carved out from an 'untamed' wilderness. Underlying these narratives are meanings about a linear, conflict-free transformation of Indigenous people living in harmony with the land who willingly pass the torch onto settlers, so they can "become Indigenous" and the new stewards of the land and continue that harmonious relationship. Above all, these appropriated images of Indigenous people are critical to national narratives in that they provide settlers with the "natural link to the land" (Mackey 1998, 152) which reaffirms settlers' sense of linear progress, creates settler innocence, and legitimizes Canadians' home on Native land. The prominence of hunting/fishing for Canadian culture and heritage, as conveyed by eleven participants, clearly illustrates and enhances this process:

> Canadian hunters and anglers are known for sportsmanship, and I mean the "thank you's" that are there and the communication and everything is there. It is a competitive sport, but it's one that we look at as part of our culture because we've had an Indian heritage, the Eskimo and that type of thing that are here. I think it's just part of being Canadian, who we are (White, woman Int27C31).

> I believe it is a big part of our culture and heritage. And the Natives, they do the same thing, so basically, I'm just doing what the people that came here first do, and I enjoy it (White, male Int17C5a).

These excerpts show that the participants' view of hunting/fishing in national narratives reproduces and strengthens the images of Indigenous people as background helpers who are stagnant in time within the confines of Canada's heritage. Concurrently, the participants equate and conflate Indigenous and settler traditions and cultures under the umbrella of Canadian culture and heritage (Mackey 1998, 152).

Within these and other participants' responses, the history of land theft, displacement, broken treaty obligations, and the overall genocide of Indigenous people is

often swept under a conflict-free settler narrative that glorifies and romanticizes settler expansion and pioneers braving a harsh climate and building a nation from an 'empty' wilderness. In some cases, participants even glorify the direct role of hunters/anglers within colonial expansion while ignoring the overall process of land theft and genocide:

> *Q- Do you feel hunting or fishing is important for Canada's culture or heritage?*
>
> Yeah, definitely, and that's because of that association between the perception that people have of what Canada is, which is a lot of pristine wilderness area. So, that is a very important image for us to keep as a culture, as a nation I think, as well as even just historically, just how Canada as a nation came about. There was a lot of trappers and fishers that were involved within the building of Canada. The whole exploration of our Western areas and Northern areas were mainly due to trappers and hunters. So, again, just to keep our Canadian identity and heritage, I think it's very important that we maintain our image as anglers and hunters within our Canadian culture (East Asian, male Int52C10).
>
> Yes, I think it is. I think there is just so many places across Canada that we've reached, and you don't get there without hunting and fishing for sustenance. All of our road networks and trails and everything that have come before us were put in place by people who hunted and fished to survive (White, male Int2C1).

In these excerpts, the doctrine of discovery and terra-nullius, which has long fuelled and justified colonialism across the world (Miller 2019; Asch 2002), is visible in the way the wilderness is characterized as an empty frontier that was explored and charted by hunters/anglers who were instrumental in the nation-building project. However, what's left out of these comments is that Indigenous people had already established intricate trade networks that spanned across the continent, many of which our current travel and transportation infrastructures were built and expanded on (Morse 2019; Manore 2016). Also, it is important to note that early White European big game hunters often relied on Indigenous people as guides to help navigate and travel the land (Gillespie 2002). Furthermore, these routes and roads that were mapped and constructed marked the beginning of an accelerated influx of settlers, resource extraction economies, the clearing of forests, and the manipulation of waterways[69] that would bolster settler nation-building and transform Indigenous landscapes into settler landscapes both geographically/spatially (e.g. destruction and/or transformation of ecosystems) and ideologically (i.e. by recasting the land as a commodity and a site for leisure and recreation) (Manore 2016).

At the same time, some participants acknowledge the history of colonialism but fall short of expressing meaningful and genuine criticisms.[70] Rather, this

[69] Such as the construction of railways and road systems as well as dams, canals, and locks (Manore 2016).
[70] However, other participants expressed criticisms towards settler colonialism and anti-treaty sentiment within hunting/fishing. See chapter six.

acknowledgement becomes secondary to the efforts of equating settler and Indigenous histories and cultures and advocating to maintain a settler hunting/fishing heritage and settler relationships with the land:

> I think there has been a long heritage within Canada going back to Confederation, I mean, even before that with the Natives, that was their way of life– hunting, fishing, and gathering. The first settlers, trappers did hunting, fishing, trading, all those things. I'm not saying that our Canadian past has been anything but horrific to our Indigenous people don't get me wrong, but there is definitely a culture that needs to be maintained, even outside of the Indigenous community (White, male Int7C13a).

> I think hunting and fishing has always been a part of Canadian tradition whether or not you're talking about settlers or you're talking about the First Nations people who lived here, and I feel like that's an ingrained part of our country's DNA. I mean we were founded in the fur trade for God sakes, like that's one of the reasons why it was okay for White people to commit genocide because we needed those fancy beaver hats. But whether we like our history or not in some ways, it [hunting/fishing] was a part of it and it is an integral part of keeping people aware of the value of nature (White, male Int46C33).

Maintaining a national settler heritage and identity around hunting/fishing and experiencing the wilderness in juxtaposition to Indigenous people has profound ramifications. Whether intentional or not, equating Indigenous and settler traditions and experiences based on hunting/fishing lifestyles is a false equivalency that discredits Indigenous peoples' longstanding relationships to the land, which date back hundreds and even thousands of years prior to European contact. By contrast, European colonists have not been here as long and do not have the same ancestral ties and deep (spiritual, cosmological, ontological, and epistemological) relationships with the land.

Also, equating and conflating Indigenous-settler cultures, histories, and experiences of hunting/fishing within nation-building narratives is a powerful ideological tool that can contribute to and strengthen processes that appropriate Indigenous imagery (and language) and help settlers "become Indigenous" to the land (Mackey 1998, 152). When coupled with the role of stewardship within hunter/angler belief systems, this can further consolidate settler's sense of group position and superiority and proprietary claims to and ownership over Indigenous land. Thus, the symbolic and practical importance of the wilderness for national (as well as hunter/angler) identities, which revolve around experiencing and connecting with nature can work both intentionally and unintentionally to undermine Indigenous peoples' identities, sovereignty and stewardship, uphold settler colonial power and privileges, and provide justifications for land dispossession and broken treaty obligations. The intentional mobilization of this language to criticize and

discredit Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and land-based relationships is revealed by one participant:

> *Q- Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for a Canadian national identity?*
>
> I do. We were bred and born to take advantage of these opportunities. My father, my uncles, my cousins, their ancestors, they used to have a large trapping component, which is now on the decline. We have a large Native component, I should say Indigenous rather than Native, component who are given "carte blanche" to take what they want from the land and that is entrenched in their treaty rights as it stands now. I really don't feel it's necessarily inequitable, but I probably have more connection with the land as a Canadian and know a lot more about it than a lot of Indigenous [people] do (White, male Int24C11a).

As they begin outlining the meanings underlying the role of hunting/fishing within Canadian identity (i.e. taking advantage of outdoor opportunities, settler history, declining tradition), the participant abruptly switches to the terrain of Indigenous-settler relations and strategically highlights their sense of superior knowledge and their relationship to the land in an effort to oppose and discredit Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and connections to the land.

This participant's views are not an isolated occurrence but rather connect to a collective anti-treaty ideology that has long pervaded the belief systems in hunting/fishing (see chapter six). Emphasizing and equating settler and Indigenous histories, traditions, and relationships with the land have also been strategically mobilized by prominent sport organizations, such as the OFAH, to oppose and legally challenge the further recognition of Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and land claims (Martino 2016, 2021). Within their extensive anti-treaty advocacy towards the Algonquin land claim, the OFAH stress the need for the 'fair sharing' of resources in the claim area and explain how:

> Resource sharing must recognize that hunting and fishing, and other resource uses are an integral part of the heritage and traditions of nonaboriginal peoples in the claim area (some 7th generation). All Crown lands in the claim area have existing uses (forestry licenses, hunting camps, trap lines, parks, etc.). Hunting and fishing are essential to the well-being of all participants, regardless of ancestry or "rights" (OFAH Algonquin Input 2015, 3).

As the quote shows, the OFAH draws on egalitarian arguments and attempt to equate Indigenous-settler histories and experiences to undermine the Algonquin peoples' relationships with and claims to the land as well as their hunting/fishing rights. Furthermore, the reference to '7th generation' is also an appropriation of Indigenous peoples' values and language. For instance, the Haudenosaunee have a seventh-generation principle of upholding a responsibility to future generations within decision-making (Graham 2008; Haudenosaunee Confederacy 2022). Used within the context of

opposing land claims, this appropriation appears like a strategic attempt to uphold settler power, privilege, and entitlement to Indigenous land for future (settler) generations.

Alongside their anti-treaty advocacy, the OFAH have successfully lobbied the government to implement the *Heritage Hunting and Fishing Act 2002*, which recognizes settlers' hunting and fishing "rights" and heritage and the important contributions to wildlife management by settler hunters/anglers (OFAH 2002). This legislation echoes the comments from the participants who describe how a hunting/fishing heritage needs to be maintained. Additionally, the OFAH was a staunch supporter of the *National Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Heritage Day Act 2014* which celebrates and acknowledges the significance of hunting, fishing, and trapping to Canada's economy, heritage, and the overall nation-building project (OFAH 2014). Considering the OFAH's anti-treaty lobbying, this legislation gives fuel and legitimacy to ordinary settlers who equate Indigenous and settler peoples, which can resonate among hunters/anglers with similar views and become mobilized to oppose treaty rights or land claims in the future.

The discourse of 'heritage' has received criticisms for the underlying presumptions that Canadian heritage was, is, or should be essentially White European. Throughout Canada's nation-building process, the construction of national images and identities around nature have been situated in meanings of Whiteness (White-British-Europeanness). Mackey (1998) explains that "since the formation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 images of nature, the wilderness, and the north have defined Canadian national identity, often in racialized terms as white settler identity" (151). As such, Canadian identity and heritage continue to be nested in assumptions of Whiteness and the belief that 'authentic' or original Canadians (and sport hunters/anglers) are essentially White, Northern European (Bannerji 2000; Mackey 1999).

Criticisms towards the heritage discourse and its white supremacist underpinnings were also expressed by one participant, an avid hunter, who highlighted the multiple ways this discourse is used, particularly within national narratives of hunting/fishing:

> I think it [hunting/fishing] is a prominent part of the heritage of Canada. I do think that the word heritage is a loaded one for sure. It's one that I try not to use because of the connotations that exist with it… Heritage has always been co-opted in many different ways and has also been used in some extremely abhorrent ways… There's a lot of conversations going on right now with people and the argument for why they want to keep their Confederate flag, and the reason they point to is heritage (White, male Int14C42).
>
> *Q- How do you think it's problematic when it's used within hunting and fishing?*
>
> Because sometimes people saying that they value hunting and fishing because it's a part of their heritage when really, they're using that as a somewhat dog whistle term for more thinly veiled racism (Int14C42b).

In short, the importance of hunting/fishing for Canada's culture, heritage, and identity as described by the participants, is rooted in experiencing and connecting with nature and Canada's colonial past which has significant ideological consequences for fostering settlers' sense of group position, superiority, and proprietary claims to Indigenous land.

Conclusion

In conclusion, to understand the social hierarchies within hunting/fishing, including processes of ethno-racialization and group positioning that sustain such hierarchies, it's imperative to analyze how they operate through intersubjective meaning-making and hunter/angler identity formation processes and how a sense of group position and superiority can develop while acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity.

In all, participants revealed the importance of hunting/fishing for their identities on multiple levels and revealed the interplay and merging of personal and group-based identities through the collectively shared meanings, emotional attachments, and nostalgic memories they held towards hunting/fishing. Hunting/fishing was a way to build (or maintain) relationships with family and friends, continue a family legacy, obtain independence via self-sufficient food supply, learn about and connect with nature, partake in a familial or national tradition and cultural practice, and return to and re-enact a settler Canadian history. Thus, these intersubjective meanings were interwoven throughout and reciprocally shaped personal, familial, hunter/angler, regional, and national identities. For instance, meanings about self-reliance and connecting with nature on a personal level were linked not only to being a hunter/angler but also to a sense of Canadian heritage and identity and nostalgic, romanticized memories about Canada's settler hunting/fishing history. Indeed, understanding the material and symbolic importance of hunting/fishing can provide insight into what's at stake when hunting/fishing opportunities, identities, etc. are perceived to be under threat, particularly by out-groups who are overwhelmingly defined and ethno-racialized as poachers.

As such, participants also revealed a shared understanding about in and out group boundaries and what defines being a true hunter, angler, or 'outdoors/sports person.' In accordance with Identity/Social Identity and Group Position theories, participants showed that becoming a hunter/angler involves learning, negotiating, or reaffirming hunter/angler belief systems, including shared meanings about the roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour that are centred on environmental stewardship, connecting with the land, and the sacredness of following written/unwritten rules. Those who break the rules can be labelled a poacher which carries a strong stigma within the hunting/fishing worlds that can lead to rejection and criticisms from others to threats and even violence. Although the poacher label can be applied to anyone regardless of their social position(s), the findings showed that Indigenous people, Asian Canadians, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern

Europeans, are defined and ethno-racialized as poachers who are perceived to be more susceptible to over-hunting/fishing and breaking the rules.

At its core, hunter/angler belief systems contain shared meanings and images that constitute overlapping racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies which not only define and ethno-racialize out-groups as morally and environmentally inferior but foster a sense of group superiority among predominantly White, (Northern European) Canadian-born hunters/anglers with a multigenerational settler history. As a result, group boundaries are forged, White supremacy is nurtured, ethno-racialized hierarchies are sustained, and White Canadian-born hunters/anglers position themselves on the top of this hierarchy in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, and commitment to hunter/angler roles, responsibilities, and the broader outdoor community. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Furthermore, the importance of hunting/fishing for a Canadian identity, culture, and heritage not only rests on and interacts with symbolic images of the wilderness (and Whiteness), but also reproduces settler colonial ideologies that legitimize and justify land dispossession and nurture settlers' sense ownership and stewardship over Indigenous land. National narratives and conflict-free images of settlers hunting/fishing an unforgiving wilderness or settler hunters/anglers travelling and charting out maps for colonial expansion were invoked by some participants. However, these narratives overlooked the history of genocide and dispossession, as well as Indigenous peoples' sovereignty and stewardship that has been ongoing since time immemorial. Instead, Indigenous and settler peoples' hunting/fishing histories and cultures were equated and conflated under the umbrella of settler Canadian culture and heritage. From this, Indigenous people were/are casted as part of Canada's heritage (via fur trade) and background helpers to settler colonial nation-building. This (false) equivalency is a powerful ideological tool that helps settlers 'become Indigenous' and the new stewards of Indigenous land (Mackey 1998, 1999).

Building on this understanding about intersubjective meaning-making and hunter/angler (and other) identities and belief systems, the following chapter will explore in more detail the meanings and images that constitute ideological frameworks underlying processes of ethno-racialization, identity formation, and group positioning in Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds.

Chapter Four: Casting the Racial-Ethnic Line: Group Positioning and the Ethno-Racialization of Poaching

Racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial[71] (anti-treaty rights) ideologies in hunting/fishing are complex, collectively shared, and can shape intergroup relations and experiences and how certain groups are evaluated, scrutinized, categorized, and ethno-racialized as poachers and inauthentic members of the outdoor community. The preceding chapter highlighted how acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity involves learning not only wide-ranging belief systems about the roles, responsibilities, and evaluative criteria for in-group membership, which are centred around environmental stewardship and 'following the rules' (Hogg, Terry and White 1995), but also the meanings and images that form the basis of these ideologies.

This chapter will outline in more detail the ethno-racializing and group positioning processes within hunting/fishing by analyzing the meanings and images that constitute racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies and how they can foster a sense of group superiority among White settler Canadian hunters/anglers. Like other sport and recreational activities (Adair and Rowe 2010), an ethno-racialized social hierarchy has emerged in hunting/fishing which is a microcosm of the broader racial order; however, it embodies a unique composition. Indeed, what makes this hierarchy unique is how it has developed through the culmination of persistent, historically based racial-ethnic boundaries between White, Asian, and Indigenous peoples (Baird 2019; Goutor 2007; Glenn 2015), as well as among White Europeans (e.g. Northern, Eastern, Southern Europeans) (Porter 1965; Galabuzi 2005; Satzewich 2000) that continues to fuel Canada's ongoing settler colonial project as it unfolds within hunting/fishing (Glenn 2015; Pulla 2012). As a result, the ethno-racialization and group positioning processes in hunting/fishing are flexible, multidimensional, and situate numerous ethno-racialized groups on various levels of this hierarchy in terms of perceived morals, rule following behaviours, level of experience, culinary and dietary customs, and a commitment to hunter/angler roles, responsibilities, and the larger outdoor community.

As this chapter will show, elements of Colour-Blind Racism (Bonilla-Silva 2018) were apparent in the way predominantly White (Northern European), Canadian-born hunters/anglers drew on similar frames, styles, and stories with meanings and images that

[71] In this thesis, I distinguish between racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies to highlight the differences in the way they are conveyed and how they define and impact Indigenous people compared to non-White, ethno-racialized groups (immigrant, non-citizen, and Canadian-born) within a Canadian settler colonial context. Settler ideologies overlap with racial-ethnic/anti-immigrant ideologies due to their ethno-racializing features that have long labelled and categorized Indigenous people as inferior and White Europeans as superior. However, settler ideologies extend deeper into beliefs that disregard treaty relations and Indigenous sovereignty, oppose treaty hunting/fishing rights, and aim to legitimize land dispossession, justify settler's sense of ownership and stewardship over land, and defend ongoing settler colonial structures and the racial-ethnic order (Glenn 2015; McKay, Vinyeta and Norgaard 2020).

define and ethno-racialize East Asians, South Asians, Indigenous peoples, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern Europeans, as poachers, as inferior, and as a group threat. In the process, they define themselves as morally and environmentally superior. Through Colour Blind Racism, racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial/anti-treaty ideologies, and the meanings and images that sustain them, are learned, negotiated, reproduced, reaffirmed, and sometimes challenged while acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity, specifically during routine and mundane interactions among hunters/anglers online and offline.[72] From this, micro processes of intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning converge and distinguish between in and out group members and lay the grounds to develop, strengthen, or challenge White Canadian hunter/anglers' sense of group superiority and position at the top of this ethno-racialized hierarchy.

"It's Not Just Asians! It's Eastern Europeans as Well:" Ethno-Racialization and Group Positioning in a Multigroup Context

Blumer (1958) discusses how images that define and redefine 'subordinate groups' as a threat are communicated among 'dominant' group members throughout numerous facets of life and interactions where "currents of view and currents of feeling" (5) converge, strengthen, and reproduce these images and nurture the dominant group's sense of superiority and entitlement to power and privileges. However, Blumer does not outline how abstract and collective images of ethno-racialized, deviant 'others' and the dominant group's sense of group position can develop within other identity formations, such as during the process of becoming a hunter/angler.

Within hunting/fishing, the collectively shared racial-ethnic and colonial meanings and images that ethno-racialize groups and foster a sense of group superiority are highly flexible and overlapping but differ in content, context (i.e. hunting vs fishing), and how they are applied to and impact White versus non-White hunters/anglers. At the centre of these images is a stereotype that members from ethno-racialized groups have a higher propensity to break the rules and etiquette (i.e. regulations, littering), ignore hunter/angler roles and responsibilities, hurt the environment, and jeopardize the hunting/fishing opportunities of the outdoor community and everything held sacred that hunting/fishing provides (e.g. sense of identity, family bonding, therapy, etc.). As well, these images are rooted in broader, historically based xenophobic sentiments in the way they characterize ethno-racialized groups, such as East Asian and South Asian Canadians, as 'perpetual foreigners' that are new to Canada and unaware of the rules and etiquette in sport hunting/fishing (Huynh and Woo 2015; Alvarez and Kimura 2001). To a lesser degree, Eastern European hunters/anglers are also defined and ethno-racialized as

[72] The data shows that the communication and reproduction of racial-ethnic and settler colonial/anti-treaty ideologies was heightened during specific hunting or fishing seasons (e.g. moose or salmon).

deviants,[73] but this appears to be less prevalent and conveyed with less resentment than those that define and impact People of Colour. According to participants, these images pervaded both hunting/fishing, but the fishing world was reported to have greater intergroup contact and participation by People of Colour compared to hunting and is where the ethno-racialization of multiple groups is most evident.

Within fishing, White Eastern and Southern European anglers faced similar stereotyping and ethno-racialization as Asian anglers. Fishing excessively, indiscriminately, and keeping everything that is caught, regardless of the size, species, or season are behaviours that were simultaneously attributed to White Eastern European and East Asian anglers:

> It's not just Asians! It's Eastern Europeans as well. They have a bit of a stigma when it comes to keeping fish, especially from very public spots where people are seeing them catching fish quite often and keeping them (White, male Int2C15).
>
> I find that Asian and [White Eastern] Europeans have a 'they can do whatever they want and there's no consequence', and I mean that's not to say that it is every Asian or every European, but I mean, I definitely think there's a large group that do that (White, male Int35C10a).

The first participant expresses their awareness of and belief in the racial-ethnic stigmas towards (East) Asian and White Eastern European anglers to which they were exposed. From these comments (and the overall interview), it appears these views were mutually reinforced by personal experiences and the comments from other anglers who reportedly witnessed overfishing in public spots. Though the participant did not disclose the details of their or others' appraisals of overfishing, they confidently feel such images hold truth. This raises questions about the way such evaluations are conducted– how does one know if someone is Eastern European? How do they know they were breaking rules? Was it the same person being observed over time? Was the individual alone or in a group? How often do they fish at the spot? Interviews showed that such observations were usually flawed and inadequate to make substantial claims.

The second participant clearly articulates their view about the defiant and intentional rule breaking behaviours of White Eastern European and (East) Asian anglers. Although they attempt to appear fair and non-prejudiced (i.e. "not every Asian or European"), the participant then proceeds to explain that the majority do in fact exhibit these characteristics and essentially makes sweeping generalizations about Asian anglers, except for a small minority of obedient members. This strategy resembles the semantic moves described by Bonilla-Silva (2003, 2018) which are a stylistic component of

[73] Smalley (2005) shows how the disdain towards Eastern European hunters was prevalent in hunting magazines during the cold war. These magazines contained articles that defined American hunters as respectable sportspeople in contrast to Russian hunters.

Colour-Blind Racism and a verbal device used by Whites to save face before or after expressing a belief that is or perceived to be racist (e.g. 'I have Asian friends'). By attempting to downplay these racial-ethnic generalizations, this participant employs a semantic move to safely characterize East Asian and White Eastern European anglers as deviants while deflecting any accusation of ascribing deviant behaviours to entire racial-ethnic groups. This strategy also resembles a form of subtyping[74] wherein members from ethno-racialized groups who do not fit the stereotypes are viewed as exceptions to the norm (Denis 2020).

In addition, White Southern Europeans from Italy or Portugal face similar stereotyping. For instance, one participant explained that "on fishing websites I've read some things about Italians and Asians taking too many fish, too small of fish" (White, male, Int7C21). Like other interview responses, both Asian and White Europeans are stigmatized concurrently; however, as the data will show, East Asian anglers (and hunters) are ethno-racialized as poachers to a higher degree, they're subjected to racially motivated violence, and their experiences greatly differ from their White counterparts, regardless of ethnicity, when navigating the fishing and/or hunting worlds (see chapter five). Nonetheless, the negative images of Eastern and Southern Europeans persist and create symbolic boundaries among Whites. Another participant recounts how stereotypes of Italian hunters were reproduced through humour in a story:

> I remember a story like there was a hunting joke about Italians with a trunk full of sparrows and robins and going out hunting in Canada for the first time and just shooting every bird they saw flying. That to me doesn't make any sense. Like, why would it? I have no experience with that, so to me it's a story. But I remember it. But to me, I don't say people who are Italian and hunt are going to shoot anything that flies (White, male Int13C21).

Both participants reveal how these images are defined and redefined through comments, stories, and jokes within online and in-person interactions. The latter participant, however, is openly skeptical of the truth behind such stories while showing how they can have a lasting impact on one's memory. The joke about Italians excessively hunting common birds can be linked to racial-ethnic stereotypes that originated in the early 1900s during the conservation movement.[75] What is striking is the persistent and

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[74] According to Denis, subtyping occurs when individuals "who violate stereotypes are interpreted as exceptions that prove the rule" (Denis 2015, 231). Within Indigenous-settler relations, Denis (2015, 2020) shows how subtyping was displayed by Whites who expressed laissez-faire racism towards Indigenous people but had also formed friendly relationships with Indigenous individuals who disconfirmed racial stereotypes and conformed to dominant norms and ideologies.

[75] See William Hornaday (1913). Hornaday was a prominent conservationist, writer, and pioneer of the Conservation movement in the US. In this book, Hornaday draws on race and ethnicity to explain the contributing causes of declining wildlife populations and accuses certain racial-ethnic groups for their

immutable way these images and stories continue to be reproduced whether one believes they contain a shred of truth.

Targeting 'undesired' species was a common theme within the images that denigrate White Eastern European and East Asian anglers and is part of the symbolic boundary work that defines one's moral worth and authenticity as a sport angler based on cuisine and dietary customs and along racial-ethnic lines (López-Rodriguez 2014; Liu 2015).[76] Fishing species such as carp or smaller 'panfish' species from the sunfish family (e.g. pumpkinseed sunfish) is heavily associated with East Asian anglers, and to a lesser degree Eastern European anglers, and are often viewed negatively[77] (e.g. 'garbage fish') and not considered a palatable or preferred fish among (predominantly White) sport anglers when compared to other fish species like walleye (or pickerel).[78]

For White Eastern European anglers, much of the stereotyping of undesired species revolved around carp fishing. Carp fishing has received mixed opinions, many of which depended on whether they were fished for sport or food. Although carp are often characterized as 'bottom feeders' and inedible, several participants, including those of Eastern European descent, acknowledged the popularity of carp fishing as a sport and as a cuisine in Eastern Europe (e.g. it is considered a delicacy) and beyond, even if they did not have a preference. Conversely, other participants were more vocal with their criticisms and reproduced negative stereotypes linking carp with Eastern European groups. The interest and contempt towards carp fishing was highlighted by one participant:

> *Q- Do you feel certain European groups over-fish?*
>
> No, not that I've ever noticed. Fishing for different species that leave people scratching their heads, yeah. Because in a lot of European countries, there's just not the access to the game fish there is here. So, they tend to fish for coarse fish, carp, things like that, but here people turn their nose up at, and yet for them, it's a huge, big deal. And it's interesting watching the science behind it and watching

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inherent propensity to hunt/fish excessively– a similar view which continues today throughout the hunting/fishing worlds.

[76] Liu (2015) shows how "food mattered in racial stratification" (36) in the US during the 19th century and how Chinese cuisines and eating habits were considered inferior compared to those of Anglo-Americans. Additionally, López-Rodriquez (2014) and Lee (2019) show that food metaphors and imagery have played an important role throughout European colonialism and were used to mark racial-ethnic differences, communicate racial ideologies, and uphold feelings of White European superiority. The introduction to 'exotic' cuisines and culinary practices from colonized places outside Europe became connected to racist metaphors that distinguished racial differences between the 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' (Lee 2019).

[77] It should be noted that there are several fish species from the same family that are accepted. For example, white and black crappie fish, which are part of the sunfish family, are generally accepted as an edible species within sport fishing.

[78] Walleye and pickerel are different names for the same fish. There are often humorous debates and jokes among anglers (online, in-person) regarding the appropriate term for this fish.

> what they do, but you see the differences in the background for what they fish for, but not so much of a negative point of view, just very different (White, male Int30C40).

Another participant, an avid angler, explained how Eastern European anglers are characterized by other anglers:

> If I'm out in the field, and I see a bunch of carp scale, for example, I know that somebody was filleting carp. And if I'm with somebody, people will go 'Oh, the Russians were here' or 'the Polish were here' or something like that...Definitely I'd say a lot of Eastern European folk are pinned down as the carp people and British people as well. And there's no doubt that in those particular countries of Eastern or Western Europe like Britain that carp fishing is a very popular sport, but people would definitely associate Eastern European people with carp fishing and then ultimately the littering thing like leaving the cans of corn on the field, etc. (South Asian, male Int34C29).

This latter excerpt shows how White Eastern European anglers are not only associated with targeting (undesired) fish like carp, but deviant behaviours such as littering. The way in which leftover carp scales and litter become an indicator of the practices by certain racial-ethnic groups, even in the face of insufficient evidence, shows how such images shape the evaluative criteria and appraisals of anglers for determining deviant actions and how this ethno-racializes groups as deviants and reinforces racial-ethnic boundaries within the fishing world.

Interestingly, British anglers share a similar stereotype for carp fishing despite the privileges that White-British Canadians have been afforded inside and outside hunting/fishing throughout Canada's ongoing colonial history (Porter 1965; Banerji 2000; Galabuzi 2005).[79] However, British anglers were not criticized to the extent of Eastern European, East Asian, and other ethno-racialized groups and did not have characteristics

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[79] Scholars have shown how a White, British background in Canada has long been considered the norm and standard by which other racial-ethnic groups are compared against (Bannerji 2000; Mackey 1999). Porter (1965), for instance, revealed the overlapping racial-ethnic and class-based hierarchies during the mid-20th century and how White British (and French) Canadians benefited from greater social, political, and economic power compared to other White and non-White groups. Porter explains that Whites from Eastern and Southern Europe had less social mobility and mostly remained stagnant in lower occupations (i.e. 'entrance level' status) below British, French and other Northern Europeans (e.g. Dutch, German). This, in turn, established a 'vertical mosaic' that helped British Canadians maintain their power and privilege during the 20th century. Since Porter's seminal work, scholars like Galabuzi (2005) have illustrated that Whites from Eastern and Southern Europe have greater social mobility in 21st century Canada, but that many racialized, non-White groups continue to face socio-economic (and racial-ethnic, gendered) barriers. According to Galabuzi, a 'colour-coded mosaic' pervades Canada wherein racial inequalities between Whites and non-Whites are more rigid compared to ethnic inequalities among Whites. Although Porter and Galabuzi did not focus on settler colonialism, the racial-ethnic hierarchies they discuss are vital for understanding how the settler colonial system has been, and continues to be, sustained.

such as littering or a preference for 'garbage fish' affixed to their race-ethnicity. This is exemplified by one participant who is aware of the criticisms that British anglers receive, but highlights the positive and sport-oriented aspects of carp fishing:

> *Q- Have you heard other European groups being stigmatized?*
>
> Oh, people talking bad about the British because they fish carp, I've heard that one. But, I mean, anyone who has ever fished for and caught carp on a hook and a line has thoroughly enjoyed it. They are awfully ugly fish, but they put up one hell of a fight (White, male Int19C49b).

Although looked upon with disdain, the carp fishing by British anglers is viewed more positively if it's for sporting purposes (rather than food). As the comment suggests, achieving the greatest 'fight' with a fish is one of several objectives within catch-and-release style sport fishing, which renders it an exciting sport and separates it from an activity performed merely to obtain food. Moreover, the data showed that the negative connotations of carp fishing are largely associated with East Asian and Eastern European anglers more than British anglers.[80]

By and large, the way East Asian anglers were denigrated for targeting carp and other 'garbage' fish was heightened compared to White Eastern and other European anglers and connects to the historically based stereotypes and ethno-racializing processes that have long characterized Asian peoples' eating habits as indiscriminate and inferior (i.e. 'eat anything')[81] (Liu 2015; Palmer 2020; Tan, Lee and Ruppanner 2021; Reny and Barreto 2022). Within the fishing world, these food metaphors and imagery interact with other racial-ethnic meanings and stereotypes (e.g. overfishing, fishing for food vs sport) and work to mark group differences and ethno-racialize Asian anglers (and other People of Colour) as deviant and immoral. This became clear when participants (and online commenters) voiced their opinions about East Asian anglers:

> They take too much! They'll eat anything! Like whatever, tickle your fancy if you want to eat a skinny rock bass, but they'll eat that. It's disgusting! I prefer fish that I like the taste. Bottom feeders are not my type of fish. And yeah, they don't fish for sport; not from what I've seen. It's not for the excitement to have a fish on your line to throw back. It's the 'plop that thing right into the ***** cooler and go on to the next one' (White, male Int16C19).

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[80] Future research of this topic would benefit by analysing the ways British anglers are stereotyped within Ontario's fishing communities.

[81] For instance, during the 19th century in the US, Asian immigrants were labeled as indiscriminate eaters of rats and other 'pests' (Liu 2015). These stereotypes around Asian peoples' eating habits have resurfaced in light of the COVID-19 pandemic due to the rumours about the origins of the disease (i.e. bat soup) (Palmer 2020; Reny and Barreto 2022). Within this context, the images of Asian anglers 'eating anything' becomes strengthened.

The participant's comments were ripe with a resentful undercurrent and perception of group threat based on the assumption that East Asian anglers are 'overfishing' and 'eating anything.' Interwoven throughout this (and other) participant's view is the perpetual foreigner myth (Huynh and Woo 2015) that communicates underlying meanings that Asian and other non-European groups are immigrants and outsiders not only to Canadian life, but to the sport fishing world, and they do not share the same values, ethics, practices, or tastes as (predominantly) White and Canadian-born sport anglers.

However, there were several White hunters/anglers who opposed the racial and food imagery of East Asian anglers. One participant, an experienced hunter/angler, was particularly critical of the term 'trash fish:'

> *Q- Do you feel these stereotypes [about East Asian anglers] are racist? Why or why not?*
>
> I would say that is a mixed one. They are definitely used to hide racism…Even when they [White anglers] are not talking about race at all, and they're talking about pan fishing and referring to it as trash fish, you could argue that maybe it is because there is no sport to it; it is not as entertaining as opposed to fishing for bass. I personally think that there definitely have been racist underpinnings to that… Just referring to panfish as trash. They wouldn't eat it because they're garbage fish… I could be putting more meaning into peoples' comments, but I always took it as those are garbage fish– people who target them are therefore the same. It is definitely not overt racism, but I think it is typically where the stereotype comes from (White, male Int5C24-25).

As the quote highlights, these metaphors allow one to "hide" their racial views but still communicate them covertly via coded language. Food metaphors and imagery have long been used as an effective means to convey racial-ethnic and xenophobic meanings and negatively dehumanize out-groups. Considering the prejudices towards Asian and other ethno-racialized groups and a historic foundation of chastising their cuisines and dietary customs (Liu 2015; López-Rodriguez 2019; Lee 2019), these metaphoric linkages between 'garbage fish' eaten by 'garbage people' are not an isolated occurrence and provide insight into the unique ways racial-ethnic boundaries solidify around fish preferences and fishing purposes (e.g. fishing for sport vs food) and act as a vehicle to uphold a sense of White supremacy in the sport angling world.

As far as the ethnic boundaries among White European anglers, perceived and actual immigrant statuses played an important role and shaped the way stereotyping and intergroup dynamics unfolded. Several participants shed light on how White immigrants were portrayed and treated by White, Canadian-born hunters/anglers while conversing in hunting or fishing camps. For instance, while on a fishing trip, one participant explained

how "there were three [White European] immigrants at the camp and that was pointed out repeatedly. There was teasing and so forth" (White, male, immigrant Int6C17). Likewise, another participant described how a fellow hunter, who immigrated from Belgium as a child, had declined to join their hunting camp due in part to the anti-immigrant jokes and racial comments that were expressed by other White, Canadian-born hunters:

> The fellow who petitioned to join the camp and then decided not to join was from Belgium. He is literally quite European. His background even caused a lot of anti-immigrant jokes when he was around, so it is not so much White European as multi generational Canadian…. A lot of it comes from typical, tough guy, male attitude; the new guy at the camp. Regardless, something will be found to latch onto to; to poke fun of him and make him feel uncomfortable, like that falls outside of racism and is more an aspect of our male culture (White, male Int5C27-28).

The comments above show how teasing and humour can reinforce boundaries among White European hunters/anglers in subtle ways during hunting/fishing trips. As the latter participant suggests, the boundaries among White Europeans are enhanced with regards to one's immigrant (and ethnic) standing and the extent one's familial history is multigenerational. Indeed, the data shows that having a White, Northern European heritage with deep settler roots and a family history of hunting/fishing helps boost one's position on the social hierarchy and provides a buffer against the wide-ranging stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments that are expressed about other racial-ethnic groups inside and outside hunting/fishing. As a result, White hunters/anglers with these features considered themselves the most responsible, moral, and authentic outdoor sportspeople who have been properly socialized into the hunting/fishing worlds. In comparison, those who have or are perceived to have immigrated, particularly from outside Europe, are assumed to be new to and unaware of the outdoor sport culture and the belief systems outlining the norms, roles, and responsibilities of in-group membership.

Of importance is how the stereotyping of European immigrants or Euro-ethnic backgrounds can occur in a seemingly non-prejudiced and teasing manner. As stated, the participant previously quoted feels this extends into the realm of masculinity, namely the display of toughness through teasing as an informal method of initiation. Several scholars have noted how adhering to masculine gender norms and performing masculine traits (e.g. toughness, stoicism and aggression) within all-male peer groups can involve forms of play-aggression such as teasing and banter which act as a rapport building tool (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp 2002; Migliaccio 2009). The teasing described by the participant reflects this group dynamic within his all-male hunting party. Another participant echoes this process:

> We have an Eastern European guy in the [hunting] camp, and he has an accent but other than some jokes about him eating sauerkraut or something, it is pretty

> minimal. He gets off pretty easy in terms of any sort of racial stereotypes. I guess he is just treated as another guy in the camp. We all get teased for something. I sense no hatred and no fear behind the comments. It is just literally razzing someone for the sake of conversation because we don't really know each other that well, so we don't have serious conversations with people we only see two weeks of the year…. At the same time, it is not threatening and saying, 'you are not one of us'; it is more like 'you are one of us.' It's really weird, 'we welcome you into the group because we're teasing you and calling you one of us.' It is such a subtle difference but a huge difference (White male, Int4C33-34).

These comments show how the teasing of ethnic backgrounds among White hunters/anglers operates in a more friendly and humorous manner and offers a compelling analysis of how this behaviour connects with the masculine forms of play-aggression that exists within all-male group contexts. As well, this form of teasing may connect to the group dynamics within the 'traditional' all-male hunting camp,[82] which is a sphere that enables the performance of masculine traits and provides a context for males to bond, and in some cases, escape work and domestic life and engage in 'backstage'[83] behaviours (e.g. expression of racial-ethnic, sexist jokes; teasing and play-aggression, etc.).

This is not to suggest that these jokes and forms of teasing do not reproduce racial-ethnic boundaries. Although it can be friendly, teasing can also signify unequal power relations where people in dominant positions have a greater ability to tease individuals in less powerful positions without repercussions (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp 2002). Within the context of persisting stereotypes of Eastern and other European immigrants, such teasing shows how social hierarchies of ethnic and immigrant statuses can be reinforced in covert and even friendly ways. However, as this participant suggests, Euro-ethnic immigrants "get off pretty easy," and this is particularly the case when contrasted with the stereotyping of East Asian, South Asian, or Indigenous hunters/fishers.

The friendly teasing and banter of European ethnic backgrounds was highlighted in Dunk's (1991) analysis of a working-class, White male peer-group in Northern Ontario referred to as 'the boys.' Dunk described how historic ethnic boundaries and hierarchies were no longer rigid and dividing among Whites in the area but that ethnic stereotypes continued through jokes and teasing among the boys. From this, Dunk asserts that ethnicity was more a source of jokes rather than a category that was positioned in a social

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[82] Although hunting and hunting camps have traditionally been a male activity and male sphere, this is increasingly changing as more women enter hunting (and fishing). Yet, as the data will show, gendered hierarchies and female exclusion from hunting camps persists (see chapter seven).

[83] Goffman (1958) distinguishes between front and back stages or regions. The frontstage is a context that requires managing self impressions and adhering to social norms and expectations, particularly within public or professional settings. By contrast, the backstage allows one to break away from social etiquette and engage in behaviours not suitable for front regions.

hierarchy. However, this differed when it came to the exchange of jokes, stories, or comments about Indigenous people, which were deeply rooted in prejudiced feelings and perceptions of group threat. Dunk illustrates how previous White Euro-ethnic boundaries were overshadowed by the racial distinctions between White and Indigenous people and that images of Indigenous people were powerful symbols to which local White settlers compared themselves and defined their sense of moral superiority.

Like Dunk's (1991) findings, this participant demonstrated how the White ethnic and immigrant jokes and stereotypes differed in tone and content when Indigenous people or other non-White/non-European groups were mentioned:

> It is this insidious type of racism where like somebody is not a clan member but they're still going to make off-the-cuff comments about how Indigenous people don't pay taxes or being able to hunt as many deer as they want….At some point in the deer hunt every single year there's always a discussion about how many tags we have left and what our strategy is about complying with the laws and then someone will make a joke like 'oh we should get an Indian in the camp, then we can shoot as many deer as we want', which is infuriating (White, male Int4C8,16).

The participant's comments provide insight into the complex and diverse ways boundary making unfolds within a hunting camp context. Though White Europeans are stigmatized and ethno-racialized in varying degrees, this appears relatively minimal when compared with the images and racial-ethnic boundaries between White and Indigenous peoples (and other People of Colour). Indeed, the anti-treaty rights and anti-Indigenous views were overwhelmingly expressed throughout the interviews, online comments, and advocacy of sport organizations. This aligns with Dunk's (1991) research in the way definitions of Indigenous people corroborate White settlers' sense of moral superiority regarding hunting/fishing practices and stewardship (see chapter six).

As will be shown, the process of ethno-racializing and defining outgroups as poachers and a group threat does not impact all groups equally. The ways East Asian anglers are ethno-racialized and positioned in comparison to (Northern European, Canadian-born) Whites differs from that affecting White Eastern Europeans and other BIPOC hunters/anglers.

"They Just Don't Seem to Understand There are Limits:" Colour-Blind Racism and the Ethno-Racialization of East Asian Anglers

The images of East Asian (and South Asian[84]) anglers were similar to and overlapped with those of White Eastern and Southern European anglers but differed

[84] Although East Asian and South Asian hunters/anglers were stigmatized and ethno-racialized as deviants and inauthentic hunters/anglers (and also inauthentic Canadians), the findings showed that the negative images of East Asian hunters/anglers were more pronounced compared to South Asian participants.

significantly in the way they were communicated and how they worked collectively to position East Asians below all Whites in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, and commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities. Specifically, the images of East Asian anglers were expressed in a more angry and resentful tone among participants and online commenters. Unlike White Eastern Europeans, images of East Asian anglers were saturated with the perpetual foreigner stereotype which intensified the assumption that East Asian Canadians (or other Canadians of Colour) are immigrants and strangers to Canada and to sport hunting/fishing (Huynh and Woo 2015). Through this, racial-ethnic/anti-immigrant prejudices, ideologies (via Colour-Blind Racism), and a sense of group position and superiority among Whites is reproduced, reaffirmed, and sometimes challenged throughout the fishing (and hunting) world.

According to Social Identity and Group Position theories, the negative images that collectively define 'subordinate' or out-groups enable 'dominant' group members to define themselves and their group more favourably (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Blumer 1958). As Blumer (1958) states, "To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group. This is equivalent to placing the two groups in relation to each other, or defining their positions vis-a-vis each other. It is the sense of social position emerging from this collective process of characterization which provides the basis of race prejudice" (4). As such, acquiring a hunter/angler identity simultaneously involves learning racial-ethnic meanings and ideologies that define out-groups, which, in turn, illuminates and strengthens one's racial-ethnic identity. By seeing through the group's lens and adopting the evaluative criteria for distinguishing in and out group members (Hogg, Terry and White 1995), White anglers define both the inferiority of non-Whites and the superiority of Whites.

This process was clearly illustrated by the collective images of 'deviant' Asian anglers that arose throughout the interviews and online interactions. In all, forty-three participants were fully aware of the negative images and overall stigmatization of East Asian anglers. At least thirty-one drew on similar frames, styles, and/or stories about East Asian anglers, which reflected Colour-Blind Racism and performed the boundary work of ethno-racializing them as deviants and poachers. Many of the participants who articulated their views did so in a cautious manner while attempting to manage their self image. This is demonstrated in the following quote:

> But I think the Asians, okay, I have to use that term lightly because even if they were White, I think the opinion would still be there. That's an important point. It's not because they are Asian, it's the exploitation as opposed to the preservation of the area. So, leaving their garbage behind, coming in huge droves, taking under slot sized fish, that kind of shit! So that's why people get their backs up because they claim ignorance to it. And again, a lot of times it is a cultural thing. It's not like they're doing it on purpose and it's like 'fuck you guys,' it's just that's what

> they are doing, so it's a very fine line. Like I said, if it was a bunch of White people doing the same thing, opinions would be the same way (White, male Int1C17).

Consistent with the tenets of Colour-Blind Racism (Bonilla-Silva 2018), the participant attempts to minimize the racist tone and avoid singling out (East) Asian anglers with semantic moves (i.e. "it's not because they're Asian"), but then asserts how Asian anglers are exploitative and a threat to resources. Although the participant claims these behaviours may be denounced regardless of race-ethnicity, they attribute this deviance as an inherent feature of Asian "culture."

Indeed, explaining deviant behaviour and perceived inferiority in cultural rather than racial terms reflects the 'cultural racism' frame[85] within Colour Blind Racism that is strategically utilized by social actors to safely express racial views in a non-racial way and maintain a positive self image. Despite the avoidance of racial explanations, ascribing these characteristics to an individual's 'culture' amounts to an 'othering' process that upholds racial-ethnic inequalities (Schwalbe et al 2000; Bonilla-Silva 2003,2018). Ultimately, the 'cultural' explanations of deviance conceal racial-ethnic ideologies and sustain the racial-ethnic order within the outdoor sport community.

This was further demonstrated by a participant who claimed to be a 'culturalist' rather than a 'racist.' Shortly after expressing critical views of Indigenous people and treaty rights, the participant explained:

> I don't consider myself a racist. Although, I have been called one on occasion. I have great friends who are Black and Asian and come from many nationalities, and I judge people on an individual basis– how they behave, how they conduct themselves, what their core values are. And those things are determined far more by culture than they are by skin colour. So, sometimes I say, 'I'm not a racist, but I am a culturalist' (White, male Int24C30).

As Colour-Blind Racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2018) would predict, the participant draws on both a cultural racism frame and a semantic move (i.e. 'I have Black and Asian friends') to avoid a racist label on the one hand and express views that may be considered racist on the other. Once the participant established that he is a 'culturalist,' he cautiously employs cultural frames to describe (East) Asian anglers and, in the process, added more proverbial stakes that mark the racial-ethnic boundaries separating the imagined deviant/inferior East Asian anglers from law-abiding/superior White anglers:

> There has always been interpretation of the Asians really, I won't say overharvesting, but they are new to the cultural differences. There are so many

[85] According to Bonilla-Silva (2018), the cultural racism frame explains deviant characteristics based on 'culture' rather than 'race' but still reproduces racial ideologies.

> different countries and cultures there. They love to fish. They love the food. They don't get a lot of protein in their home country, and there are a lot of immigrants who really enjoy getting out and catching the fish. They'll fish in places you and I wouldn't cast a line but enjoy doing it. They usually keep what they can and eat it…. They just love their food, and if they can catch it and consume it, I think it's part of their cultural pride as well that they can do that because they don't have those opportunities, I'm sure, where they come from (White, male Int24C34).

Throughout the participants' seemingly fair and 'cultural' explanations are explicit generalizations about dietary and fishing practices which indirectly communicates shared meanings that ethno-racializes East Asian anglers as deviants who keep and eat any fish species, and in this case, species from waters "you and I" (i.e. White Canadians) would not fish. The way 'overharvesting' is re-phrased as 'new to cultural differences' presents ambiguous meanings but within the context of ethno-racialization, it suggests that East Asian anglers are outsiders who are unaware of the sport fishing (sub)culture in Canada, including the sacredness of following written/unwritten rules.

These shared meanings that inform cultural frames about East Asian anglers illuminate how racial-ethnic images and ideologies are heavily connected to xenophobic beliefs which fosters the view and assumption that East Asian and other non-White anglers are not authentic Canadian citizens (Huynh and Woo 2015) but instead are immigrants from countries and cultures that do not have an outdoor sport fishing (sub)culture or adequate regulations and fish strictly for food rather than sport. As a result, there is a collective view that East Asian and other non-White/non-European peoples are not properly socialized into the sport fishing/hunting worlds, and in turn, will allegedly bring unregulated, unethical, and excessive fishing and culinary practices to Ontario.

Indeed, these shared meanings and cultural frames accomplish the boundary work separating authentic from inauthentic sport anglers/conservationists based on appraisals of morality, law-abiding behaviours, and ethical fishing practices (e.g. food vs sport) which are delineated along the lines of race-ethnicity and assumed immigrant status. This boundary work is further illustrated in the quotes below:

> As I said, people who are coming from Asia, a lot of times in their countries, their attitude is 'if it swims it can be caught as food' whereas a lot of times fishing, the sportsman type are 'don't keep small fish.' They don't understand the background to it and there's been some negative interactions with that (White, male Int30C38).

> The only issue that I have with any of the Asian population that I've encountered in terms of fishing is their inability to grasp the concept of conservation and limits. They just don't seem to understand that there are limits and maybe get them

> trying to leave some for somebody else is maybe a good thing because they have a tendency to not recognize that and just overfish (White, male Int20C30).

As the excerpts show, the participants make contrasts that classify (East) Asian Canadians as outsiders with deviant characteristics (i.e. 'don't understand background', 'inability to grasp conservation') compared to White, Canadian-born "sportsman types" who are allegedly more concerned with conservation, considerate of other anglers, and committed to the sport angler role as a conservationist. Through this, White anglers can redefine and uphold their sense of superiority and group position at the top of an ethno-racialized hierarchy inside (and outside) sport fishing.

Speaking through 'coded language' and avoiding direct racial terms and descriptions was also common among predominantly White anglers (and hunters) and is a prominent stylistic element of Colour-Blind Racism which allows the expression of racial-ethnic ideologies indirectly without appearing racist. Expressing disdain towards anglers travelling in crowds from the city and 'invading' and disturbing rural areas (i.e. littering, overfishing) was often coded to refer to and define Asian and other anglers of Colour. The ethno-racialization of urban areas is not a new phenomenon. In Canada and beyond, urban areas have long been symbolized as a place of overcrowding, pollution, crime, and where ethno-racialized immigrants reside (Levitt and Shaffir 1987; Allport 1954; Agyeman and Spooner 1997). This symbolism persists within hunting/fishing and is used to safely express negative images that ethno-racialize groups as deviants who are from deviant (urban) places. For instance, in response to a local news article about threatened fish populations, which was posted on social media, one person voiced their concerns:

> Sadly, the lake is deteriorating year by year. Over-fished by people coming from the city and surrounding areas; not having any concern on how many fish they take or kill. No care whatsoever. I have been a citizen for over 40 years. The garbage left behind is unbelievable; using live bait bought not locally and filling the lake with non natural species of fish. It's a never-ending scene. The causeway is a perfect example. Garbage littered all over. No concern. Why would they? They couldn't care less. I have witnessed this for decades. So sad (anonymous, social media 2020).

The reference to city dwellers' unethical practices on causeways (or bridges, piers, etc.) was a shared concern among many participants and online commenters who chastised East Asian anglers. Although this person did not explicitly name any racial-ethnic group, they draw on the same frames of East Asian anglers previously outlined (e.g. littering, overfishing) but instead scapegoat "urban" anglers. Due to the ambiguity, it is possible this person was not referring to a particular racial-ethnic group but given the collective stereotypes and shared meanings of East Asian Canadians in the fishing world, it appears like a covert strategy to articulate racist views. By utilizing coded language (Bonilla-Silva

2003, 2018), anglers can safely express their racially rooted frustrations and prejudices and communicate a shared, hidden message which other like-minded anglers will understand.

When juxtaposed with explicit comments, this indirect coded language of city dwellers becomes increasingly decoded:

> We'll be out fishing and there will be maybe seven or eight of these Orientals coming from [the city]. And they're catching pike, they're catching bass, they're catching everything that's not in season and putting them in the cooler and then they're putting it in their vehicle. They fish at night, so no one's around except for them… Then, drive all the way back to [the city] to sell it. And they've been doing that for 20 some odd years down here (White, male Int29C17).

Comparing the online quote to this participant's comment reveals noticeable parallels about the concerns towards urban anglers except for a few key words that are replaced and coded. The coded version of 'people' from the city overfishing is a few words shy of the uncoded version which directly refers to East Asian anglers (or the outdated term 'Orientals'). In short, this participant's (and others') explicit comments provide a decoding chart to decipher the coded racial language used to ethno-racialize East Asian anglers as poachers. Though the overt/covert language differs, albeit the replacement of key words or racial-ethnic descriptions, it still communicates the same meanings and imagery of a city dwelling deviant invading and ruining rural spaces which could largely be interpretated as an urban deviant of Colour.

However, this view was not universal among White rural hunter/anglers, and many were strongly opposed to the racial-ethnic images they encountered. One participant, an avid hunter/angler and long-time rural citizen, elaborated on the racial tensions that erupted towards East Asian anglers fishing on a rural causeway:

> I know there was some big public conflict a few years ago. There is a causeway that has excellent fishing and primarily Asians would come up and fish off the causeway on weekends. And eventually the township or the county decided that they were going to ban fishing off the causeway for public safety, but the discourse around fishing on the causeway quickly spilled over into racist territory. It was very strange to see a lot of comments in the local newspaper or even through word of mouth that 'we need to keep the Asians off the side of the road, they leave all this litter, they're totally disgusting, they don't clean up after themselves, and they don't respect the environment.' Meanwhile all the people that were providing all this racist criticism have no problem pouring gas exhaust into the lake because they drive around in their fishing boats all weekend long fishing 40 feet from where these [Asian] guys are fishing from the shore… The lens of what's considered an environmental steward is very different, and I think it

> was just about a matter of othering someone; just being racist because they didn't want outsiders quote unquote 'accessing their lake' (White, male Int4C25).

This comment shows how racial imagery of East Asian anglers and causeways had not only entered the participant's peer networks but had extended into public discourse where local Whites appeared to dominate the conversation.

The events described by the participant can be corroborated by tensions on causeways in other areas of Ontario. For instance, an online news article explains the concern about litter on a rural causeway and reveals the boundary work involved in distinguishing authentic from inauthentic sport anglers. A local resident, for example, was quoted saying "True fishermen will leave their fishing hole better than they found it. These aren't true fishermen; these people are disgusting" (Quoted in Anderson 2017). Though race/ethnicity was not explicitly stated in this article, it can act as a vehicle to express, and be interpreted as, coded language packed with racial meanings, and it has great potential to reinforce and reaffirm the collective racial-ethnic meanings and ideologies about East Asian anglers and other anglers of Colour. In response to this article, an opinion piece was published where the author describes approaching and distributing garbage bags to (East Asian) anglers on a local, rural causeway. One (Asian) angler, the author accused, pretended they knew no English despite speaking "perfect English with hardly an Asian accent" (Bennett 2017). Unlike the coded language in the first article, this author was more explicit in identifying the racial-ethnic features of the alleged deviants. Together, both articles mutually reaffirm that East Asian anglers are a group threat.

The conflicts on public causeways, bridges, and piers are not new and have resulted (and continue to result) in racially motivated violence and harassment towards East Asian anglers. The Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) revealed similar findings during their 2007 inquiry wherein conflicts and racially motivated pranks (i.e. 'Asian tipping') largely occurred on the shore (e.g. piers, docks, bridges, etc.). According to the OHRC, this tension unfolded within the context of ongoing competition over public fishing spaces between day-trippers, tourists, and locals in predominantly White areas. At the time, the report stated that Asian anglers using these spaces "…are not only more visible, they are more vulnerable to harassment and assault." (OHRC Inquiry 2007, 6-7). The similarities between the OHRC 2007 inquiry and this dissertation research provides further insight into the persistent images that define East Asian Canadian anglers as a threat, particularly within public spaces such as causeways and piers where these racial images are established and shape White anglers' suspicions or behaviours towards perceived outsiders who fish on them.

Scholars note how racial-ethnic identities have become linked to geographical/regional spaces in the White imagination through racial and cultural representations of who lives in and appreciates the outdoors (Agyeman and Spooner

1997). Specifically, dominant collective meanings held towards the environment contain notions of a "White wilderness" which are "grounded in race, class, gender, and cultural ideologies" (Finney 2014, 3), as well as national settler narratives (Mackey 1998, 1999) that influence our understandings of the landscape and the racial-ethnic groups who enjoy and participate (or not) in outdoor recreation such as fishing, hunting, hiking, camping, etc. (Agyeman and Spooner 1997; Finney 2014).

As mentioned earlier, urban spaces have long been symbolized as a site where social problems and deviance occurs presumably among ethno-racialized and immigrant groups (Allport 1954; Levitt and Shaffir 1987). By contrast, rural areas are often perceived as a space that is (or should be) 'naturally' inhabited primarily by White people and is devoid of the deviancy of the city. This conflation of Whiteness and rural spaces overlooks the growing presence and outdoor recreation from People of Colour (Agyeman and Spooner 1997; Finney 2014), and as a result, People of Colour in the outdoors may appear odd or threatening to Whites. In turn, this may shape the experiences of non-Whites in negative ways and/or prevent them from participating in outdoor activities in rural areas (Agyeman and Spooner 1997; Finney 2014). This is particularly the case within hunting/fishing where East Asian and other People of Colour are assumed to be urban immigrants and seen by many Whites as prime suspects for breaking rules. Although small towns in rural Ontario can be a place for feelings of xenophobia and racial prejudice, the data shows that anglers from urban areas shared similar views as those from rural areas, and as will be discussed, the violence, harassment, and scrutinization of East Asian and South Asian Canadian anglers also occurs along rivers in urban (and suburban) settings.[86]

"White Bucket Brigade:" Racial Epithets and Racial Ideologies

Up to this point, the data has shown the myriad ways in which East Asian anglers are categorized as poachers, litterers, deviant city dwellers, and inauthentic members of the outdoor sport community. Consequently, the various racial-ethnic meanings and images conveyed through frames, stylistic elements, and stories discussed so far (i.e. garbage fish, over-fishing, breaking rules, etc.) have combined and crystallized into an all-encompassing racial epithet referred to as the "White Bucket Brigade." This racial term embodies an imagined East Asian or 'non-White' deviant who fishes strictly for food rather than sport and recklessly overfishes all species which get stored in a 'white bucket' to bring home. The perpetual foreigner stereotype is integral to the infrastructure of the 'White bucketer' label and assists with constructing an image of a non-European

[86] This is not to suggest that White, urban anglers/hunters do not face resentment from White, rural locals when entering their hunting/fishing spaces. The data showed that there are loose divisions between White sport hunter/anglers living in urban and rural areas in Ontario as well as between Whites from Southern and Northern Ontario. See Dunk (1991) for compelling insight into the social divisions between Whites from Northern and Southern Ontario.

immigrant ‘other’ who does not speak English or learn the rules and regulations, whether by choice or ignorance, and has emigrated from countries with little to no sport fishing regulations or (sub)culture. Drawing on this racial term enables the user to communicate shared meanings in coded language with other anglers and navigate conversations in a seemingly non-racist manner under the pretext of upholding conservation while reproducing racial-ethnic ideologies and hierarchal arrangements.

Though White Europeans may be labelled as a ‘white bucketer,’ this racial terminology and the meanings and stereotypes which give it life is largely applied to East Asian, South Asian, and other People of Colour who are viewed as perpetual foreigners. Indeed, this term intensifies the boundary work of ethno-racializing and classifying Asian anglers as poachers, as inauthentic sport anglers, and as a threat to resources, fishing opportunities, and everything held sacred.

One participant, a passionate angler/hunter, defines the ‘white bucket’ term in a careful and apparently neutral manner:

> A nickname that they'll call them [East Asian anglers] is the ‘White Bucket Brigade.’ So essentially, they catch it, it goes in the white bucket. It doesn't matter what it is whether it's a small little baby 3-inch sunfish, it's going in the bucket. Now, where they are fishing legally in the sense that I think you're allowed to keep like 50 or 100 pumpkin seed sunfish, so, I mean, there's nothing wrong with that in the sense, but if you keep all the little ones, then you're never going to have any big fish. Now, I've also fished with a couple guys who are Asian descent and they’re the complete opposite (White, male Int39C12).

The participant begins with a resentful and condemning tone while defining the term and cites the stereotypes that were described earlier (overfishing, undesirable species). Interestingly, he admits that fishing large quantities of certain species is legal but still considers targeting small fish a threat (even though they are considered an undesired species). Legally keeping large quantities of fish is an ongoing debate within the fishing world as outlined in the previous chapter (i.e. catch-release vs food, keeping limits or not) and this participant illustrates how such discussions are delineated along racial-ethnic lines. The participant then highlights how he fishes with a few Asian anglers who disconfirm the stereotypes; however, within this context, it reflects a semantic move to look tolerant and non-prejudiced while discussing racial imagery. Throughout the remainder of the interview, it was clear that perceiving East Asian Canadian anglers as a potential group threat could co-exist alongside friendships with individual members.[87]

[87] Several participants who expressed prejudiced views about East Asian Canadians or other ethno-racialized groups also claimed to have friendships with individual members. Whether such friendships are reciprocated or not, it shows attempts to simultaneously avoid a racist label and express racial-ethnic ideologies.

The uniqueness of the 'White bucket' epithet within the fishing world was explained by at least two participants who showed how this term can act as coded language to communicate racial meanings that an audience, particularly non-anglers, may not be privy to. One participant, an experienced angler, explains:

> Just in the community, in the angling world, there are certain terms that are recognized, maybe not to the general public, but to the people who fish. For example, the term 'keeper'– that's a fish you can keep; or a term 'screamer'– that's your fish that's fighting really hard, taking your drag off your reel. The term 'white bucketer'–everybody knows that term and everybody associates that term 'white bucketer' with an Asian or South Asian person. That's just what it is (South Asian, male Int34C38).

The participant, who is a South Asian Canadian angler, reveals the unique terminology within fishing and how it can be strategically utilized as coded language to convey shared meanings about East Asian or South Asian Canadian anglers. As will be described in the next chapter, this participant has been subjected to this label within their fishing experiences. Furthermore, the comments underscore how acquiring an angler identity involves learning (as well as reproducing or challenging) the unique coded language that negatively defines and ethno-racializes groups as poachers in the angling world.

Consistent with this, all five East Asian participants were fully aware of either the 'white bucket' images and/or the overall stigmatization of East Asian anglers. This is exemplified in the following quote:

> *Q- Have you ever felt your hunting/fishing practices and harvesting were scrutinized more than others?*
>
> Without a doubt, Asians are scrutinized for over-harvesting when it comes to fishing. Not too sure about hunting. But there is a whole joke about groups of Asian fishermen coming in with white pails called, the "white bucket brigade" where they collect every fish they catch regardless of size. Now this may be true for some, but it makes other Asian Canadians look bad who pay and exercise their rights to fishing/hunting and abide by catch limits (East Asian, male Int15S-C9).

The participant, a second generation (East Asian) Canadian, confidently feels that the 'white bucketer' label has impacted and guided White anglers' appraisals and facilitated the suspicion and scrutinization of East Asian anglers, even those who are law-abiding. Given the pervasiveness of the racial-ethnic views among Whites shown so far, the participants concerns are not unfounded.

Although thirty-one participants expressed ethno-racializing views about (East) Asian anglers, there were at least seven White hunters/anglers who were vehemently

opposed to these images and the overall prevalence of White supremacy in the sport hunting/fishing worlds. This is shown by one participant:

> I know a lot of people who talk about how a place gets fished out and destroyed, and they'll often go and point the finger towards like, 'oh, it's all those Chinese fishermen who are taking more than their limit' and all this stuff, and I'm like, '[big sigh] well, maybe? But you see all the reports of conservation officers pulling over wealthy White guys who drive a Dodge Ram pickup who happen to have three perch in the back of it coming off a lake. So where does your argument about it's all due to those Chinese guys come from?' (White, male Int14C23).

As the quote shows, the participant is skeptical of the racial-ethnic explanations scapegoating East Asian anglers and highlights the double standards that emerge in the way Chinese or other Asian anglers are blamed for threatening fish populations while the infractions of White anglers go unnoticed. This participant, as well as others, shows that although racial meanings and images are learned while becoming a hunter/angler, not all White anglers agree with or tolerate the prejudices to which they are exposed, and in some cases, will openly challenge other hunter/anglers' prejudiced beliefs (see chapter five).

Vigilante Conservationists: Devotion to Conservation or Racial Discrimination?

Overall, the data overwhelmingly showed strong racial-ethnic prejudices towards Asian Canadians and Indigenous peoples. This raises fundamental questions: To what extent do ethno-racializing images and stereotypes guide White hunters/anglers' behaviours towards perceived outgroup members? In what ways do White hunters/anglers act on their views and appraisals? Why?

Interviews revealed that these racial-ethnic images and ideologies were largely defined, reproduced, reaffirmed, and sometimes challenged among Whites in the 'backstage' realm[88] (Goffman 1958) and rarely were expressed towards or in the presence of Asian Canadians or Indigenous peoples. However, several participants and hunters/anglers online admitted to scrutinizing, harassing, or attacking East Asian anglers who were perceived to be breaking the rules. Indeed, these images of 'white bucketers' fishing with impunity shaped several White participants' evaluations and behaviours towards East Asian anglers resulting in acts that ranged from offering unsolicited education to harassment, intimidation, and even violence.

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[88] Aside from social media, these racial images were communicated 'behind closed doors' among family, friends, acquaintances, and even strangers in social interactions inside and outside hunting/fishing contexts such as social gatherings, hunting/fishing camps, or while navigating in the wilderness.

Online, some anglers were more open and explicit with their comments and stories. For instance, within an online fishing forum for Ontario anglers, a person described their encounter with 'white bucketers' and felt compelled to enforce the law:

> I went to a cottage on a [Central Ontario] river. The white buckets were out in full force. So, I decided to walk along and check out how it was going. Unfortunately, there was a language barrier on this day. No speaks any English. Oh ok. So, you can read English if you drove here but ok. So, I looked into a couple of buckets. There was baby pickerel 6 to 8 inches long in some of their pails. Tried to explain slot size and restrictions. We're only allowed to keep one pickerel with a conservation licence. Once again, met with 'no speaka any English'. Um ok. Do you understand this and proceeded to dump 4 white buckets with fish back into the water. There ya go. Get it now. Needless to say, they weren't too happy. Ya know I don't care who you are or where your from but please know the rules and regs before you start fishing. If I had been ministry, they would have been toast. PS. Not the first white buckets I've dumped (Anonymous1, Fishing Forum, 2012)

This comment shows not only the person's awareness and use of the 'white bucket' label, but how these images shaped the way they evaluated, scrutinized, and behaved towards ethno-racialized anglers. First, the person alleges the anglers were pretending they knew no English to purposely evade obeying the rules.[89] Then, the person admits to scrutinizing the anglers' buckets and concluded they were illegally fishing. Like many of the participants, the persons' appraisals do not appear thorough (e.g. Did they measure the fish? Could they adequately identify the species?) but do appear to be initially rooted in suspicion and enough to confirm their prejudices and fears. After 'educating' the alleged perpetrators on the rules, the person openly brags about sabotaging their catch (and others' catch on different occasions) from a standpoint that they committed a noble act, presumably to ensure conservation. Although the person does not directly mention any racial-ethnic group, they suggest a non-White immigrant culprit through the reference to language barriers and the sarcastic mocking of accents where English is a second language (i.e. "no speaka any English"). Considering the comment was posted roughly a decade ago, it shows how this racial epithet and an imagined non-White deviant has persisted over time.

During interviews, several White participants also admitted to scrutinizing, accusing, or 'educating' East Asian anglers who were perceived to be breaking the law. In some cases, these encounters turned violent as described by a participant who stated, "I've come across people, Asian Canadians that were poaching. You know, it got ugly,

[89] Several participants made this claim. Whether this is true or not, 'pretending' to be unfamiliar with the English language could be a coping strategy to avoid racially motivated harassment and accusations which they may have experienced inside/outside of angling and not necessarily a mischievous attempt to break rules.

right, you know, it turned physical and yeah. So." (White, male Int20C32a). Other confrontations were less intense. Like the rural resident who distributed garbage bags to 'non-English' speaking Asian anglers on a causeway (discussed earlier), another participant claimed they distributed copies of the Ontario fishing regulations handbook to East Asian anglers who were allegedly breaking the rules at public fishing spots in urban areas:

> If you go out into a lot of the harbour fronts, there is a lot of bad feelings amongst anglers because you'll end up having some of, not all, but some of the Asian culture that choose to overfish…I've even had the experience of watching someone bring a battery-operated blender to the shoreline and every fish they caught went into that blender no matter what species it was…What I do is I carry the ministry regulations in my car. I carry copies with me because sometimes people just don't know, and I mean you don't want to come across thinking that they're doing something wrong all the time. So, what I do is I'd hand them the regulations and say 'the fish that you just put into that blender is out of season. You're not allowed to catch it. Now you have to throw it back in!' And then all of a sudden, they no longer speak English, and I mean non-responsive. And then I'll usually leave the regulations with them and then move on (White, female Int27C34a).

The comment shows how the participant's concerns and evaluations are anchored in the collective meanings and images that define East Asian anglers as a problem and how they have motivated the participant to confront and 'educate' suspected poachers. Whether or not the alleged perpetrator in the story was breaking rules and pretending they could not speak English, this experience seems to have impacted and reinforced the participant's views and behaviours towards all East Asian anglers. The 'bad feelings' among other anglers of which the participant is aware also appears to have reaffirmed their beliefs and provides insight into how such meanings and images are collectively shared.

Additionally, the participant's account resembles the racial stories which reflect and serve Colour-Blind Racism. According to Bonilla-Silva (2003, 2018), racial stories are narratives or folklore about 'subordinate groups' that are shared and believed by members of the 'dominant group' and are frequently utilized to justify or defend the racial order. What gives racial stories its ideological edge and power to influence is the collectively shared understandings about racial-ethnic groups and intergroup relations which makes the stories believable and deemed truthful. Through the continual reproduction of racial stories, collective understandings about the inferiority and threat from out groups are strengthened and racial hierarchies are preserved. In particular, the participant's racial story of East Asian anglers is indicative of 'testimonies' which are first-hand accounts where the speaker is (or close to) the main character in the story.

Testimonies provide speakers with a semblance of authenticity and credibility and a greater capacity to gain sympathy from the audience, persuade opinions, present a non-racist self image, and/or advance provocative arguments on racial topics (Bonilla-Silva 2003, 2018).

The participant's testimony not only echoes the shared images and concerns about East Asian anglers, but provides powerful ammunition made from factual 'proof' which can be discharged to narrate and validate negative images of East Asian anglers when conversing with other Whites. At the same time, the testimony allowed the participant to save face and signify a non-racist self by providing a justification that their views cannot be racist because they are based on 'truth' and that their actions were not racially motivated but carried out for the perceived good of conservation. However, within a context of persistent racial-ethnic stereotypes that make sweeping generalizations about East Asian Canadians, distributing regulation handbooks to East Asian anglers under the suspicion of poaching reflects undercurrents of racial profiling that simultaneously operates while fulfilling a duty to protect the environment.

When coupled with the stories and stereotypes already in circulation, these testimonies can have profound contributions to the intersubjective meaning-making and ethno-racialization processes that classify all East Asian anglers as poachers and a group who should be policed by (presumably) law-abiding Whites. By spreading testimonies, the shared meanings about East Asian anglers can strengthen the boundaries that construct a White, authentic sport angler in contrast to a non-White/foreign, inauthentic deviant.

From distributing fishing regulation guides to physical altercations and vandalism, the accounts from these anglers along with the pervading racial meanings and epithets illustrate an ongoing collective process in the way the negative images, suspicions, and harassment of East Asian anglers continues long after the OHRC launched their 2007 inquiry. Although these collective images informed and guided White anglers' views and behaviours, they are only part of the explanation into why some feel compelled to take the law into their own hands. To further understand this 'vigilantism' and why East Asian anglers are still targeted, we need to revisit the belief systems within the fishing world and the roles and responsibilities of stewardship that are ingrained within an angler (and hunter) identity.

As described in chapter three, acquiring an angler/hunter identity involves learning about the significance of fulfilling the role and duties of a conservationist such as rigidly following the written and unwritten rules and policing the behaviours of oneself and others. The sacredness of following the rules and the outrage towards the sin of poaching cannot be underestimated. Fishing/hunting was considered a prominent feature of most participants' personal, familial, (sub)cultural, and/or national identities, and the deep emotional, sentimental, and nostalgic meanings attached shows what's at stake if

wildlife populations, access to resources, and fishing/hunting opportunities are jeopardized. Therefore, violating wildlife regulations is not only considered a threat to conservation but to the hunting/fishing community as a whole and everything held sacred. This provokes strong passions and intense anger and outrage towards transgressors, particularly members from ethno-racialized groups who are overwhelmingly defined as poachers that are more likely to deviate. Anglers who are vehemently committed to the roles and responsibilities may feel obligated and eager to police and enforce the rules which is seen as an altruistic and noble act that benefits conservation and the outdoor community at large. Unfortunately, the desire to uphold these duties coupled with an intense concern over and belief in an imagined non-White deviant and impending group threats can nurture a breeding ground for racially motivated violence and discrimination.

Like the OHRC 2007 inquiry, the data from this thesis research shows how White anglers directly and indirectly justified their prejudiced views and actions towards East Asian and other ethno-racialized groups on the grounds of protecting wildlife and ensuring conservation. In several cases, this was amplified with the view that the MNRF is underfunded and ineffective and that non-White anglers are freely breaking the rules. For instance, the angler who had confessed online to emptying buckets of fish from alleged ‘white bucket’ poachers suggested that the lack of enforcement and the perceived abuse was a key motivator and justification for their actions. Following the online confession, the ‘vigilante’ angler received praise and empathy from others who shared a similar outlook:

> I understand why you did it. I absolutely hate it when people keep illegal fish! I'd like the ministry to "deputize" some anglers to act on their behalf as well. We’d be the eyes and ears of the fishing community because let’s be realistic, the ministry is way too understaffed to be effective at all. Especially in [Southern Ontario], I called once and was told the fastest an officer could arrive was the next day! That turtle probably turned into soup (Anonymous2, Fishing Forum, 2012).
>
> [*Reply by ‘vigilante’ angler*] “Ya the odds of the MNR getting there anytime that day wasn't likely. I have called the MNR in past for this same reason at same location. Never seen anyone show up. Or ever seen an MNR in that area. Just tired of seeing this. Plus, I get pissed off seeing them there only because of the garbage left all over constantly. I know how hard those workers work to keep it beautiful there and to see the complete disrespect in every sense gets my blood boiling knowing there isn't much I can do (Anonymous1, Fishing Forum, 2012).

As this (online) interaction shows, the actions by the vigilante angler were considered justified and necessary. Both anglers reinforced and reaffirmed each others’ views about non-White deviant anglers and the idea that action must be taken due to the MNRF’s ineffectiveness. The suggestion to ‘deputize’ anglers shows both an eagerness to fulfill

the role and duties of a conservationist and to punish (non-White) culprits who are considered outsiders and a group threat.

Overall, the widespread, collective images of East Asian and other anglers of Colour become sources for evaluation and mobilizes one's sense of duty as an angler to protect the ecosystem with proactive measures, which has led to vigilantism. Since East Asian Canadians are often easily identified and non-White phenotypical features have come to signify deviance, they become easy targets for suspicion, scrutinization, unsolicited education, harassment, and even violence (OHRC 2007). Although this outrage and violence can occur against the real or perceived poaching of White, Canadian-born anglers, the collective and ethno-racializing definitions has specifically applied the poacher label to East Asian anglers and other People of Colour that positions them as morally inferior compared to Whites.

In accordance with Group Position and Social Identity theories, the way these definitions shape the feelings, evaluations, and behaviours of White anglers illuminates how acquiring an angler/hunter identity can simultaneously involve developing or reinforcing a sense of group position and superiority by learning about and contributing to images which characterize (most) Whites favourably and non-Whites as a group threat. Indeed, the prejudiced views and resulting behaviours towards Asian anglers, and as will be discussed, Indigenous people, reflects a response to a perceived threat to the dominant group's (hunting/fishing) privileges and access to resources (e.g. public hunting/fishing spots, abundant wildlife populations) and that the potential for future violence lurks beneath the waters.

"There's No Law Against Them:" Group Boundaries, Settler Colonialism, and Ongoing Violence Against Indigenous People

Allegations of moral inferiority, in addition to targeted violence and harassment, have long plagued Indigenous hunters/fishers[90] who exercise their treaty harvesting rights and regulate themselves outside Crown regulations (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Gillespie 2002; McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; Ipperwash Inquiry 2007). Like East Asian and other anglers of Colour, Indigenous hunters/fishers are characterized by many settlers as a threat to wildlife and conservation and considered inauthentic sportspeople due to perceived over-hunting/fishing and unethical practices. In particular, traditional hunting/fishing methods (i.e. spearfishing, netting) have historically and continue to be labelled inhumane and contrary to the values of the 'sporting code' and provincial laws[91]

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[90] I use the term 'fishers' rather than 'anglers' when referring to Indigenous people who fish. The term 'angler' is largely associated with sport fishing, and although there are Indigenous people who fish for sport, this term will be used to convey those who fish for food and in some cases commercial purposes.

[91] In some cases, non-Indigenous anglers are allowed to spear or use a dip net on certain fish species such as carp (MNRF 2021).

by which non-Indigenous sport hunters/anglers have to abide (Gillespie 2002; Pulla 2012; Tough 1992).

Unlike Asian hunters/anglers, the resentment and prejudices towards Indigenous people penetrate much deeper and connect to longstanding anti-treaty ideologies that continue to tarnish Indigenous-settler treaty relations, foster a sense of White-settler superiority, and contribute to upholding settler colonial structures (for more details, see chapter six). Although the ethno-racialization of poaching includes both East Asian and Indigenous peoples, the sense of threat from Indigenous people and the moral outrage that arises are more pronounced due to the supposed poaching that treaty rights are thought to enable. This is exemplified by the following excerpt:

> There are a couple nationalities that over-hunt and over-fish…Chinese for sure. I see them all the time taking everything out of the lake. Like everything! And I never see any wardens come down! Nothing! And these people have buckets full of fish of all different kinds. So, that is against the law. I see that all the time. The Natives poach fish. They're the biggest ones! Yeah, because there's no law against them. I've seen nets in creeks, and they just scoop all the fish! All of them! There's no fishing with a rod, they just scoop everything, but they're allowed to. And at hunting season, they are allowed to hunt all year around. There's no laws for them! So, they're the ones that I see do the most damage. No offense [laughs] (White, male Int17C15).

As the commentary shows, moral and racial boundaries are simultaneously drawn based on the perceived propensity or legal/illegal ability to break the rules, which assists with ethno-racializing and categorizing Indigenous and Chinese anglers as poachers. After the participant echoes the common frames about East Asian anglers (i.e. excessive fishing, buckets full of various species, no law enforcement), Indigenous people are characterized as the 'biggest' poachers due to the purported lawlessness that treaty rights 'allow.' From this, boundaries are created between Indigenous and East Asian people as well as more broadly between White people and People of Colour. Indeed, a social hierarchy emerges from the perceptions of many White hunters/anglers that positions Whites at the top and Indigenous people just below East Asian Canadians at the bottom in terms of perceived morals and rule following behaviours. Furthermore, the disdain towards fishing with nets rather than a 'fishing rod'[92] shows how the values of the sporting code, which have historically frowned upon the subsistent fishing practices and

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[92] Fishing with a rod is highly symbolic of sport fishing, leisure, and recreation. It is designed and intended to catch limited amounts of fish and largely used as a tool to find and 'fight' the biggest and fiercest fish for sport with intentions of releasing it back or keeping it for the occasional meal or a minimal food supply. By contrast, fishing with a net is a practice strictly used to catch lots of fish for sustenance, or in some cases commercial purposes, rather than sport and has been a point of contention within treaty rights disputes between Indigenous and settler fishers as well as within landmark court cases such as *Sparrow* 1990 (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; King 2011).

lifestyles of Indigenous people (Sandlos 2003; Gillespie 2002), continue to inform settler colonial (anti-treaty) ideologies, and in turn, shape the belief systems within contemporary sport fishing.

Although netting and other traditional fishing practices have been (and continue to be) utilized sustainably for hundreds and even thousands of years among Indigenous peoples across this land (Holzkamm and Waisberg 2005; Barsh 2002; McLaren 2005; Nguyen et al 2016; Pictou 2015), they were a primary criticism among participants who felt it was unethical and unsporting, a threat to fish populations, and that Indigenous people could not regulate or employ these practices in a proper way. The perceived threat to fisheries and the absence of fishing for sport within these methods are the supporting stakes that draw the ideological boundaries and positional arrangements between non-Indigenous, predominantly White sport anglers who care about conservation versus Indigenous subsistent fishers who are purportedly unconcerned with conservation. This boundary work is exemplified by an avid angler:

> I just think that [netting] takes the sport and the fun out of it… I think for most people, they don't like to see the fish netted at all because then for the people who actually like to use a fishing pole and a hook, there's no fish left. I hear the stories and literally like about 10 years ago, I was ice fishing at a lake, and you could go there and fish for a whole weekend and maybe catch one fish, right, and so I do know the effects that netting has on lakes (White, male Int10C42).

In line with the 'sporting code' and other participants' accounts, fishing with a net for food contrary to using a rod for fun comes to mark symbolic boundaries between Indigenous and settler anglers. With no substantive facts, the participant attributes netting as the root cause of the poor fishing results from a previous fishing trip and labels Indigenous people as the culprits who are ruining the fun and leisure of sport anglers. In the process and in conjunction with the shared meanings and views among other White anglers, this enhances the ethno-racialization of Indigenous people as poachers and inauthentic sportspeople.

The perceived threats posed by treaty rights and netting practices is a driving force that has resulted in deep-seated prejudice and violence towards Indigenous people for decades (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005). This anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty violence has recently resurfaced in the Maritimes in response to the fisheries of the Sipekne'katik First Nation (Grant 2020). Like the violence against East Asian anglers, the role obligations to promote and enforce the rules, along with the prejudices and colonial ideologies which have accumulated into outrage, have mobilized White anglers to act for the perceived good of conservation and sport fishing by targeting Indigenous people who exercise their treaty rights. Interviews and online data showed that the insurmountable animosity towards Indigenous hunters/fishers had indeed resulted in violent encounters. For

instance, while discussing their criticisms of treaty rights, a White participant claims to have witnessed a violent altercation erupt over the netting of fish:

> They [Indigenous fishers] are stringing gill nets across and catching all the fish that are coming to spawn. That puts a lot of sportsmen's teeth on edge and there's been a lot of negative interactions over that (White male, Int30C19).
>
> *Q- Is this something you experienced, or did you hear about it?*
>
> No, I was there when people used high pressure water to knock some of the First Nations off the rocks into the river and almost tried to drown them. They had to get the police involved to stop it (White male, Int30C20a).
>
> *Q-You witnessed that?*
>
> Yup. They were netting them on the spawning grounds and then taking 40-50 fish that are spawning, which is you know future generations. And I guess it's their right, but kind of trying to rub people's noses in it, and it created a scene I guess, and they got what they wanted (White male, Int30C20b).

This participant provides a chilling account of the vigilante violence that is inflicted against Indigenous people for perceived violations against conservation and the sporting code, even if they are legal practices. Although the participant reported to be a witness, this violence was considered justified (i.e. "they got what they wanted") and appeared gratifying. The deep-seated opposition to Indigenous treaty hunters/fishers will be discussed in more detail in chapter six.

Fundamentally, the alleged poaching and unethical practices (i.e. netting, spearfishing) that is purportedly 'allowed' via treaty rights is what distinguishes the prejudices towards Indigenous people compared to East Asian Canadians. Since 'following the rules' is the sacred cornerstone within hunter/angler belief systems and the main criteria separating authentic from inauthentic in-group members, Indigenous peoples' treaty right to manage their own hunting/fishing outside provincial regulations creates an assumption that they are free to abuse wildlife and are unconcerned with preserving ecosystems. The fury towards East Asian anglers who are supposedly breaking rules without enforcement is exacerbated when Indigenous fishers are thought to be 'given' the legal right to fish outside the rules (via "special rights"). As a result, the prejudices and violence towards Indigenous people are intensified as they touch on deep-seated and historically based conflicts over treaties, land claims, and access to resources which have tarnished Indigenous-settler treaty relations within hunting/fishing and throughout Canada's ongoing colonial nation building project (McLaren 2005; Koenig 2005; King 2011; Denis 2020; Krause and Ramos 2015; Martino 2021). Moreover, the perceptions of Indigenous peoples' 'inferior' or non-existent stewardship fosters a sense of moral and environmental superiority among predominantly White Canadians which

can nurture or strengthen a sense ownership and stewardship over Indigenous land and be used to justify historic and ongoing land dispossession.

What's missing from this and other participants' accounts, however, is that since time immemorial, Indigenous people across this land (i.e. colonial state of Canada) have and continue to implement their own practices of conservation based on complex and multifaceted laws, teachings, and principles that have long guided their roles as land stewards, even within the confines of settler colonialism (Simpson 2017; Prosper et al 2011; Barsh 2002; Holzkamm and Waisberg 2005; McLaren 2005; Nguyen et al 2016; Pictou 2015; LeBlanc et al 2011).

Most importantly, the settler colonial context in which these ethno-racializing and group positioning processes unfold has a profound impact that greatly differs for Indigenous people compared to East Asian Canadians or other People of Colour. Despite facing similar stereotypes and prejudices with other ethno-racialized groups, Indigenous people experience different forms of oppressions that infiltrate all realms of life inside and outside hunting/fishing due to the shape-shifting nature of settler colonialism (Wolfe 2006; Smith 2006; Tuck and Yang 2012; Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Lawrence and Dua 2005; Denis 2020; Martino 2021).

Additionally, members from ethno-racialized groups who live or have immigrated to this land and who experience racism may also be complicit within and benefit from ongoing colonization and the ability to live, hunt, and fish on Indigenous lands (Lawrence and Dua 2005). Like White Canadians, East Asian Canadians and other Canadians of Colour may also share similar colonial ideologies about treaty opposition, non-Indigenous moral and scientific superiority, settler ownership over land, and the positional arrangements within Indigenous-settler relations. As will be discussed in chapter six, interviews showed that at least five (East and South) Asian participants had mixed concerns about treaty rights and drew on the same frames and linguistic strategies that Whites used to explain and justify treaty opposition. While this raises several questions into why some members of ethno-racialized groups may not have solidarity with Indigenous people, it shows that Asian Canadians do have some agency, though limited, to shift boundaries and align with White settlers through the explicit commitment to hunter/angler identity roles and responsibilities and/or sharing similar treaty opposition.[93]

Is Racism a Problem in the Outdoor Community?

So far, the analysis has articulated how Asian, Indigenous, and even White Eastern European anglers/hunters have been defined in varying ways as a group threat.

[93] Future research would benefit by analyzing the group positioning and boundary work among Asian Canadians within hunting/fishing. For instance, in one case, a Chinese angler made a comment on social media denigrating Filipino people for fishing illegally and threatening fish populations.

But how did the participants feel about racism in hunting/fishing? To what extent did they consider it a problem?

Participants expressed mixed views on the extent that racism was a problem in the outdoor communities, even after articulating racial-ethnic beliefs or witnessing/experiencing racist stereotyping or discrimination. Fourteen participants felt racism was highly problematic while twenty participants thought it was not a serious issue, and six felt it was no greater than the racism in other activities or in broader Canadian society. Five participants appeared reluctant to admit the existence of racism whereas two others outright denied it or downplayed its impact. In a few cases, participants used individualistic explanations to minimize and reduce racism to an act orchestrated by a "few bad apples." A combination of these feelings was exemplified by a passionate hunter:

> *Q- Do you think racism is a problem in Canada?*
>
> As far as it [racism] exists in Canada, no. As far as hunting and fishing as a, I don't want to call it a sport, but as an endeavour, you won't find it any more or less than you would based on the amount of racism you would find per capita in a country. Obviously, with anything whether it be sports or cooking or whatever it may be, there's always bad apples, and so there's always going to be a percentage of racism, sexism, whatever 'ism' you want to throw at. There will always be some of it in whatever it may be. So, I'm not going to say that it doesn't exist at all, but I think that it's pretty much relative or comparable to what it would be in anything else (White, male Int25C19).

The 'few bad apples' explanation for racism has been well documented and not only suffers from individual reductionism (i.e. reducing the problem to individual personalities, beliefs, etc.) and overlooking social and collective processes but also works to deflect or minimize real or perceived accusations about the pervasiveness of racism (Tator and Henry 2006; Bains 2018; Haider-Markel and Joslyn 2017). Although this participant may be sincere about the lack of racism they witnessed, there appeared to be an eagerness to avoid tarnishing the image of hunters.

Impression management was evident in this and other participants' responses[94] throughout the interviews. Given the strong sense of stigma surrounding hunting/fishing that was felt by most participants, the stigma of a racist label (Quillian 2006; Bonilla-Silva 2003, 2018), and the overall interview context, managing the self may be more elevated. As a result, the real and perceived stigma around hunting/fishing along with the study of racism contributed to a wariness of the research and may have repelled others

[94] In a few cases, participants became defensive to questions about racism and stressed how they'd fish/hunt with anyone regardless of race or ethnicity.

from participating.[95] Indeed, numerous participants were highly suspicious of the study due to a fear of hunters/anglers being portrayed as 'racists.' For instance, the participant previously quoted explained their initial reluctance to be interviewed:

> So, I was reluctant to do the study. I was just cautious if you were trying specifically to paint hunting in a negative light because hunting already has had enough PR as it is, and the last thing hunters need as a community is someone to come in and try and show us to be racist. Just based on the questions that you had in there, it kind of seemed like it was the direction that it was going. People already have a stigma towards hunting and hunters, so I feel that the last thing we needed is something else to be pointed at us (White, male Int25C1).

The participant's fear of further stigmatizing hunting and the hunting community not only shows a strong awareness of the stigma hunters face, but signals a strong identification as a hunter and a deep attachment to the group. The reluctance to participate in addition to the participant's earlier quote suggests an effort to manage the self to avoid tarnishing the group image. In accordance with Identity and Social Identity theories (Hogg, Terry and White 1995), this reflects a commitment to the hunter identity role and duty to preserve not only resources but the broader hunting community,[96] including its public image. Thus, acquiring a hunter/angler identity involves learning the associated stigmas and the obligation to manage the self on behalf of the group.

The strong sense of stigma, suspicion, and disapproval of this research surfaced from a few other participants who felt either that analyzing racism was itself divisive or that this study was fabricating racism:

> I mean the current narrative uses a lot of race-based discussion or gender-based discussion or whatever way you want to divide us, and it just divides us and divides us and divides us (White, male Int12C25).

> If you're looking for certain things, you're going to find it. So, with your study, is that what you're trying to establish? That racism is dominant across hunting and fishing? I just asked because if I run a survey, and my questions are very specific, I'm going to get whatever my target is, or collected data because I asked questions specifically (East Asian, woman Int15C49).

[95] As mentioned in chapter one, approx. 45 hunters/anglers who had initial interest in the study would decline after receiving details of the study questions. Although the reasons were unknown, the strong sense of stigma towards hunting/fishing shown by participants provides a convincing explanation.

[96] Like the literature (Lord and Winter 2021), the data showed that protecting the group's public image was thought to manage the stigma and ultimately preserve the group's hunting/fishing opportunities. Specifically, having a reputable image was thought to help prevent politicians from developing anti-hunting/fishing views (particularly from the lobbying of animal rights or anti-firearm groups) and passing by-laws that would close public access points, increase legal restrictions, and ultimately inhibit hunting/fishing.

Like the previous participant (i.e. Int25), the criticism and wariness indicate a strong commitment to a hunter/angler identity and the expectations of maintaining a positive group image. Regarding the White participant's quote, the criticism towards the 'current narratives' reveals a defensive reaction to the challenges against the status quo[97] (i.e. the established racial and gendered order) with the message that public and academic discussion of racial (or gendered) inequalities is what truly creates divisions and fuels racism. By this logic, racial or gendered inequalities do not exist[98] unless spoken about ('hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil'), and therefore, if nobody disturbs the proverbial sediment in the waters, there is no problem!

The latter quote by the East Asian woman participant, who had reported experiencing subtle forms of racism and sexism in hunting/fishing during the interview, may be interpreted by some as 'internalized racism' (Pyke 2010) considering the distrust and criticism towards studying racism in hunting/fishing contrary to their experiences. Upon closer examination, however, this apparent contradiction presents the complexities of identity formation and stigma management (i.e. managing multiple identities) (Flett 2012; Fleming et al 2012) and the challenges of navigating the hunting/fishing worlds as an East Asian woman and also upholding the role expectations to defend an activity that is seen as under threat and that holds deep sentimental meanings. Indeed, this participant's hunter/angler identity was more important to their sense of self than their racial-ethnic identity.

Conclusion

Group positioning in hunting/fishing is complex, multidimensional and involves hierarchical arrangements with boundaries which are broad as well as specific, fluid as well as fixed, discrete but also overlapping and delineated along the lines of race-ethnicity, immigrant status, etc.[99] Throughout the interviews and online data, hunters/anglers' views and experiences revealed a shared understanding about the racial-ethnic images and ideological frameworks in hunting/fishing and demonstrated a collective process of ethno-racializing deviant behaviours and defining and redefining Asian, White Eastern European, and/or Indigenous peoples as poachers and as a group threat in similar but differing ways. From this, group boundaries are constructed, reproduced, and reinforced and an ethno-racialized social hierarchy becomes visible and sustained by a sense of group superiority wherein those who are White-settler, Northern European and Canadian-born position themselves at the top of this hierarchy while all

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[97] To provide context, the interviews were conducted during the summer/fall of 2020 at the height of the Black Lives Matter movement, as well as the overall activism from other historically oppressed groups.
[98] According to Bonilla-Silva (2018) and Quillian (2006), many Whites feel that in the post-civil rights era, racial or gender inequalities are minimal or non-existent.
[99] As will be shown in the next chapters, gender, and other features such as level of experience, fluency of English, and perceived knowledge of written and unwritten rules shaped this social hierarchy and one's experiences hunting/fishing.

others are evaluated against this standard and subsequently situated in varying levels on the lower end in terms of perceived morals, law-abiding behaviours, culinary and dietary customs, and commitment to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities.

The fluidity of this social hierarchy is apparent in the symbolic boundaries among Whites pertaining to ethnicity and immigrant status. According to the findings, White Canadian-born hunters/anglers with multigenerational settler roots received little to no ethno-racialization and arguably remain stagnant at the top of this hierarchy compared to other White (and non-White) ethnic groups. By contrast, the racial-ethnic boundaries are more fluid for Eastern or Southern Europeans as they can be positioned simultaneously alongside and above East Asian hunters/anglers or other People of Colour and parallel with or just below White, Northern European, and Canadian-born hunters/anglers.

Therefore, these ethnic boundaries among Whites can shift, broaden, and include all Whites under the umbrella of 'Whiteness.' Despite the stigmatization and ethno-racialization, White Eastern and Southern European anglers/hunters have a racial advantage, regardless of their ethnicity or immigrant status, compared to Asian Canadians, or other ethno-racialized groups. Not only were the negative images less severe and conveyed with less xenophobia and prejudice compared to the images of East Asian or Indigenous people, but they had minimal impact on the experiences of White participants. Interviews showed that White, Eastern European hunters/anglers had little to no prejudiced encounters and were not subjected to perpetual foreigner assumptions like Asian participants. Among the four participants who were White European immigrants (from Eastern or other areas of Europe), only one reported an incident due to their ethnic and immigrant status while at least eight East Asian and South Asian participants, including immigrants, non-citizens, and Canadian-born, had numerous experiences with racism and xenophobia (see chapter five).

These findings show how Whites have a greater ability to shift or blur ethnic boundaries, blend into the broader 'White' racial category, conceal their immigrant status, and evade racial-ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, and scrutiny that is otherwise elicited by the phenotypical features of non-White racialized groups (Wimmer 2008). Unlike White Eastern Europeans, Asian Canadians (and other People of Colour) cannot easily shift ethnic boundaries and identities, and instead, are often viewed by Whites as a monolithic racial group which overlooks the vast differences in this (problematic) racial category (i.e. ethnicity, culture, country of origin, language, etc.) (Huynh and Woo 2015). As a result, White Europeans who face stigmatization are provided with a protective shield due to their White status and can navigate the fishing/hunting worlds easier compared to members of the BIPOC community whose racial identities signify deviance and become the most salient feature upon which White hunters/anglers make evaluations (Alvarez and Kimura 2001).

Additionally, the deep-seated prejudices and ethno-racialization of Indigenous people differs from that of Asian (and White Eastern European) hunters/anglers. This is due to the longstanding anti-treaty rights and anti-Indigenous ideologies that continue to define Indigenous people as inferior, as lawless, and as a group threat to non-Indigenous, predominantly White Canadians' hunting/fishing privileges, identities, and sense of entitlement to and ownership over Indigenous land. Unlike East Asian Canadians or other ethno-racialized groups who are defined as rule breakers, Indigenous peoples' treaty rights are assumed to 'allow' unregulated and unlimited hunting/fishing which contradicts the sacredness of following the rules within hunter/angler belief systems and can intensify the prejudices towards Indigenous people by White settlers, as well as by People of Colour.

Overall, given the pervasive ethno-racializing images and ideologies that sustain hierarchies in hunting/fishing, how does this impact intergroup relations? What are the participants' experiences with racism? How do they respond? The following chapter will analyze the ways East Asian and South Asian participants experience and respond to racial-ethnic prejudices and profiling and how White participants respond to the prejudices expressed by other Whites.

Chapter Five: The Great Outdoors? Experiences with and Responses to Racism

In 2007, the Ontario Human Rights Commission launched an inquiry into the violence against (East/Southeast) Asian Canadian anglers and members from different ethno-racialized groups. This came after several reports of Asian anglers being harassed and violently pushed into the water while fishing at public piers, bridges, and docks in Southern and Central Ontario. The report found that this targeted violence stemmed from perceptions of group threat fuelled by racial stereotypes about East/Southeast Asian ‘outsiders’ fishing illegally (i.e. too much fish), threatening fish populations, and disrespecting Canada’s laws and environment (OHRC 2007, 2009).

Today, images of a non-White deviant ‘other’ persist and the potential for harassment and violence against Asian Canadians, Indigenous people, and other ethno-racialized groups remains in the fishing (and hunting) worlds in Ontario. As discussed in the previous chapter, the racial-ethnic and settler colonial (anti-treaty) ideologies that are learned when acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity have been shown to impact many White participants’ views and behaviours towards ethno-racialized groups like East Asian Canadians and Indigenous people. This is particularly the case within the sport fishing world where racial-ethnic and anti-treaty meanings and images, which form the basis of racial-ethnic and colonial ideologies, are often expressed through Colour-Blind Racism and perform the boundary work that ethno-racializes certain groups as poachers and distinguishes between authentic (rule-following) and inauthentic (rule-breaking) members along the lines of race-ethnicity and perceived or actual immigrant status. From this emerges a social hierarchy where those who are White and Canadian-born with Northern European roots and a long settler history define themselves as the ideal and true sportspeople who are superior to others in terms of perceived morals, ethical practices, culinary and dietary customs, level of experience, and a commitment to hunter/angler identity roles, responsibilities (i.e. following the rules), and the overall outdoor community.

In this chapter, the experiences of East Asian, South Asian, and Black Canadian participants will be analyzed to understand how they navigate the fishing/hunting worlds in Ontario, including how they experience, respond to, and manage racially motivated suspicions and accusations of breaking rules, unsolicited education, racial slurs, and the scrutinization and racial profiling by officials and ordinary hunters/anglers. Additionally, White participants’ responses to racial comments will be discussed to investigate not only the strategies they employ but also how a sense of group superiority does not always develop among White Canadians while becoming a hunter/angler. Indeed, hunting/fishing can be a site to foster intergroup solidarity and utilize anti-racist strategies. Together, White and non-White participants revealed how various individual, social, and contextual factors enabled, shaped, or constrained their responses to prejudices.

Given the pervasiveness of prejudices and discrimination revealed by the participants within this study, this chapter will address the following questions: in what ways (or not) do East Asian, South Asian, or Black Canadians experience racial-ethnic prejudices within hunting/fishing? How are these experiences shaped by one's race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship status, or other factors? How do Canadians of Colour prepare for, respond to, or cope with racism and discrimination? How do White Canadians respond to racism perpetuated by other Whites? What constraints, if any, prevent or shape responses to racial prejudice?

In the Crosshairs: Ethno-Racialization and the Experiences of Anglers/Hunters of Colour

The myriad forms of racism that permeate settler states such as Canada or the US (e.g. Colour-Blind Racism, Symbolic Racism, Laissez-Faire Racism) can have a multifarious impact on people from ethno-racialized groups (Bonilla-Silva 2018; Denis 2020; Quillian 2006). Though members from ethno-racialized groups can experience many types of racism, studies have shown how the racism that East Asian and Southeast Asian Canadians/Americans experience varies from other groups "…as they are often stereotyped as foreigners, exotic, or the perpetual alien" (Iwamoto and Liu 2010, 3), subjected to unique racial stereotyping (e.g. model minority, socially incompetent, food metaphors) (Grossman and Liang 2008; Huynh and Woo 2015; Liu 2015), and considered an "economic, academic, social, and/or cultural threat to the White majority" (Alvarez and Kimura 2001, 194).[100]

Interviews with East Asian and South Asian participants showed that the racial-ethnic ideologies and boundary work permeating the hunting/fishing worlds have indeed impacted intergroup relations and their experiences with White hunters/anglers online and in-person. This is particularly the case within the fishing world according to White and non-White participants who reported that fishing has greater diversity and intergroup contact compared to hunting, and therefore, racism and racial tensions may be more

[100] Although White supremacy impacts all ethno-racialized groups, the racism(s) and oppression that Black and Indigenous people experience differs from Asian Canadians due to longstanding inequalities stemming from settler colonialism and slavery (Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Tuck and Yang 2012). For instance, while East Asian people face prejudices hinging on the perpetual foreigner image and model minority stereotype, the varying forms of racisms that Black or Indigenous people face (e.g. Symbolic Racism, Laissez-Faire Racism) contain stereotypes that depict them as lazy and criminal (McConahay and Hough 1976; Denis 2020; Quillian 2006). Within a settler colonial context, Indigenous people face oppression and inequalities that pervade all spheres of life (e.g. lack of clean water, higher poverty, suicide rates, etc.) and connect to policies and processes underlying settler colonialism (Alfred and Corntassel 2005). The previous chapter showed that East Asian, South Asian, and Eastern/Southern European Canadians, as well as Indigenous people are labelled in varying ways as deviants (e.g. littering), poachers, and a perceived group threat to the environment and (White) Canadians' hunting/fishing opportunities. However, the anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights ideologies appeared to have fuelled deep-seated prejudices and resentment towards Indigenous people which differed from those expressed towards other ethno-racialized groups. The opposition to treaty rights among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers will be discussed in the next chapter.

pronounced. Of the twelve non-White participants, eight said they have experienced a variety of subtle and/or overt forms of racism within fishing such as racially-motivated suspicion, scrutinization, accusations of breaking written/unwritten rules (e.g. 'snagging', overfishing, improper fish handling, targeting fish nests), unsolicited education, sabotage, and racial slurs.[101] Consistent with an intersectional approach (Zinn and Thornton-Dill 1996; Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1991), these racial experiences did not impact participants uniformly and the trajectory and outcome of these experiences, as well as the ability to effectively manage and dissolve racist encounters, was shaped by the intersection of one's race-ethnicity, gender, and perceived or actual immigrant status, as well as fluency of English, level of experience, and the presence (and social positions) of one's social network (e.g. fishing with White or non-White friends vs. fishing alone).

Suspicion and Scrutinization from a White-Settler Gaze

Whether stopped and questioned by authorities, being under suspicion while shopping, and even scrutinized for giving blood, racial profiling by officials and laypeople has long impacted the daily lives of members from ethno-racialized communities, particularly Black, Indigenous, and Muslim peoples (Hudson and Diverlus 2020; Gabbidon and Higgins 2020; Ipperwash Inquiry 2007; Bahdi 2003). Although research has highlighted the ways Asian Canadians/Americans are racialized and stereotyped (e.g. minority model, perpetual foreigner) or racially profiled during the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g. infected, contagious) (Tan, Lee, and Ruppanner 2021), little research has shown how East Asian, South Asian, and other People of Colour are ethno-racialized and profiled in sport fishing/hunting.[102]

Fishing while under the suspicion and scrutinization from White anglers was a common experience reported by all eight non-White participants who had disclosed several instances where their fishing practices were inspected and assumed to be illegal and unethical, and/or their fishing skills and knowledge were underestimated. Participants described being watched, approached, and 'reminded' of the regulations or were questioned by MNRF officials and vigilante White anglers. This 'White-settler gaze'[103]

[101] Of the remaining four participants, three participants– an international student from South Asia, a South Asian Canadian, and a Black Canadian –had reported experiencing racism outside fishing, while a Black Canadian immigrant who recently arrived from the Caribbean reported only positive experiences inside and outside fishing.

[102] Given the anti-Asian prejudices that arose during the pandemic, it is possible that this shaped the participants' responses to interview questions about intergroup relations. The pandemic also may have impacted their experiences fishing/hunting within this unique context. Anti-Asian prejudices and processes of ethno-racialization within the fishing/hunting worlds existed long before the pandemic, but may have been strengthened during this time.

[103] Fanon (1967) describes how he experienced the 'White gaze' upon entering a predominantly White context where he felt his 'otherness' through the eyes of Whites who scrutinized his every move. Similarly, non-White participants in this study revealed how their behaviours are scrutinized and interpreted through a racial lens by White settlers in Ontario.

(Fanon 1967; Coulthard 2014) and racial profiling seemed to be fuelled by the perpetual foreigner image and the assumption that non-White anglers are outsiders who are unaware of the sport fishing (sub)culture in Canada and have a higher proclivity to break the rules. As a result, both immigrant and Canadian born anglers of Colour were exposed to initial and ongoing suspicion and treated like deviant and novice anglers even though they were following the rules, and many had extensive fishing experience and knowledge.

In one case, a South Asian, Canadian-born participant, who is an accomplished angler, explained an encounter in Northern Ontario where a local White angler offered a reminder and a warning about the legal fishing seasons:

> I was on the lake one time and there was another boat on the water who drove by, and the guy was yelling, 'Oh, this fish is out of season'. I was going after burbot… guy was like, 'walleye and pike are out of season. You can't keep them right now', and based on the tone of his voice, I'm not sure if there's any racial prejudice in his voice or anything like that, but he was kind of imposing that I don't know what I'm doing because I'm fishing there, and I simply said back to him 'there's other species in the lake, and I'm going after that'. So, experiences like that kind of make it a little bit tough, but it's not that bad like at the end of the day, he was just promoting that conservationist kind of culture (South Asian, male Int34C10).

As the quote suggests, this unsolicited education about the fishing seasons was rooted in suspicion and assumptions that underestimated the participant's skill and knowledge of the rules. Although the participant was uncertain if the suspicions were racially motivated, they highlight the subtleties and ambiguities resulting from the scrutinization or profiling under a White-settler gaze and how it left this participant (and others) wondering whether the White angler's actions were shaped by racial prejudice or strictly adhering to the role and duties of a conservationist.[104]

In other ways, these ambiguities resulting from the White-settler gaze are lowered when more explicit forms of racial profiling ensue. For instance, one East Asian participant, who had described being scrutinized for four hours by a local White resident in a small town while fishing, was also singled out and questioned by MNRF officials on another occasion:

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[104] As discussed in the previous Chapters, the belief systems that are learned when acquiring an angler identity not only involves learning the angler's roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour but also learning racial images and ideologies that characterize Asian Canadians and other anglers of Colour as a threat and a group that needs to be policed. From this, the White resident's actions could reflect a commitment to the angler role and the adoption of racial-ethnic ideologies that shape one's views towards perceived out-group members.

> A guy came over, and he was talking to me, and I was fishing for carp… I noticed this one guy kept asking me questions, and there's other people around me that were fishing, but he was asking me the most, and I was very suspicious of this guy because I'm like, I bet you this guy's working with the CO (Conservation Officer). And then shortly after that, the CO came and asked me for my license; and then they asked me, 'what are you fishing for?' I said, 'for carp'. And then I showed them my rig, and he's like, 'oh yeah. I've seen this before.' I'm like 'your buddy over there wasted a lot of time talking to me because I was clearly fishing for carp' (East Asian, male Int48C18).

Similarly, another participant, a novice angler who had immigrated here from South Asia, discussed an experience where a White angler accused him of poaching and demanded to see a fishing licence:

> So, one day I was fishing with my family, and we caught a big salmon. When we caught it, we were happy, and one guy showed up and started asking me 'do you have a licence?', and I was with my family and I didn't want to be rude or something, so I said 'yes, I do. I have a sport fishing licence, and I'm allowed to catch five salmon.' Then he started telling me 'some people don't do it legally' and this and that, and 'we have police here that come and take the people and they check if they're fishing legally,' and I felt so bad because I was with the family, but I didn't want any trouble at the time, and I didn't say anything to him, I just said 'okay, I'm going to leave, so you don't need to worry about that.' This was one experience (South Asian, male Int44C4).

In these two examples, both participants were rigidly following the rules but were still subjected to suspicion and asked to produce legal credentials. The way they were singled out and targeted indicates that the appraisals and behaviours from the MNRF officials and the vigilante angler may well have been guided by the collective racial images of a non-White outsider who is purportedly more likely to break the rules either intentionally or by ignorance. Even though the South Asian participant was in fact an immigrant and a novice angler, the aggressive accusation by the vigilante angler suggests that this assumption was already established before approaching and harassing the participant and his family, which ultimately forced them to stop fishing and leave.

As such, these experiences show how the East Asian and South Asian participants were scrutinized and targeted under the White-settler gaze in the angling world and assumed to be an immigrant and an inexperienced, immoral angler irrespective of their fishing skills or their true status as an immigrant or Canadian born citizen. At the same time, despite sharing similar experiences, the level of fishing skill, fluency of English, and immigrant status (and the length of residency in Canada) shaped the trajectory of these experiences and how participants were able to effectively engage in stigma

management strategies to deflect and disconfirm racial stereotypes and manage the accusations from White anglers. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

While these participants revealed the ways their race-ethnicity and perceived or actual immigrant/Canadian-born status shaped their experiences, gender can also intersect and impact the way one is scrutinized and/or underestimated. For instance, one participant, an East Asian Canadian woman who is a passionate hunter/angler, described how their skills, knowledge, and experience is sometimes underestimated in certain contexts and that their identity as an angler/hunter is overlooked due to their race-ethnicity and gender. This became clear when shopping in an outdoor store:

> When I started [hunting/fishing], I hated going to [a certain outdoor shop]. They just made you feel really small, and there's no way that they wanted to help you. Just a horrible experience (East Asian, woman Int15C26a).
>
> *Q- Is that because of your gender or racial-ethnic background?*
>
> Yes, both. And I think that was the only time I've ever felt that. Even though I tried to ignore it, they look at you like it's just something foreign... And there wasn't just one time; it is actually a repeat- from their fly-fishing shop to the hunting area. Yeah, I think that's where I've experienced it the most. I'll never go to the fishing counter… The fishing counter there was not inviting at all being female and being Asian (East Asian, woman Int15C26b).

As this account shows, navigating in the fishing world, particularly while shopping in an outdoor store, was influenced by the intersection of the participant's gender and race-ethnicity, which was felt to be the reason for the poor customer service and why their identity as a hunter/angler was neglected. Other women hunters/anglers who were predominantly White had reported similar experiences while shopping in outdoor stores or interacting within all-male contexts inside and outside hunting/fishing. As will be discussed in chapter seven, women anglers showed that the hunting/fishing worlds are experienced differently wherein misogyny (rather than racism in the case of White women) perpetuates alleged gender inferiority regarding skill and ability instead of moral (racial) inferiority (i.e. breaking rules).

Racial Slurs, Explicit Accusations and Harassment

In addition to the suspicions and scrutinization, many East Asian and South Asian (and Black)[105] participants also reported a wide range of experiences involving racial slurs and 'passing comments', explicit accusations of illegal practices (i.e. 'snagging'), harassment, and sabotage. During these experiences, all participants were following the rules, and, in many cases, they were forced to defend and prove themselves to their

[105] One Black Canadian participant, who fished as a child, reported experiencing racism outside of fishing.

perpetrators, which was sometimes ignored and neglected. Above all, the ethno-racializing processes that categorize People of Colour as poachers operate through (and perhaps mobilize) the White perpetrators' actions, thereby, performing the boundary work of separating authentic from inauthentic sport anglers.

For instance, two participants reported having racial slurs yelled at them by White Canadians driving past in their cars. The South Asian angler, who previously described experiencing unsolicited education, explains an incident while fishing in a small, rural town in Southern Ontario:

> I was in [a rural area], and I was walking down a road towards a little pond, and one guy yelled out of his truck the n-word at me; and I found that kind of funny because I'm like, well, that's the wrong background. I'm not even Black, but I can just assume that there's something wrong with that guy. Whether or not that was connected to fishing is completely different, but I was going fishing with all my fishing gear, so I can explain that instance there. So that was probably the worst one I've ever experienced. But other than that overt one, it's been more so just subtle kind of stuff (South Asian, male Int34C13).

Although this was an extreme and rare case for the participant, it shows the overt and appalling forms of racial prejudice that People of Colour experience, manage, and cope with throughout their mundane fishing activities. A coping strategy is visible in the way the perpetrator is thought to have "something wrong," which reflects a strategy utilized by members from other oppressed groups.[106] As well, the participant concluded that most forms of prejudice are subtle rather than overt which aligns with the theories of contemporary or 'new' racism that has emerged in the post civil rights era (Quillian 2006; Bonilla-Silva 2003, 2018), as well as the Colour-Blind Racism expressed by White participants in the previous chapter; though, overt racial views continue to be voiced.

Other participants, both East Asian and South Asian Canadian immigrants, described how they were accused of illegal fishing and/or were labelled a 'snagger' despite fishing legally and ethically. One participant, a long-time angler who had immigrated to Canada from East Asia as a child, disclosed at least two incidents[107] where they were accused of snagging by White anglers due to racial assumptions, faulty appraisals, and misinformation about the fishing techniques and equipment that was utilized. In one of the incidents, the participant explained that:

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[106] Attributing racial prejudices to an individual's moral failings was a coping strategy used by Indigenous people in Australia (Mellor 2004) and Canada (Denis 2020). Mellor (2004) suggests that this strategy helps people defend the self by reinterpreting the racist event as a problem with the perpetrator rather than themselves.

[107] The participant also described a third incident that occurred while fishing in Australia where they received a 'reminder' about the fishing rules from a local White angler. Though this is one case, it shows how such images and accusations transcend beyond Canadian borders and pervade other settler societies.

> Because I'm a visible minority, people will take that identity first, and they would have passing remarks even though they may not be true. So, for example, I was fishing for salmon on a creek, and I was using a spinner, like legitimately trying to induce an aggressive strike from salmon, and I would get these remarks where people would be accusing me of snagging fish, even though obviously I'm not…There were three guys that were float fishing there and they were making those comments calling me a snagger because I was fishing with a big, 3-inch spoon… They probably didn't see that it was a single barbless hook on my spoon. They just saw this big spoon and me using a spinning rod, and probably me being Asian as well. And so, they made those comments. My friend, who is Caucasian, he basically came to my defense. He said, 'hey look at his lures! Look carefully at what he's doing. He's not ripping the lure through! He's just holding it in front of the fish. There's no snagging going on.' And so, my friend basically shut those guys up, and then we decided at that point to not even bother fishing there. We just kept moving on like it just wasn't worth it (East Asian, male, Int52C13b,25).

Even though they used legal and ethical fishing techniques and equipment, the participant was initially labelled a 'snagger' and felt this was due to the primacy given to his racial rather than angler identity, the negative images and suspicions of Asian anglers, and inaccurate observations. The defence from the participant's White friend helped dissipate the tensions and 'prove' their legal practices, but the interaction was still discouraging enough for them to leave that fishing spot. Though questions arise as to what would've occurred if the participant's White friend had not intervened, it shows how the contours of one's experiences and managing others' reactions can be shaped by several factors such as one's social networks, namely, having White friends to deflect racial stereotypes and profiling. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Intersectionality and 'White Buffers'

Although anglers of Colour were often under suspicion and assumed to be immigrants and inexperienced anglers regardless of their citizenship status, the trajectory of their experiences with racism and the ability to disprove stereotypes, dissipate tensions, and 'prove' they are rule-followers was largely influenced by the participant's fluency of English, level of experience (skills and knowledge), length of residency (for immigrant participants), and whether they were fishing alone or with other (White) anglers.

For instance, the East Asian Canadian participant who had been accused of snagging claimed that immigrating as a child allowed a greater chance to learn fluent English, enhance their fishing skills and knowledge, and learn about the written and unwritten rules of sport fishing, which, in turn, shaped and limited their experiences with racism. The participant explains:

> My experience could maybe be a little different from other people. I was still fairly young, so I had a stronger Canadian identity compared to other people who may have immigrated here when they are older. So, the language barrier was less of an issue for me… In terms of interactions with other anglers, generally, they have been more or less pretty favorable overall over the years. Again, that's because probably I'm younger. I learned to speak fluent English. And so, their perception of me is probably a lot different from somebody who may be older, who immigrated here later and [who] may have more of a language barrier (East Asian, male Int52C13a).

Despite the negative experiences that were reported, the participant feels these attributes, namely greater 'assimilation' into White-settler Canadian culture, have helped dissipate and deflect racial encounters. However, underlying this is an assumption that conforming to the standards of White Canadians (i.e. fluent English) is the only way to disconfirm racial stereotypes and avoid racial discrimination.[108]

Correspondingly, the South Asian (Canadian-born) participant, who had experienced unsolicited education in Northern Ontario, elaborated on how the racially based suspicions were alleviated once they responded and demonstrated that they spoke fluent English, knew the regulations, and were an experienced angler:

> Once I began speaking about fishing for burbot, or the walleye are out in 'this feet of water' doing this or were spawning etc., then that dissipated and the racism kind of lifted up immediately, and he only saw the angler in me and not the racial, but I definitely would say at first glance it was that bad (South Asian, male Int34C12b).

For both participants, the ability to 'prove' their fishing knowledge and angler identity to their White accusers appeared to have shaped how they experienced racism as well as the outcome of their interaction. Although fluent English and extensive fishing knowledge can provide a defensive shield, it is only after the accusations have been declared that it becomes necessary, and it does not act as a preventative measure.[109] In short, these experiences not only show how ethno-racializing images (see chapter four) appear to have influenced and mobilized White anglers' racial profiling and accusations, but how acceptance is 'conditional' on non-White peoples' ability to prove their lawful practices. Thus, the onus is placed on anglers of Colour to disconfirm the collectively

[108] Speaking fluent English also appears to be a signifier that anglers of Colour can read and understand the rules. Those with an accent may be subjected to greater suspicions and assumptions about their knowledge of the rules.

[109] For some non-White participants, fluent English, extensive fishing knowledge and experience, and lawful behaviour was not enough to convince their White accusers.

shared racial stereotypes and ideologies and convince White anglers they are law-abiding and authentic outdoorspeople.

At the same time, fishing with a White friend can act as a ‘buffer’ against racially motivated accusations and labels such as the ‘white bucketer.’ The South Asian participant, who was previously quoted, added that:

> I definitely say it happens a lot less often if I'm with an angler whose Anglo etcetera or if I'm with my girlfriend, who is White as well. That happens a lot less. But if I'm on my own going into rural areas or even some parts in kind of the core of the [city], I'll get lumped into that category (South Asian, male Int34C17).
>
> *Q- Why do you feel that those images go away if you’re with somebody who's White?*
>
> I'd say just because it's like, ‘oh, he's with that person; therefore, they must know what they're doing’ kind of thing. It's just kind of how it goes. Just kind of how that racism works. But again, it happens so seldomly that it's really hard to make it like such a factor in my fishing and it happens maybe under 5% of the time that I'm out (South Asian, male Int34C19b).

As the participant suggests, fishing with White Canadians is thought to signal a ‘seal of approval’ to other (White) anglers that they are an authentic and rule following sportsperson. Whether fishing with Whites always acts as a deflector against racism, the participant shows how their awareness of and experiences with subtle and overt forms of racism has impacted and bolstered cognitive assessments to understand these encounters and distinguish the patterns of when and why they experience racism (or not). Though it may appear insignificant, it points to the racial privileges afforded to White anglers who can not only avoid racial discrimination, but do not have to engage in the same cognitive and emotional work. Like others who experienced racism, this participant asserted that these occurrences are minimal, but given the range of experiences reported by the participants and coupled with the racial-ethnic images and ideologies expressed by White participants, it shows that such experiences are more than discrete and infrequent events but a collective pattern that is shaped by the ethno-racialized social structures in which these interactions and experiences unfold.

Positive Experiences: A ‘Few Bad Eggs’?

Although they can be a site where racism and racial-ethnic hierarchies permeate and shape intergroup relations, fishing or hunting can also unite like-minded people from all backgrounds (e.g. race-ethnicity, gender, class, etc.) and foster positive intergroup relationships and interactions based on peoples’ strong passions for hunting/fishing and the environment. One participant, a student from South Asia who had reported no racist experiences inside the fishing world, explains that:

> I meet lots of people when I'm at the river. I actually made some friends. I was an international student when I came here. I didn't really have a lot of friends. But then when I started fishing, I made friends with people from a lot of different backgrounds, different ages. They helped me a lot. They shared their tactics. Some of them also shared their equipment with me. I really appreciated that (South Asian, male Int49C3).

As the quote shows, this participant was welcomed by other anglers (White and non-White) revealing that racism isn't always pervading one's fishing experiences and that fishing can enable intergroup friendships. Indeed, sharing a similar angler identity and passion for fishing can break down racial-ethnic barriers and nurture in-group solidarity and a sense of fraternity with other anglers which transcends race-ethnicity, gender, etc. (Franklin 1998).

Furthermore, most of the participants who experienced racism within fishing also stated that these encounters were infrequent (despite reporting numerous incidents), or that it did not overshadow the positive experiences:

> I find that for the most part, anglers are pretty friendly towards one another. It's kind of an unspoken brotherhood or fraternity. There are a couple of outliers that are a couple of bad eggs, but we can't case the cluster of data on them. I'd say for the most part, it's pretty good. It's very positive I would say (South Asian, male Int34C9).

This participant, who reported several racist encounters while fishing, illustrates the feelings of solidarity they have towards anglers (i.e. fraternity) despite the racism that exists. Like several White participants, this participant of Colour and two others drew on the 'few bad eggs' or 'bad apples' frame to explain racism within fishing and, in the process, reduced racism to an individual problem rather than a collective phenomenon with a structural foundation (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux 2005).

Although many participants each cited numerous racial encounters with racism, they also stated it occurs infrequent which raises questions. For example, might a strong commitment to an angler identity and role expectations compel them to downplay racism and thereby avoid tarnishing the image of the angling community? Since most White participants witnessed or expressed racism in the 'backstage' and away from members of the targeted racial-ethnic group, the 'few bad eggs' explanation may very well be a true reflection of the non-White participants' experiences. At the same time, the minimization of racism or the reinterpretation of racist events also may be a coping strategy (Mellor 2004) to manage the conflicts that arise between multiple identities (Flett 2012), such as a strong identification as an angler on the one hand, and a racial identity that is stigmatized within the fishing world on the other. Through this, anglers of Colour can maintain

dignity and a strong attachment to the angling community against the backdrop of racism and an ethno-racialized social hierarchy.

Nonetheless, within a context of pervasive racial-ethnic ideologies, ethno-racialization and group positioning processes, these participants of Colour are committed to their love and passions for fishing (and/or hunting for some) and continue to persevere and maintain a strong attachment to the outdoor world. However, when non-White and White Canadians are exposed to racism within fishing/hunting, how do they respond? The following section will provide insight into this question.

Responses to Racism: Direct and Forbearing Responses

Experiencing racism can ignite a range of cost-benefit calculations and appraisals to understand and/or decide how to respond and manage the racist experience. This, in turn, influences the stigma management and coping strategies that are utilized to deal with or prevent future racist encounters. In accordance with the literature, both non-White and White participants revealed an array of responses or stigma management strategies to subtle/overt forms of racism and discrimination within fishing/hunting which entailed direct (problem-focused) and forbearing (emotion-focused) responses, coping mechanisms, or a mix thereof (Lamont et al 2016; Noh et al 1999; Mellor 2004; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012). For White and non-White participants, the common responses to racial-ethnic prejudices were nuanced forms of confronting or ignoring coupled with multiple approaches to managing the self. Consistent with the literature (Dickter and Newton 2013; Lamont et al 2016; Kaiser and Miller 2001), these responses were shaped and constrained in varying ways by the context or situation, the nature of the racist comment or encounter (e.g. subtle vs overt, direct vs indirect), the type of relationship with the perpetrator, as well as the desire to avoid intensifying tensions, tarnishing relationships, or disrupting the harmony of a group interaction (e.g. dinner, party, hunting camp).

Fundamentally, the way racism was experienced and responded to differed between non-White and White participants. First, most White participants did not directly experience racism (e.g. dirty looks, racial profiling or stereotyping) or ethno-racialization.[110] Instead, they were indirectly exposed through the comments, stories, or jokes from other White Canadians within mundane conversations or routine interactions, which occurred primarily in 'backstage' spheres of life. By contrast, participants of Colour were subjected to prejudices aimed directly at them and/or their racial-ethnic group, which in many cases, required a response. Indeed, participants of Colour were often compelled to defend against accusations, minimize tensions, or prepare and engage

[110] Although some White European ethnicities (e.g. Eastern, Southern European) and immigrant statuses were stigmatized, only one White immigrant participant directly experienced xenophobia and prejudice, though this was expressed through teasing and humour and significantly differed from the racial jokes about People of Colour (see chapter four).

in stigma management strategies to deflect and disconfirm racial stereotypes. Unlike White participants, they had greater pressure to manage prejudices and/or their own emotions and behaviours and maintain a sense of dignity.

Second, White participants are challenging racism from a racial position that is not oppressed but rather one of power and privilege (O'Brien 2001; Traoré 2017). As a result, and in contrast to People of Colour, they have different constraints and (typically) greater agency to choose whether, and in what ways, they wanted to respond, whereas in many cases, East Asian and South Asian participants had limited agency and were forced to respond or 'prove' they were law-abiding and authentic sport anglers. Third, White participants did not experience the residual effects from racism the same as participants of Colour (e.g. prolonged feelings of discouragement, lasting impression, making sense of the situation), nor were they required to prepare and use stigma management and coping strategies.

Despite the prejudiced views towards East Asian Canadians and other People of Colour, there were several White participants who were vehemently opposed to racism and racial hierarchies inside (and outside) hunting/fishing and revealed the intricate ways of how racial-ethnic structures are critiqued, how racial prejudices are responded to and challenged, and how these responses are shaped and constrained. As such, these responses enhance our understanding of Group Position theory in that some White Canadians may not share the same racial-ethnic ideologies and sense of group position and superiority as other 'dominant' group members who have similar social structural positions (e.g. race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship, etc.), live in the same geographical region (e.g. rural or urban, Northern/Southern Ontario), and share the same (sub)cultural group membership and identity as a hunter/angler. Additionally, challenging the way out-groups are defined and redefined throughout White Canadian's interactions shows that some Whites aim to inhibit or disrupt the sense of group position and the ethno-racial hierarchies inside and outside hunting/fishing.

Navigating White Spaces: Direct Responses from Anglers/Hunters of Colour

Direct, active responses to racism, such as criticizing and condemning racial ideologies or addressing and correcting misinformation via education, are responses that aim to confront and minimize racism on an interpersonal level by attempting to alter the perpetrator, the context, and/or the interaction. These responses are idealized and practiced among many ethno-racialized groups, particularly those within historical, socio-political, cultural, and national contexts with a long history of activism and resistance to deep-seated racial hierarchies. Within the North American context, namely the US, the Civil Rights movement and the preluding forms of resistance have legitimated confrontational strategies and provided a framework for actively challenging racial oppression, as well as an assortment of resources (e.g. cultural repertoires, legal tools) that People of Colour can draw on to challenge racial prejudices on multiple levels (e.g.

interpersonal, institutional, structural, etc.) (Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004; Brondolo et al 2009).

Conversely, forbearing responses and coping strategies (e.g. ignoring racism; humour) may be the preferred methods among many people from Asia living in the US, Canada, and abroad. Across many cultures in Asia, values and beliefs that commend collectivism, emotional self-control, humility, conflict avoidance, and interpersonal co-operation may influence Asian Canadians/Americans to adopt indirect, forbearing responses to address and cope with racism rather than direct, active strategies that correspond to the dominant values among Western cultures such as individualism and assertiveness (Noh et al 1999; Iwamoto and Liu 2010; Kuo 1995).

However, interviews from this research revealed that at least eight participants, including two East Asian Canadians (as well as 5 South Asian, 1 Black Canadian), drew on nuanced forms of direct responses to confront racism they experienced or witnessed online or in-person. In line with the literature (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012; Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004), these direct responses consisted of challenging the perpetrator(s) either by highlighting (and condemning) the perceived racism (e.g. calling out, deflecting comment back to perpetrator) or using education to correct racial stereotypes and misinformation and prove they are true outdoorspeople.

There were several participants who actively confronted perceived racism inside and outside hunting/fishing, even when they personally were not the target. This is exemplified by an East Asian participant who claims to directly criticize the racial term ‘white bucket brigade’ when it’s communicated online or in-person:

> I call people on it when they start throwing that term around. It's just not even accurate… Do you really know that they are over the limit? Because if you say they keep every fish, depending on what fish they are, they are within their legal limit. So, it could be that they're keeping a lot of bowheads. Well, bowheads have no limits. So, they're doing it within their legal rights…Some people assume they don't have licenses, and I say, ‘do you know they don't have licenses?’ I start basically breaking down each of these points and walls that they have and try to approach it that way. People get pretty heated in those cases when they're proven wrong, but I tried to approach it with facts. These are what you accuse them of, but you have no evidence to suggest this and stop making these comments (East Asian, male Int52C30-31).

Insofar as forbearing approaches are favoured by some East or Southeast Asian people in Canada (Noh et al 1999), this participant diverges from this notion and actively addresses and dissects the faulty appraisals and misinformation in the stereotypes that the white bucket epithet is founded upon.

At the same time, this participant and others also revealed various constraints and other factors that shaped the contours of their responses and required that participants manage their emotions and behaviours when faced with racism. For instance, another participant, a Black Canadian woman who fished as a child and has experienced racism throughout their daily life, articulated how the social context, age, the subtle or overt nature of the racist comment, a fear of violence, and available resources can constrain or shape whether they directly respond and confront racism:

> It really depends. Sometimes you have a fear for your life and safety is the most important thing. Sometimes it is a matter of deflecting the comment back to the person if it is a comment. It really does just depend on what's going on, what it is, who you're with, how old you are, how many tools you have to work with (Black, woman Int41C7).

Indeed, studies have shown how People of Colour may be constrained to confront due to numerous factors such as a desire to preserve emotional energy, avoid conflict and retaliation (e.g. violence, arguments) (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012), or avoid being labelled overly sensitive or a complainer (Kaiser and Miller 2001), which may influence some to use forbearing responses. Within the interview, the participant also explained that during childhood, their family owned a cottage outside a rural, small town with an all-White population, and in addition to the obsessive staring by local White residents when they ventured into town, their cottage was set on fire in a case of arson, which the participant and her family believed was a racially motivated hate crime. Considering the historical and contemporary forms of violence and harassment against People of Colour in wilderness spaces (Finney 2014), these suspicions are not unfounded and such experiences (and many others) can impact how one responds to prejudices throughout daily life.

Furthermore, several participants who had initially used forbearing responses (i.e. ignoring) for minor, subtle forms of racism (e.g. dirty looks, off-the-cuff comments) were sometimes compelled to adopt direct responses to manage racial profiling (i.e. poaching accusations) or when subtle prejudices intensified and became overt:

> I ignore it unless it gets out of hand and will speak up... I am good at dissolving the problem, and if shit gets out of control, be the crazier person lol to show how they are acting is wrong; make an example [sic] (East Asian, male Int51SC14a).

As this quote shows, the requirement to confront and defend against racial prejudices involves managing emotions and behaviours, which may include a decision to intimidate the perpetrator as a form of self-defence. Other participants, however, took a less aggressive approach and sought to manage their selves to avoid conflict and mitigate racial stereotypes and profiling:

> Sometimes I'll ignore it. Sometimes I'll acknowledge it and say what I'm doing or why they're wrong. Sometimes I'll challenge them on it. And that's kind of the way to go because I often find that in Canada, people can be quite reasonable. Especially, again, when I start talking, they can tell that I know what I'm talking about. So that's how I respond is simply just up front; not aggressive back but simply explaining the logic and sticking to the facts and it's usually dissipated immediately (South Asian, male Int34C15).

This participant shows how both forbearing and direct responses are used to simultaneously manage prejudiced reactions[111] and manage their selves to appear calm and collected while they educate and correct the perpetrator and avert controversy. As discussed earlier, this participant was obliged to not only defend themselves but also 'prove' they are law-abiding, knowledgeable, and therefore, an authentic sport angler. Although the participant feels this is an effective strategy, there are substantial implications in the way the burden is placed on the (non-White) receiver to prove themselves. As well, when compared to other non-White participants who are immigrants, novice sport anglers, or have an accent, this participant shows how the intersection of race-ethnicity, citizenship (e.g. Canadian-born), fluency of English, and fishing experience can enable greater success at managing prejudiced reactions and racially inspired accusations of poaching.

In addition, two participants (non-citizens) revealed other constraints linked to a fear of jeopardizing their ability to work or study in Canada which prevented them from confronting or even reporting racism or racially motivated assaults. One participant, who had experienced racism online and offline, outlines the constraints:

> First, I don't want to make things worse. Fighting back leads to more friction… So, at that point, they are extremely emotional and there is no point trying to confront them because they are just going to be threatened by it and act more irrationally. So, I don't see any value in it. And yeah, I'm here on my work permit. I don't want any issues. If I confront, say if someone pushes me, like whatever, I don't want my name to be in any of the cards that can affect my visa. So, all these things affect me a lot. It can affect my employment. So, it's a two-part thing. For starters, obviously I don't want things to get worse. And the second part, I don't want to ruin my work permit (South Asian, male Int45C16).

As the participant suggests, the concern of fuelling tensions, the perceived ineffectiveness of confronting someone in an 'irrational' state, and most importantly, the fear of endangering their work permit propelled them into conflict avoidance and a preference for forbearing responses.

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[111] Like other participants of Colour, forbearing responses (e.g. ignoring, managing/supressing emotions) were mainly used when they experienced subtle forms of racism (e.g. dirty looks, indirect odd comments).

Likewise, another participant, an international student from South Asia, described being assaulted by a (non-angler) White perpetrator in a store and why they chose not to confront and defend themselves or report the incident to police:

> Personally, I did not confront anyone because I did not want to cause any trouble. I'm under a study permit over here, so I did not want to get into trouble. I just ignored it (South Asian, male Int49C30a).
>
> *Q- Did you report it?*
>
> No. I was under the impression that I am here on a study permit, so there might be some consequences if I get involved with the police. Basically, I did not want to get in trouble (South Asian, male Int49C30b).

These examples show how the intersection of one's race-ethnicity and non-citizenship status poses constraints which differed from those experienced by (White and non-White) immigrant and Canadian-born citizens. Despite how many racial encounters go unreported by immigrants and citizens alike (OHRC 2007), these participants' non-citizen status has created greater challenges that they need to consider and negotiate such as endangering their ability to study or work in Canada. Unfortunately, this produces a feeling that they are not accorded the same rights as Canadian citizens and it limits their perceived choices, which in turn, puts considerable pressure to adopt forbearing, passive responses compared to non-White Canadian citizens.

In short, the way racism is experienced and responded to is impacted and shaped by the intersection of one's race-ethnicity, citizenship status, fluency of English, and level of experience. Despite the similarities, there were nuanced but significant differences among participants of Colour (citizens and non-citizens) regarding the constraints they faced and the ability to effectively respond to and manage prejudiced reactions and manage their selves. Nonetheless, the way racism was experienced and addressed by non-White hunters/anglers revealed the common ways they must navigate and negotiate their racialized identity throughout the fishing (and hunting) worlds. As will be shown, several White Canadians drew on similar strategies to confront racism.

Challenging Power and Privilege: Responses from White Hunters/Anglers

Sports and recreation, including outdoor activities like fishing/hunting, are not only an arena where racial ideologies and practices are reproduced and shape intergroup relations, but also where anti-racist elements can arise and challenge racism(s) and the racial order on multiple levels (Long and Spracklen 2011). Although most White participants drew on varying elements of Colour-Blind Racism, there were fourteen

White participants[112] who vehemently opposed racism and illustrated how direct responses were used (or inhibited) within various settings and online/offline interactions. Like non-White participants and in line with the literature (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012; Traoré 2017; Dickter and Newton 2013), White participants called out and condemned racism or used education to challenge racial stereotypes and misinformation. This also would include managing their emotions and behaviours to remain calm not only to avoid conflict, but to effectively change the perpetrators' views towards out-groups.

For a few White participants, confronting racism involved taking an active and sometimes aggressive approach. One participant, an immigrant from Europe who experienced teasing (see chapter four), asserted how they aim to confront racism in all spheres of life:

> Since my youth, I've always been extremely opposed to racism, and in almost all my interactions, I always confront it, and usually people back down quite quickly….I usually try to explain in no uncertain terms all the silly stereotypes and how their statements are racist, which is usually met with derision and 'oh, you're exaggerating' and so on, but I just don't let that stuff go because language is important. If you let that stuff proliferate or be heard without confronting it, it just keeps spreading. So, generally, I try to be vocal about it and make my point, and I try to teach people a little bit, and worst-case scenario, I've physically stood up to racism many times (White, male Int6C7-8).

The participant not only reveals strong anti-racist views, but also how they actively contest and condemn racial stereotypes, which has resulted in physical altercations. Although 'hot' confronting (e.g. directly and aggressively attacking the perpetrator and their self conception) does have high potential to facilitate conflict, it has been shown to effectively reduce the expression of future prejudices among the confronted (Czopp, Monteith and Mark 2006), especially if their prejudices are challenged in the presence of others (Blanchard et al 1994) in public or private spheres. Whether the participants' actions reduced the perpetrators' prejudiced comments remains unclear.

In contrast, most White participants who directly confronted racism described taking a less aggressive approach (i.e. 'cold confronting)[113] by using education, having a conservation, and managing their emotions and behaviours to approach the situation and engage the commenter in a non-confrontational manner. This is exemplified in the following quote:

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[112] At least one of these participants claimed to confront racism, but also expressed racial stereotypes throughout the interview.

[113] 'Cold confronting' (in contrast to hot confronting) includes confronting the prejudiced comment rather than the person to preserve relationships and avoid conflict (Czopp, Monteith and Mark 2006; Traoré 2017).

> I'll try to challenge them. I definitely feel that it's much more effective to be a bit of a wolf in sheep's clothing. If somebody says something like that, and you yell at them and wave a finger in their face and say, 'you're a racist', like that approach has never changed anyone's mind ever. So, one has to ask themselves, what's your goal here? If it's to change someone's mind from a viewpoint that is problematic and that causes harm, it's better to have a more fulsome conversation with them about it (White, male Int14C33).

As the participant suggests, confronting racism is felt to be more effective when a softer approach is employed– one that is directed towards the comments/beliefs rather than the person and does not involve imputing labels (e.g. racist), but a harmonious dialogue to educate and change problematic views. Furthermore, this provides insight into the cognitive calculations and cost-benefit analyses about the most effective and non-conflictual way to challenge racism.

The participant's actions mirror the findings from Traoré's (2017) research about the everyday anti-racist practices of White Canadians living in Southern Ontario. According to Traoré, White participants addressed racism in their interpersonal interactions by either confronting the perpetrator and attacking their racist identity and sense of self or by utilizing counterclaiming tactics (i.e. education or information) to correct racial bias or debunk stereotypes without attacking the person's identity. By addressing racism(s) in a non-conflictual manner, anti-racist proponents can not only avoid conflict but also maintain social relationships, which enable greater chances to persuade opinions and behaviours for the long-term.

Like the participants of Colour discussed earlier, and in line with the literature (Traoré 2017; Dickter and Newton 2013), there were similar constraints that prevented or shaped White participants' confronting strategies and steered them into forbearing responses (e.g. ignoring). For many White (and non-White) participants, the social context or interaction (e.g. online vs in-person, individual vs group interactions), the subtleness of the racial encounter, the nature of the relationship with the perpetrator(s), fear of retaliation, as well as a desire to avoid fuelling tensions, tarnishing relationships, or disrupting the harmony of a group dynamic was taken into consideration and shaped how they would respond (or not) when a family, friend, acquittance, or stranger perpetrated racism.

Specifically, several participants described how hunting camps are a context where family, friends, or acquaintances meet annually to not only hunt, but intimately bond together. In these contexts, which tend to be predominantly White and male (see chapter seven), 'backstage' behaviour such as sexist or racist jokes may be shared among the group, which has left participants feeling uneasy and either ignoring it altogether or approaching it with caution. This is illustrated in the following quote:

> I have no problem directly confronting those beliefs and challenging them, but when you're at the camp with people who you actually know are good, kind, generous people, like people you enjoy spending time with, to call them a racist outright means you risk a friendship or you risk hurting them and you are definitely going to put them on the defensive in a way that they have never been put on before. In my camp, most of them have known me since I was a kid, and I think they respect my opinion, and I can kind of help to reframe the conversation without explicitly calling them out for being biased. So, that is how I choose to engage with those people in that context because I don't want to shut down the conversation…If somebody says something stupid about Jagmeet Singh's[114] turban, I can sort of diffuse it by being like 'well, let's think a little more about what his leadership style is or what his political beliefs are. It doesn't have much to do with his religion… It is something bigger than that,' and maybe that is helpful. I think people take that as something that they can engage in non-defensively, which is nice (White, male, Int4C11).

As highlighted, the social context and the desire to avoid ruining relationships was considered within their cognitive calculations and has influenced the participant to approach racism cautiously (e.g. reframe conversation) and take advantage of the relationship with the perpetrator(s) and their mutual respect in the hopes of reducing prejudices.

At the same time and in addition to these contextual factors, the subtleness of racism, especially racial jokes, can inhibit direct responses and nurture forbearing responses such as ignoring or, in some cases, laughing along to avoid conflict. For instance, the participant (previously quoted) who cautiously addresses prejudice (i.e. reframing conversations) reported to have also avoided conflict in this manner:

> It is a hard type of bias to confront because it is often made as an 'off the cuff joke' or something clearly intended as a chuckle, but it's got this really dark edge, so it is a challenge to call it out because you seem like a buzzkill…It's not funny if you actually think about it, but I think people are just trained to laugh at it. And even people who would see it as problematic would still laugh at it just for the sake of not causing a conflict. It is kind of like leaving the politics at the door. I am guilty of that (White, male, Int4C10).

For many participants, these 'off the cuff' jokes were common ways where racial images and boundaries are reproduced and a sense of group position and superiority is reaffirmed among Whites, particularly in backstage spheres and within social contexts (e.g. hunting camps or family dinners) that are intended for bonding and/or co-operation

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[114] Jagmeet Singh is a Canadian politician and (currently) leader of the (federal) National Democratic Party (NDP).

and demand social restraints to preserve relationships. Although laughing along may appear contradictory to their anti-racist views, it reflects a coping strategy to hinder feelings of discomfort and avoid heated arguments and ruining relationships. Unfortunately, these social constraints and political avoidance norms (e.g. discussions of racism or colonialism are taboo) (Denis 2015, 2020) can allow White supremacy to flourish unchallenged.

Similarly, a South Asian participant reported laughing away racial jokes about East Asian Canadians expressed by White friends to avoid conflict. They explained how "it's easier to just chuckle along with racist people because you are not going to change their mind, so I kind of just like don't say anything and let it pass" (South Asian, male Int47C20). For this and other non-White and White participants, the perceived stubbornness of the perpetrator and the ineffectiveness of confronting was reason to conclude that ignoring or laughing was easier than conflict and a better way to cope with exposure to racism (Brondolo et al 2009; Noh et al 1999). A study by Dickter and Newton (2013) found similar results among non-targets who witnessed racial prejudice and how their decision to respond was inhibited if confronting the perpetrator was perceived to be ineffective.

Overall, these findings show that despite the ethno-racialized structures and pervasiveness of (Colour-Blind) racism towards East Asian Canadians and other People of Colour in fishing/hunting, there were many White Canadians who did not develop or share the same racial-ethnic ideologies and sense of group position that is fostered while acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity. As such, these White participants reveal the dynamic ways they respond to racism within mundane and routine interactions in backstage realms, challenge White Canadians' sense of group position and superiority, and disrupt the collective processes that define and ethno-racialize non-Whites as inferior and as poachers.[115]

According to Group Position theory, racism and a sense of group superiority can diminish when: 'dominant' group members re-define out-groups and the relations between them as harmonious; definitions cannot keep up with current shifts in the social order; or 'big events' are not extended onto racial terrain within the public arena (Blumer 1958). Although less than half of the White participants opposed and/or confronted racism perpetuated by other Whites, these findings show the potential for White Canadians to redefine the collective images of East Asian and South Asian Canadians and other People of Colour throughout their interactions and reduce a sense of group superiority among White Canadian hunters/anglers.

[115] Most White participants who confronted perpetrators were uncertain whether they successfully changed their racial views.

Consistent with the literature, confronting racism via condemnation or education were common responses among White and non-White participants, but the various constraints outlined so far have contributed to a preference or a necessity for forbearing responses (Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004; Brondolo et al 2009; Dickter and Newton 2013). Moreover, the racial discrepancies within these constraints become clear when examining how White and non-White participants were able to ignore racial comments. In many cases, non-White participants had limited choices and were forced to manage reactions and present a positive self image. Still, both White and non-White participants preferred to avoid conflict and would utilize forbearing or coping responses and manage their selves when faced with racism. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Forbearing Responses

Forbearing responses are indirect, emotion-focused strategies that aim to avoid conflict by utilizing numerous coping and self management techniques to maintain dignity and a positive sense of self and reduce stress or other health implications (e.g. mental or physical health). For many People of Colour, forbearing responses such as ignoring racism and/or avoiding certain people, places, or situations may be the preferred or only viable option depending on the nature of the racism(s) to which they are exposed (Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004; Noh et al 1999; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012).

So far, White and non-White participants revealed how forbearing responses (e.g. ignoring, managing emotions, laughing along) were an alternative to directly confronting racism due to many constraints, but mainly to avoid conflict. In total, at least eleven White participants and eleven non-White participants reported using forbearing responses (alone or along with direct responses) in several ways and in a variety of settings. Although the experiences with and responses to racism (and constraints to responding) fundamentally differed along racial-ethnic lines, several White and non-White participants ignored racism due to the perceived ineffectiveness of changing opinions and to save emotional and physical energy. For instance, an East Asian Canadian participant explained how they often ignore and forget about the "passing comments" they encounter while fishing:

> It's very rare that that happens to me. Over 20 years of fishing, I may have less than a handful of incidents where I can really remember. Sometimes I don't remember because I just don't even care. I just walked by and like it's not worth my time, so then I forget about it. I don't waste my energy remembering (East Asian, male Int52C39).

As the participant suggests and consistent with the literature (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012), ignoring and forgetting racial experiences works simultaneously to avoid conflict, cope with racism, save emotional energy, and maintain dignity while

navigating mundane fishing activities. However, other participants shed light on the persisting psychological effects it can have regardless of ignoring the incident. Even after ignoring racial encounters, another participant explained how they "shrugged it off, no harm was done but made me feel a bit uneasy for a while after" (East Asian, male Int15S-C10).

For some White participants, ignoring racism hinged on the perceived ineffectiveness of confronting racism online (particularly social media) on the one hand, and/or confronting those with strong, resilient racial views on the other:

> I don't see it [confronting online] being effective. I'm not saying it's not possible for two people to have an open debate about a topic without resorting to childish name-calling. I mean it is possible but there's just so many people looking to troll on the internet and so many people feel invincible when they don't have to take accountability for what they write or say (White, male Int39C38).

> Admittedly, I don't speak up as much as I should, but it has been so many years of dealing with people like that and seeing no change that it kind of gets disheartening to even try to affect any change in people's attitudes (White, male Int5C17).

As the first participant indicates, social media allows a high degree of anonymity which can enable and perpetuate deviant behaviour with minimal to no repercussions and create conditions for hostile rather than harmonious interactions. The perceived inability to change opinions in this context appears to have influenced their decision to ignore the racism they witness. Similarly, the second participant's disheartening view towards resilient racial attitudes appears to have hindered their decision to confront racism.

In short, forbearing responses such as ignoring racism may be a viable alternative to direct responses due to numerous constraints and/or preferences to avoid (intensifying) conflict. Despite the similarities, non-White participants were often the target of racism, which propelled them to survey and decide whether and how to respond. Conversely, White participants were not direct targets of racism and had greater agency to choose their responses. As will be discussed, the non-White participants' experiences with racism often prompted them to engage in a variety of stigma management and coping strategies to disconfirm stereotypes, avoid racism and discrimination, and maintain dignity.

Stigma Management and Coping Strategies

Since Allport's (1954) seminal work on racial prejudice, which outlined several responses to prejudice, scholars have built on and highlighted a multitude of direct and forbearing coping mechanisms and stigma management strategies that People of Colour draw on to deflect or address racism, maintain a positive sense of self, and preserve their mental and physical health (Mellor 2004; Noh et al 1999; Lamont et al 2016). The

strategies utilized by non-White participants in this study reflect and add to this body of literature by showing how racism is anticipated and managed and how conflicts arising from multiple identities (e.g. racial-ethnic and angler identities) are negotiated and neutralized to preserve a positive self conception, a continued passion for fishing, and an attachment to the broader fishing community.

Due to their experiences with racism and an awareness of their stigmatized racial identity, many non-White participants revealed similar stigma management strategies to prevent racial discrimination such as managing their behaviours to disconfirm stereotypes, preparing/anticipating for future incidents, and being cognizant of other (White) peoples' suspicions (i.e. the White gaze). Indeed, the direct and indirect exposure to racism had minor and significant impacts on participants that would generate concern and self reflection on whether their practices are confirming stereotypes. One participant described how "…it has a lasting impression, and you don't forget about those things" (East Asian, male Int48C35). As such, three East Asian and two South Asian participants changed their fishing behaviours or highlighted their catch-release practices to disconfirm racial stereotypes and prevent suspicions and hostility. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

> I don't keep anything. So, if everyone says that 'Asians keep stuff', I say, 'well. you can't do that to me because I don't keep anything. I let everything go.' So, I follow the rules and regulations, and I try to hold myself to a higher standard (East Asian, male Int48C16).

> How I project myself as an angler is different from other anglers. So, for example, how I dress, whether I bring a white bucket, for example, like a lot of people who comment 'oh you bring a bucket, you may be keeping everything.' I don't bring a bucket (East Asian, male Int52C14).

Both participants, who were East Asian Canadians, are not only fully aware of and were exposed to anti-Asian racism, but they make a conscious effort to hold themselves to a "higher standard" or project a positive image to escape racial stereotyping. This is accomplished by fishing strictly for recreation or fishing without a white bucket.

In addition, the awareness of and/or experiences with racism online and in-person prompted other non-White participants to anticipate and prepare for future encounters:

> I know that I have to be one step ahead. Like I shouldn't leave any doubt, so my behaviour is always in a way where there is no doubt (South Asian, male Int45C30).

> The main thing is I should know the rules, right? If there is something that I should know in the regulations, I read it to the excess. So, I'm kind of mentally ready and prepared for those kinds of situations, and I know I'm going to face

> those situations. I know that now, especially after joining this Facebook group, it has become clear to me. I know what those people think and what kinds of people are there (South Asian, male Int44C12).

As these participants show, being "mentally ready" and "one step ahead" operates by rigidly following the rules and not leaving any doubt about one's legal actions. As a result, People of Colour are burdened with anticipating and considering the various ways their actions could be misunderstood and/or racially profiled. Overall, this shows how learning about and committing to the sacredness of following the rules, while navigating with a racialized identity, is a difficult endeavour for non-White Canadians during the process of acquiring and maintaining an angler/hunter identity.

Like the literature (Alvarez and Kimura 2001; Mellor 2004; Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2016; Hogg, Terry and White 1995), non-White participants revealed several forbearing coping strategies that illuminate the complexities of negotiating conflicts with multiple identities which are racialized and stigmatized. These strategies involved intricate forms of boundary work, namely 'boundary blurring' (Wimmer 2008) which emphasized the importance of other non-racial identities (e.g. angler and/or Canadian identities) and highlighted non-racial in and out group divisions (e.g. anglers vs animal rights activists) rather than racial divisions within the group.

Throughout the discussions about their experiences with or responses to perceived racism, two East Asian participants underscored the primacy of their angler and/or Canadian identity over their racial identity. This is clearly illustrated by one participant who is indifferent to the anti-Asian jokes expressed by White friends:

> I'm a visible minority. But at the same time, I also consider myself Canadian. Anyone who knows me personally knows like even though I look Asian, I'm pretty far from being an Asian. I'm more Caucasian. So, a lot of my friends, they call me a banana because I'm yellow on the outside, white on the inside. So, I'm Asian, but there's very little of my heritage that I really know that well just because I've grown up here my entire life, and I don't get exposed to it enough. Like for me, this is weird because like I'm Asian and I hear it [racial jokes], but it doesn't really bother me because I feel like I'm more I guess Canadian or even White than I am Asian as weird as that might sound (Asian Canadian Int48C29).

As this quote indicates, there are significant processes at play and analyses should proceed with caution. First, the indifference towards the racial jokes may reflect a coping mechanism (e.g. denial of membership) (Allport 1954) and political avoidance norms (Denis 2015) rooted in boundary blurring, as well as a parallel process of 'boundary crossing' (e.g. re-positioning or identifying with the 'dominant' group), which works to ward off any psychological or physiological stress-related harm and preserve social relationships (Wimmer 2008; Brondolo et al 2009).

Second, this boundary blurring and crossing is reinforced by processes of subtyping and ideology-based homophily[116] (Denis 2015) orchestrated by the participant's White friends whose 'banana' reference treats them as the exception to the norm– an individual who disconfirms racial stereotypes of East Asian Canadians, does not challenge their racial views, and is perceived to be more White than Asian. Despite the boundary work and coping mechanisms, this not only shows how White supremacy and a sense of group position is reproduced in complex ways, but how East Asian Canadians must manage their selves and cope with racism, whether subtle, overt or through a 'joke', throughout routine interactions among (White) friends. As well, it points to the conflicts that need to be negotiated between a racial, national, and, as will be shown more clearly, an angler identity.

Similar processes of subtyping and ideology-based homophily have been found within Indigenous-settler relations. In Northern Ontario, Denis (2015) found that these processes worked to uphold White settlers' sense of group position despite close friendships or marriages with Indigenous people. Among one marriage, subtyping and ideology-based homophily was displayed when an Indigenous spouse was referred to as an 'apple' (i.e. red on the outside, white on the inside) by their White partner. When compared to the 'banana' reference, it reveals a pattern of how White supremacy is reinforced and reaffirmed through theses processes that include food metaphors and allow the co-existence of intergroup relationships and a sense of group position and superiority among White Canadians.

While replying to questions about their experiences and responses to racism in fishing, three East Asian participants abruptly switched to their concerns over anti-fishing groups and the stigma towards anglers in general rather than towards East Asian Canadians. This is exhibited in the following quote:

> If I were to catch a fish and I intend to release it, I make sure that I release the fish in good health, and technically it's not just because of the Asian identity. I do it also for the perception of the general public because a lot of times, the general public think that we only kill fish and whatnot. And so especially now, there seems to be a growing voice in terms of this anti-fishing movement. I try to project a persona like when people talk to me, they know that I care about the fishery. So, I don't generally do it because of my race. I do it for everybody (Asian, male Int52C15).

Though concerns over the stigma of anglers may very well contribute to their actions, the way this point is mentioned while discussing racism reflects a coping strategy used to de-emphasize racial divisions among anglers and emphasize (non-racial) divisions between

[116] Ideology-based homophily is the process of befriending those who conform to dominant group norms and do not challenge racism (Denis 2015, 2020).

anglers and non-anglers as well as the stigmatization of anglers rather than Asian Canadians.

Since fishing (and hunting) had deep meanings attached and, in many instances, was given primacy over racial identities, non-White participants who strongly identified as an angler/hunter had to manage the conflicts arising between their racial and angler identities. Indeed, these coping strategies demonstrate the work that East Asian Canadians must perform to manage and negotiate conflicts between an attachment to an angler identity, including a commitment to the role expectations of upholding a positive group image, and a racial identity that is continuously made salient by White Canadians and that is stigmatized and ethno-racialized inside/outside fishing. As such, emphasizing out-group threats from anti-anglers may assist with resolving this conflict to allow an ongoing attachment to the angler group as an East Asian Canadian who shares a common stigma with White and non-White Canadians alike due to their shared angler identity.

Conclusion

In conclusion, participants revealed the complex and multidimensional ways racism is experienced and responded to in various settings and how such responses are enabled, shaped, and constrained due to several factors. From scrutinization to unsolicited 'reminders', eight of the twelve non-White participants revealed the ways they experienced racism and how fishing with an ethno-racialized identity presents numerous challenges and dangers that have influenced the way they manage their selves and their identities (i.e. ethno-racialized and angler identities). Although these participants shared similar racial experiences, the trajectory and outcomes of these experiences were largely influenced by the intersection of their race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship status, as well as other factors such as fluency of English, level of fishing experience, and whether they were fishing with (White) friends.

Responding (or not) to racism on an interpersonal level revealed how White and non-White participants utilized both direct (e.g. condemning racism, education) and forbearing (e.g. ignoring, humour) strategies. Managing their emotions and behaviours also shaped these types of responses to avoid conflict or to approach the perpetrator in a calm, non-confrontational manner. Among the forty-three White participants, fourteen articulated how they confronted racism (via calling out, condemning, or education) perpetrated by family, friends, acquaintances, and strangers in backstage realms (i.e. hunting/fishing camps; family dinners), though these responses were shaped and constrained in numerous ways (e.g. relationships with perpetrators). This shows that despite the pervasive ethno-racializing images and ideologies that are learned while acquiring and maintaining an angler/hunter identity, these White Canadians did not unwittingly accept these ideologies but rather openly challenged the racism to which they were exposed and aimed to disrupt the collective processes of defining out-groups as

inferior (Blumer 1958). However, whether this was successful and had lasting effects remains unknown.

Fundamentally, the way racism was experienced and responded to differed for White and non-White participants. Unlike (most) White participants who were indirectly exposed to racism and had greater agency to respond due to a position of power and privilege, non-White participants experienced racism directly and (often) had limited agency and different constraints. For instance, to avoid jeopardizing their stay in Canada, participants without citizenship felt compelled to adopt forbearing responses and avoid conflict when they faced racism, including racially motivated assault. Furthermore, several East Asian and South Asian participants could not ignore racial accusations and were forced to defend themselves and 'prove' their law-abiding behaviours or knowledge of the rules to their White accusers.

Most importantly, these findings showed that non-White participants were not 'passive receivers' of racism and discrimination but actively engaged in a variety of responses to confront or dissipate racial tensions. Additionally, they utilized stigma management and coping strategies to maintain a positive sense of self and a continued attachment to an angler/hunter identity and the outdoor community at large. This is accomplished through complex social and cognitive processes that negotiate the conflicts and contradictions presented by multiple identities, namely an ethno-racialized identity, which becomes more salient under the 'White gaze,' and an angler identity which many participants felt transcended their racial-ethnic background.

Chapter Six: 'Whatever They Want, Whenever They Want:' Treaty Rights Opposition in Hunting and Fishing

Settler colonialism is not a homogenous force that operates uniformly nor is it an event that occurred in Canada's distant past. Instead, settler colonialism is an ongoing, multidimensional process that upholds a colonial and racialized structure which is shapeshifting, adaptable, and manifests in multiple ways throughout various contexts and geographical areas and has a varying impact on the diverse Indigenous peoples living across this land (Wolfe 2006; Simpson 2017; Denis 2020; Logan 2015; Glenn 2015). According to Simpson (2017), the settler colonial structure of Canada is sustained by "a series of complex and overlapping processes that work together as a cohort to maintain the structure" (45), including processes that consolidate White settler power and privilege, continue dispossessing Indigenous land, and attempt to neutralize Indigenous resistance.

Since its emergence in the 19th century, sport hunting/fishing for leisure and recreation has contributed in myriad ways to the underlying processes that fuel settler colonialism and nation building (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Gillespie 2002; Tough 1992). At its core, the longstanding and collective opposition to treaty rights and land claims among settler sport hunters/anglers is one avenue in which processes of intersubjective meaning-making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning intersect to reproduce group boundaries and inequalities, ethno-racialize Indigenous people as 'poachers', undermine Indigenous sovereignty and stewardship, justify land dispossession, cultivate settlers' sense of superiority and ownership over land, and sustain settler colonial and racial structures.

As previously discussed (see chapters three and four), acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity and developing settler connections to the land occurs simultaneously alongside group positioning processes and involves learning and adopting a multifaceted belief system, including the role expectations of stewardship and the sacredness of 'following the rules,' perceived threats to conservation and the group, and the evaluative criteria that distinguish between in and out group members along the lines of race-ethnicity, immigrant status, etc. (Hogg, Terry and White 1995; Stets and Burke 2000). This belief system, however, contains anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty ideologies which are learned and communicated through Colour-Blind Racism and provide the framework for understanding Indigenous-settler relations and the purported threats posed by Indigenous people and treaty rights. As a result, identifying as a hunter/angler often involves learning about and/or strengthening ideologies that perform the boundary work of defining and ethno-racializing Indigenous people as 'lawless' abusers of wildlife and as a group threat. From this, deep-seated prejudices develop towards Indigenous people, historically based hierarchies are reaffirmed, and settlers' sense of group position becomes increasingly salient and solidified.

Treaty Opposition and Colour-Blind Racism: Frames, Styles and Stories

According to Bonilla-Silva (2018), Colour-Blind Racism is a racial ideology that operates as an interpretive repertoire comprised of frames, styles, and stories that social actors can utilize to convey or justify their racial views and defend racial inequalities in a seemingly fair, non-racist, and tolerant manner (see chapter two for more details on Colour-Blind Racism). Among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers, interviews and online data showed how the collectively shared meanings and images of Indigenous people and treaty rights formed the basis of several dominant frames, styles and stories that align with and add to Colour Blind Racism theory. In particular, the ways that treaty opposition is expressed through Colour-Blind Racism works to inform and justify settler Canadians' sense of group position and superiority at an interpersonal, micro level which ultimately contributes to the processes that sustain macro, colonial structures, and the racial-ethnic hierarchies in which they embody (Denis 2020; Simpson 2017; Lamont, Beljean and Clair 2014).

Consistent with Colour Blind Racism theory (Bonilla-Silva 2002, 2003, 2018), the frames that participants expressed were fluid, multifaceted and combined with specific styles (i.e. coded language, semantic moves, avoidance of race talk) and racial stories (i.e. storylines and testimonies) that communicated their criticisms and opposition to treaty rights. The most common frame expressed by non-Indigenous hunters/anglers online and during the interviews was that treaty rights enable Indigenous people to hunt/fish '*whatever and whenever they want*' outside of provincial regulations, which was often expressed using coded language and semantic moves (e.g. avoidance of race talk, disclaimers such as 'I'm not racist, but..') and/or corroborated with racial stories. In addition, the '*whatever/whenever*' frame was interconnected to another dominant frame based on '*equality'* wherein settler hunters/anglers advocated that (settler) provincial games laws should be equally applied regardless of treaties or treaty rights and that Indigenous peoples' hunting/fishing (or trapping) should be under settler management.[117]

As such, these frames "set the paths for interpreting information" and "provide the intellectual road maps" (Bonilla-Silva 2018, 39) for understanding treaty rights, treaties, and Indigenous-settler relations. They also provide non-Indigenous people with ammunition for opposing treaty rights and the criteria for distinguishing group boundaries between the purported 'law-abiding' (non-Indigenous) hunters/anglers who pay for and contribute to conservation and the 'lawless' (Indigenous) hunters/anglers who threaten conservation. By learning and adopting this narrow, collective understanding of treaty rights while acquiring a hunter/angler identity, the contours of Indigenous-settler relations are established, tensions become more salient, and settlers are led to make intergroup comparisons and evaluations, which define and ethno-racialize Indigenous people as

[117] For this chapter, the primary focus will be on the *whatever/whenever* frame.

inferior and reaffirm non-Indigenous, predominantly White Canadians' sense of group superiority (both morally and scientifically) as land stewards. Through this meaning-making and ethno-racializing process, and consistent with Blumer (1958) and Denis (2020), settler Canadians' sense of group position and sense of entitlement to own/control Indigenous land develops or is strengthened in various settings and interactions.

The 'Whatever/Whenever' Frame: Colour Blind Racism and a Sense of Group Position

Throughout the interviews, fifty-one of the fifty-five[118] participants were aware of (or expressed) the criticisms and opposition to treaty rights via frames, styles and stories permeating throughout the hunting/fishing worlds both online and in-person. In most cases, participants admitted they knew very little about treaty hunting/fishing rights aside from what they had learned from their first-hand experiences or from other hunters/anglers, family members, the news, online posts, etc. This knowledge was based on the *whatever/whenever* frame which reproduces group boundaries through a limited understanding that Indigenous people do not have to pay for licences or abide by provincial rules, and therefore, they will overhunt, overfish, and significantly threaten conservation and subsequently all hunters/anglers. Moreover, this frame is rooted in the assumption that Indigenous people do not care about nor engage in sustainable hunting/fishing practices or regulations and should be subjected to Crown authority. Conversely, at least thirteen participants illustrated a greater understanding of (and support for) treaty rights, treaty relations and Indigenous stewardship, particularly how hunting/fishing/trapping have long been guided by Indigenous peoples' own rules and conservation practices and philosophies.

Regarding treaty opposition, at least eighteen participants had drawn on this frame in varying ways during the interviews to advance their frustration and criticisms of treaty rights and the alleged wildlife abuse they are thought to enable. This is exemplified in the following quote:

> So, harvesting rights: not having a licence, not having to follow seasons for fishing and things like that. They can go and gather food whenever they want, as much as they want, any time they want. So, there is an animosity of regular Canadian anglers against that (White, male Int35C28).

As the quote illustrates, animosity towards treaty rights is not only expressed by this participant but also is reproduced and reinforced throughout their interactions with 'regular' (non-Indigenous) Canadian anglers. Through this, symbolic boundaries are

[118] Of the four remaining participants, one refused to provide a comment on their awareness and opinion which raised questions on whether they did in fact know about and have an opinion of treaty rights but did not want to be scrutinized or appear deviant. For the other three participants, the topic of treaty rights did not arise during the interviews.

subtly and indirectly marked between ‘regular’ presumably law-abiding settler Canadians and ‘lawless’ Indigenous people. As the data will show, many hunters/anglers online and during the interviews drew explicit comparisons between Canadian and Indigenous peoples in terms of perceived law-abiding practices to advance and justify their opposition to treaty rights.

In accordance with Colour-Blind Racism, the *whatever/whenever* frame was often reinforced and expressed in combination with racial stories, particularly testimonies,[119] wherein first-hand or second-hand accounts were employed to prove or highlight the excessive, unethical, or inhumane practices that treaty rights purportedly allow:

> Well, my awareness is very limited. I know that for me as a Canadian, there's fishing regulations that I have to abide by. Being the size of fish, if it’s too small or too big, I can't keep it! If it's the wrong type of fish for that season, I can't keep it! As in the Natives, the treaties, they net them. Whatever's in that net is theirs. Same goes for hunting. A friend of mine [from Western Canada] was telling me a story that they gave the Natives open hunting one season, and it was an absolute disaster. He's a hunter, and he saw elk injured out walking around. They weren’t finishing their kills; they were just firing shots at animals whether or not it was a good clean shot. He said that there were animals walking around missing limbs. It was just a mess. So that's what bothers me about it. But my knowledge is kind of limited (White, male Int16C10).

Despite admitting their limited knowledge of treaty rights, the participant expressed strong views based on a ‘lawless’ understanding which appears to be strengthened by a second-hand testimony from a friend. First, they begin with a comparison of what Indigenous and settler hunters/anglers can and cannot do, which is used to convey their frustration and opposition to treaty rights. This is further corroborated through their friend’s testimony to bolster the notion that treaty rights allow Indigenous people to hunt/fish unregulated and unethically. The testimony from Western Canada aligns with the body of literature that shows how anti-treaty frames extend across provinces (Nguyen et al 2016; King 2011) as well as settler colonial countries (Bobo and Tuan 2006) and ultimately works to draw group boundaries and uphold longstanding inequalities that sustain settler colonialism. Although not explicit, this participant (and others) provides insight into the ethno-racializing process of attributing deviant behaviours to Indigenous people through intergroup comparisons based on criteria that emphasizes the sacredness of ‘following the rules.’

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[119] As noted in chapter two, testimonies are one type of racial story used to advance or justify racial views, or in this context, opposition to treaty rights. Within testimonies, the narrator is the main character or close to the character(s) in the story which provides a sense of authenticity and is a powerful tool that reinforces and reaffirms racial stereotypes through ‘first-hand’ or ‘second-hand’ accounts.

The testimonies communicated and reproduced throughout many other participants' accounts were often centred around scrutinizing and denigrating hunting/fishing methods that were considered 'un-sports-like' (e.g. netting, spearing fish; see chapter four), which stem from and also reinforce the *whatever/whenever* frame. For instance, another participant asserted their treaty opposition through first-hand testimonies about netting and spearfishing:

> As I said, a lake in [Central Ontario], [Indigenous people] put a net in a lake, haul all the fish out and put them in the back of their trucks and drive away, after I spent three days canoeing in there! Nets strung in a bay and left. I've seen that too. Everybody knows about the spearing of the fish in the river. When they come up to spawn, they're skewered and hauled out with a crane on ropes; they're so numerous in their harvests, but you know, it's their treaty rights, so. That's what they do (White, male Int24C14).

In this account, the resentment, sarcasm, and anger towards the perceived 'immoral' practices enabled by treaty rights is evident. The participant starts with a first-hand testimony that touches on the concerns mentioned in the previous quote (i.e. netting, no regulation) followed by the (alleged) claim that fish are left to rot in the nets. This perceived abuse is validated by second-hand testimonies about spear fishing which appears more as a storyline or 'folktale' that "*everybody knows.*"

Indeed, the array of testimonies conveyed by participants and online commenters in this study appear to form storylines or 'folktales' containing collectively shared and abstract images of Indigenous people shooting all the wildlife or netting and spearing all the fish in an irresponsible and inhumane way. In particular, storylines of Indigenous people supposedly leaving out nets with large quantities of rotting fish were commonly cited among those who witnessed anti-treaty sentiments and those who drew on the *whatever/whenever* frame to oppose treaty rights. For instance, one participant underscores how these storylines arise throughout their interactions:

> There is a bit of a discussion among some of the people I fish with when it comes to Natives taking fish. I've had some conversations about how much fish, particularly walleye, that some of the Native groups are taking from some of the fisheries in Ontario. I've also heard stories of, now I don't know if these are true stories or not, how Native groups are setting nets out and then not retrieving them and leaving dozens or hundreds of fish to die in their nets and go bad. So those are some of the stories I have heard when it comes to Natives and our fisheries (White, male Int2C17).

In all, these participants (and many others) show how shared images of Indigenous people allegedly netting and wasting all the fish results from the interplay of testimonies and storylines that mutually reinforce the *whatever/whenever* frame

throughout their interactions. Upon closer examination, however, these racial stories were based on limited evidence, questionable appraisals, and rooted in longstanding racial meanings and assumptions of Indigenous people. First, how did the participants or their friends know that fish were left to rot? Were the appraisals from a distance? Did they inspect the net and all the fish? Was this one or several incidents? If fish were left to rot, how do they know the perpetrator was Indigenous? Do they know if the perpetrator was reprimanded either by Indigenous or settler authorities? Does the perpetrator represent all Indigenous people? In most cases, there were limited details on the appraisals and the accounts raised more questions than answers.

The way in which the *whatever/whenever* understanding of treaty rights is learned while acquiring and maintaining an angler identity was illustrated by two participants from South Asia and the Caribbean who were new to sport fishing in a Canadian context. One participant, an experienced angler from South Asia, describes witnessing anti-treaty frames about spearfishing on social media:

> *[Q- What did you see?]* It was mainly regarding spear fishing. I think they are allowed to spear fish and people are unhappy with that. *[Q- What were the comments?]* It should be like uniform rules for everyone and like it's abuse and it's not sportsman behavior. It is not considered a sport and it shouldn't be allowed (South Asian, male, Int45C21).

As the quotes show, the participant sheds light on the boundary work that exists within treaty opposition which distinguishes between authentic versus inauthentic sportspeople based on expected behaviours. In addition, this shows how the *whatever/whenever* frame (i.e. allowed to spear fish) combines with the '*equality'* frame to discredit treaty rights by advocating for the equal application of the laws not only to uphold the cherished values of equality, but to ensure that "sportsman behaviour" is enforced. Underlying this is the message and assumption that by adhering to 'sportsman behaviour', conservation (and anglers' group image) will be preserved.

During the interview, this participant described seeking out more information on treaty rights after seeing the online comments; however, they still admitted their limited knowledge except for the lawless understanding and sense of unfairness (i.e. 'special rights') which these frames provide:

> I know they have special different rights but I'm not sure exactly what those rights are. I know they are allowed to spearfish. I know they are allowed to fish out of season or something like that. I'm not sure about the details (South Asian, male, Int45C22).

Similarly, the participant who immigrated from the Caribbean illustrates the process of learning about treaty rights through the *whatever/whenever* frame from a family member

as well as through the news coverage of treaty conflicts in Nova Scotia.[120] They stated how "the only thing I am aware of is that they don't need licenses and there are no fishing seasons for them, so they can fish all year around. That is all I know" (Black, male Int55C10a).

Although both participants did not have strong opinions on treaty rights,[121] they do illustrate how the socialization into sport fishing in Canada often involves learning about treaty rights through the lens of anti-treaty frames, and how this invokes intergroup comparisons and provides a guide for thinking and feeling about treaty rights and the nature of Indigenous-settler relations within hunting/fishing. Since becoming a hunter/angler involves learning the role expectations of stewardship and the sacredness of 'following the rules,' it also consists of learning the 'lawless' definitions of treaty rights and the perceived threats they pose. As many participants showed, this has significant potential to nurture strong feelings of resentment and prejudice towards Indigenous people. However, it is important to note that learning anti-treaty frames does not necessarily translate into treaty opposition and that many participants were critical of the anti-treaty views to which they were exposed.

At the same time, the comparisons provoked by these frames also highlight, broaden, and strengthen one's non-Indigenous identity in terms of the hunting/fishing laws they must follow which can transcend one's race-ethnicity and gender and spawn a sense of commonality in terms of the 'special rights' that they are perceived to be excluded from. As a result, this lays the grounds for a sense of group position, superiority, and proprietary claims to land to develop among all non-Indigenous Canadians regardless of race-ethnicity, gender, etc.

Accordingly, many other participants revealed how the *whatever/whenever* frame incites comparisons and marks boundaries between the 'law-abiding' and the 'lawless' while ethno-racializing Indigenous people as poachers. Consistent with Group Position theory (Blumer 1958), these intergroup comparisons are vital for group positioning and play a significant role in the collective process of defining out-groups as inferior and a threat to the 'dominant' in-group and their power and privileges. The ways that these comparisons explicitly unfold through the *whatever/whenever* frame is exemplified in the following quotes:

[120] The interviews for this study coincided with the ongoing opposition and violence towards Mi'kmaq treaty fishers in Nova Scotia in 2020. For more insight into this dispute, see Williams and Wien's (2022) "Contested Waters: The Struggle for Rights and Reconciliation in the Atlantic Fishery."
[121] The Black Canadian and South Asian participants explained how they knew too little to give an opinion. The South Asian participant did state their support for treaty rights if exercised in a sustainable manner. This 'conditional support' will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

> I have to abide by my laws, I have to get a special[122] licence to do all this stuff, these, they, they have free game! They can do what they want! They shouldn't be allowed to do what they want! They should have their own rules for themselves (White, male Int17C16a).

> I know people with their status cards that literally go out and catch undersize fish and then buckets full of undersized fish and they'll say, 'oh I got my status card' [sarcastic tone]. It's like 'oh okay, well, you're free to go'. Whereas, if I were to catch one undersized fish and keep it, I'll lose all my fishing gear and get charged (White, male Int23C31a).

As the quotes illustrate, a sense of threat to the participants' group position and particularly their sense of morality and hunting/fishing ethics is evident in the way this frame is used to oppose treaty rights through comparisons that mark and reproduce group boundaries (i.e. law-abiding vs lawless), indirectly define and ethno-racialize Indigenous people as poachers, and touch on deep-sentiments about the nature of Indigenous-settler relations, namely that treaty hunting/fishing rights are a threat and unfair to settler Canadians.

By defining and ethno-racializing Indigenous people as poachers who are seemingly given 'special rights,' it not only fosters feelings of unfairness, but works to position them below non-Indigenous, predominantly White Canadians in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, and contributions to conservation. As such, this frame provokes feelings of anger (and in some cases, feelings of 'reverse discrimination') among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers while masking settler colonial processes of ongoing land dispossession and broken treaty obligations. Most importantly, it ignores how settler Canadians can live and hunt/fish on Indigenous land due to treaties (Rollo 2014; Denis 2020) and continue to benefit from the inequalities stemming from settler colonialism.

Additionally, the former participant's (i.e. Int17) suggestion that Indigenous people "should have their own rules" epitomizes how the strategic use of this frame overlooks Indigenous peoples' historical or contemporary forms of stewardship and concerns for sustainability. Instead, it provides a narrow, decontextualized, and misinformed view of Indigenous people, treaty rights, and treaty relations which can resonate with and shape the views of hunters/anglers, especially where following the rules is considered sacred and at the centre of hunter/angler identities.

Despite the assumptions about the lack of regulations, sustainable hunting/fishing practices and concern towards conservation, there is a long history of stewardship and deep connections to the land among Indigenous people that continues today. This stewardship, though unique to each Indigenous nation, is rooted in diverse cultural

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[122] Although treaty rights are often characterized as 'special rights', this participant's use of the term was referring to the licencing requirements for non-Indigenous people.

teachings and philosophies that promote respect for all living things and the preservation of the land/water/wildlife for current and future generations (Borrows 2010; Nguyen et al 2016; Barsh 2002; McLaren 2005; Prosper et al 2011).

Indeed, there are various ways Indigenous people continue to manage their own hunting/fishing sustainably and contribute to conservation and sustainability within a settler colonial context. For instance, many Indigenous nations with treaty rights to a commercial fishery have entered co-management agreements[123] with the MNRF or the DFO (McLaren 2005; Martino 2016; Prosper et al 2011) or have partnered with settler organizations to ensure fisheries remain sustainable and preserved. One case in point is how Indigenous-settler alliances have formed in the Maritimes due to shared concerns about the privatization and corporatization of the fisheries management and the potential threat to local fisheries (Stiegman 2003). Another example includes the revival of the Lake Sturgeon population in the Rainy River, Treaty 3 area (Northwestern Ontario), which was decimated by settler commercial fishing (Waisberg, Lytwyn and Holzkamm 1988) and has now been rehabilitated through the efforts of the Rainy River First Nations and the establishment of a modern Sturgeon hatchery and a Watershed Program (Holzkamm and Waisberg 2005; Rainy River First Nations 2020). Furthermore, Indigenous peoples' (including those who do not hunt/fish) concerns about sustainability and preserving the environment are clearly illustrated within the longstanding resistance against the disrespect, exploitation, and commodification of Indigenous land and all living things that the settler colonial-capitalist system is founded upon (The Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2017).[124]

Nonetheless, anti-treaty ideologies persist. The pervasiveness of the *whatever/whenever* frame, particularly regarding comparisons of Indigenous-settler hunting/fishing methods, was a pattern that was highlighted by one participant who

[123] Although co-management agreements are a step in the right direction, Prosper et al (2011) highlight how these agreements have led to increased government bureaucratization of many Indigenous communities and have ignored or undermined Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous peoples' spiritual connections to the land and wildlife.

[124] Although Indigenous peoples across the land have long engaged in stewardship, this is not to suggest that it has been devoid of challenges or that stewardship principles have always been upheld or practiced. To avoid reproducing the "ecologically noble Indian" stereotype, it is important to acknowledge the diversity among Indigenous individuals, communities, and nations across time and space and the realities that they have faced (and continue to face) regarding their relationships with and stewardship of the land. As such, this stereotype reduces Indigenous peoples' diverse "beliefs, values, social relationships, and practices to a one-dimensional caricature" (Nadasdy 2005, 293). For instance, Nadasdy (2005) highlights how "the image of ecological nobility is an unattainable ideal. Anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians have shown that indigenous people—even hunters, supposedly the most ecologically noble of all—do not live up to this ideal and never have. Instead, they have always altered their environments according to their needs, sometimes quite dramatically." (293). Furthermore, Nadasdy notes that when Indigenous individuals, communities, or nations do not conform to this image and unrealistic standard, they are judged and denounced by White settlers who accuse them of betraying their Indigeneity.

describes a 'formula' that unfolds when treaty rights and alleged overhunting are discussed among Whites:

> It's almost like a formula…I think a lot of the conversations start with comparing hunting methods then and now and saying 'this is how I heard Indigenous people would take down a moose', or 'I heard that they use this ammunition' or 'I heard that they use this type of bow or hunted in this type of way'… but the conversation tends to start there and then if anything transitions into 'okay, well, how are they doing it today?' And some people will say what they know, and some people say what they heard, and it usually is what they heard and that's when those types of stories that I talked about tend to sort of bubble up. But I've never actually heard or seen evidence of them happening. They might happen, but I wouldn't know to be certain (White, male Int37C19).

Additionally, the abruptness of treaty opposition was not only demonstrated by participants during the interviews, but was a pattern noted by one participant:

> Me and my friends joke about this, like you run into somebody and within 30 seconds, they're making a [anti-treaty] comment that's not really necessary. It's kind of like, you're talking about the weather, and it comes up unprompted I would say. There is no reason to mention it, like there's nothing that happened directly. Maybe this person, it just kind of occupies their mind a lot, and they want to say it (White, male Int26C26).

Above all, the *whatever/whenever* frame is heightened around specific hunting or fishing seasons for certain species, such as moose hunting season, and is where group positioning processes are most clear. Unlike deer hunting, moose hunting in Ontario is highly competitive due to how moose tags are allocated, the limited territory where moose live, and the expenses and efforts that accompany an annual moose hunt (e.g. travel costs, accommodations, scouting areas, etc.).[125] In recent years, moose populations have been in decline and officials have increasingly restricted the amount of moose tags available among other measures (e.g. limiting calf hunt) (CBC News 2017), which has been met with strong criticisms towards the MNRF for perceived mismanagement (or being underfunded). Concurrently, these changes are met with the scapegoating of and prejudices towards Indigenous people and treaty rights by non-Indigenous hunters.

According to Blumer (1958), racial prejudices arise when "big events" (6) touch on deep sentiments about the nature of intergroup relations and how out-groups pose a threat to the dominant group's sense of superiority, privileges, and claims to resources. In the sport hunting world, the limiting of moose tags or other hunting restrictions for an already competitive and exclusive hunt is a big event that leads to debates on the causes

[125] Moose tags are limited and competitive to obtain. Since moose mainly live in Northern Ontario, hunters from Southern Ontario or other areas may have greater obstacles and costs.

of the declining moose populations and consequently becomes a catalyst for comparisons about Indigenous-settler relations through the *whatever/whenever* frame. As a result, this arouses deep-seated emotions and prejudices towards Indigenous people and treaty rights due to the perceived unregulated (over)hunting of moose and the threat to their privileges, identities, and everything important that hunting (or fishing) provides. Additionally, these comparisons are where group positioning is illuminated in the way non-Indigenous hunters advance the notion that they are the law-abiding and true conservationists (via following rules, paying for tags, etc.) whose hunting opportunities are being limited, while Indigenous people, who are considered lawless, are not only thought to be the root cause of decreased moose populations but are continuing to hunt moose indiscriminately. This is illustrated by the following quote:

> A month before you get into your camp you got a couple dozen Native guys going back in there and basically decimating the moose population… They [MNRF] want to slow down the calf hunt and everything else; those are legitimate tags people are getting, but if you have groups of people going in there and just taking whatever they want– not cool! (White, male Int1C30)

This message was echoed among settler Canadian hunters who used this frame to express their anti-treaty views in comments sections on social media and news articles on the topic. In most cases, the articles or social media posts did not mention treaty rights or Indigenous people but still aroused deep-seated, anti-Indigenous prejudice rooted in a perceived group threat and sense of unfairness. For instance, in a CBC News (2015b) article titled "Ontario Plans to Tighten Moose Hunting," one commenter provides their opinion:

> Do something about the unregulated "stewards of the land" who "harvest" way more than what most of us would consider reasonable, who I have seen using traditional equipment such as spotlights in the middle of the night [sic] (Anonymous, 2015)

Similarly, another CBC News (2017) article about increased regulations on moose hunting was met with anti-treaty views. One person explains how "It is hard to manage something when one group has free rain and doesn't report harvests" [sic] (Anonymous 2017). In both online comments, the people employ the *whatever/whenever* frame to explain decreasing moose populations while using coded, non-racial language (a stylistic element of Colour-Blind Racism) to indirectly blame Indigenous people and treaty rights without appearing racist. The sarcastic reference to "unregulated stewards of the land" in the first quote is indicative of how such frames and stylistic strategies work to mock Indigenous peoples' stewardship (without directly mentioning Indigenous people) and simultaneously defines and ethno-racializes Indigenous people as poachers who use inhumane methods.

Overall, the *whatever/whenever* frame was the primary means in which Colour-Blind Racism was used to express treaty opposition, and in the process, hunter/anglers reproduce group boundaries, ethno-racialize Indigenous people as poachers, and (re)affirm settler's sense of moral and scientific superiority. Through this, settler Canadians legitimize and justify land dispossession and a sense of ownership over Indigenous land. Although most participants were aware of or directly utilized the *whatever/whenever* frame, when asked about their opinions on treaty rights, there were a substantial portion of participants who reported to either have 'no opinion' or that they 'supported' such rights even after disclosing their criticisms and concerns. Similarly, others articulated their 'support' based on the condition that rules were followed and that hunting/fishing rights were not 'abused' (i.e. over-hunting/fishing). It is within these responses and opinions towards treaty rights that racial-ethnic and gendered differences begin to surface. This will be discussed in the next section.

Conditional Support, Contradictions and No Opinions: Treaty Opposition and Impression Management

Aside from the (misinformed) awareness of treaty rights and the articulation of treaty opposition via Colour Blind Racism, there were at least six participants who claimed that they had no opinion (or refused to give an opinion) and took a 'neutral' stance to treaty rights. Another six participants presented contradictory views by asserting their support for treaty rights after divulging their resentment and criticisms throughout the interview (i.e. 'contradictory support'). Similarly, seven participants expressed 'support' for treaty rights based on the condition that rules were 'followed' or that such rights were not 'abused' through overhunting or overfishing (i.e. 'conditional support'). In all, these responses were articulated carefully, and, in most cases, they seemed to be rooted in impression management to avoid appearing racist or oppositional to the rights of Indigenous people. As such, these responses reflect stylistic elements of Colour-Blind Racism such as the role of diminutives wherein social actors attempt to "soften their racial views" (Bonilla-Silva 2018, 59), or in this case, their criticisms of treaty rights (i.e. 'I only oppose treaty rights a little') and also semantic moves (i.e. 'I support treaties, but…').

For the six participants who had 'no opinion' or were indifferent to treaty rights (i.e. 'neutral'), this was reported to be a result of their limited knowledge on treaty rights and/or how such rights have no impact on their hunting/fishing opportunities. Although they claimed to have no opinion, these participants were fully aware of the *whatever/whenever* frame that is communicated through racial stories in the hunting/fishing worlds. One participant explains:

> I don't really have an opinion. I don't know enough about what Natives are allowed and not allowed to do, and I'm pretty sure that, I don't think they really have any rules. One of my co-workers was telling me a story about how his

> daughter's son owned some property, and the Natives aren't asking for permission, and they're running their dogs through there and waiting for the animals to come out the other side and shooting them. That's the only story I've ever really heard about Natives hunting and fishing. I don't really know enough to comment on it, and I haven't really seen a whole lot of it (White, woman Int43C30).

Like most, this participant shows limited knowledge of treaty rights. As well, the testimony from their "co-worker's daughter's son" not only highlights how far such stories travel throughout one's social networks but how this participant uses this story as an example to describe treaty rights in a seemingly neutral manner. Given the collective images of Indigenous people hunting/fishing unregulated and unethically, this third hand 'testimony' appears more as a storyline (i.e. folktale) and contributes to the shared meanings of Indigenous hunters purportedly causing a nuisance and threatening wildlife and settlers' property and safety. Additionally, the way that this participant and others claimed that they do not have an opinion but then highlighted a racial story raises questions on whether they are withholding their true opinions to manage their self image or if they genuinely do not have an opinion.

Despite the low number of women in this study (ten total), there were minimal gender differences in the responses or opinions towards treaty rights as women exhibited varying degrees of support, opposition, or neutrality similar to men. As such, this reveals how these opinions can transcend gender, and as will be shown, they can transcend race-ethnicity too. However, one noticeable difference was that most of the criticisms or concerns from women were relatively indirect or restrained when compared to (White) men. For instance, 3/8 women[126] participants reported that they had no opinion (or refused to give one) compared to 3/44 male[127] participants. In short, the pattern showed that women participants attempted to minimize their criticisms or deflect away from giving an opinion altogether more than explicitly stating their criticisms or opposition.

A similar pattern was found among South Asian and East Asian (male) participants. Although most were aware of treaty opposition, these participants' views ranged from subtle opposition or no opinion to conditional and strong support.[128] Like the

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[126] In total, eight of the ten women participants in this study discussed their awareness and views on treaty rights (or lack of) during the interviews. For the remaining two participants (1 White; 1 Black), the topic of treaty rights did not arise. The eight participants' responses are categorized as follows: explicit opposition: 1 (White); no opinion/neutral: 3 (2 White, 1 East Asian); contradictory support: 1 (White); 'conditional' support: 1 (White); strong support: 2 (White).

[127] For one male participant (South Asian), the topic of treaty rights was not discussed.

[128] Ten of the twelve South Asian/East Asian participants articulated their views on treaty rights (or lack of). This included: subtle opposition: 1 (man, East Asian), no opinion/neutral: 2 (1 man, Black; 1 woman, East Asian), 'conditional' support: 3 (men, 2 East Asian, 1 South Asian), strong support: 4 (men, 1 East Asian, 3 South Asian). For the remaining two participants (1 man, South Asian; 1 woman, Black), the topic was not discussed in the interviews.

women participants, the criticisms (or lack of) towards treaty rights were indirect and carefully articulated, but they differed since four East Asian/South Asian (male) participants showed relatively more support for treaty rights compared to two White women. As well, Asian participants with critical views of treaty rights did not explicitly state their criticisms, concerns, or opposition but conveyed it through subtle opposition (e.g. frame of equality)[129] or through the ambiguity of 'conditional support.' For instance, of the seven participants who proclaimed their 'conditional support,' two were East Asian/male, one was South Asian/male, two were White/men, and one was White/woman. Though not explicit, this 'support' contains underlying assumptions that Indigenous people, either individually or collectively, cannot properly manage their own hunting/fishing. This is exemplified by an East Asian Canadian angler:

> So, I mean as long as they are following rules and stuff like that then I have no problem with it. Whatever those rules are, if that's what the treaty rights says in terms of what they're allowed to hunt or fish or whatever it actually is in this area, in this time, with whatever limits, if there are any limits, as long as they're following the rules, that's fine. And if it hurts the fishery, then that treaty right might have to get revised or something like that (East Asian, male Int48C44).

In contrast to those expressing 'conditional support', all six participants who expressed 'support' after criticizing or opposing treaty rights (i.e. 'contradictory support') were all White and mostly male (except one woman participant). These findings suggest that whereas White males predominantly expressed their opposition or criticisms in both explicit and implicit ways, the criticisms or concerns from several East Asian and South Asian male participants and White/East Asian women participants in this study were largely indirect, ambiguous, and/or appeared to be rooted in impression management. This difference shows how those in positions of power and privilege may feel more entitled and freer to explicitly state their opinions compared to those situated within intersecting oppressions who may approach the topic in a more subtle and cautious manner. Although these findings show the nuanced ways that People of Colour and/or women hunters/anglers approach treaty rights, further studies need to be conducted to adequately distinguish any gender and racial-ethnic differences among non-Indigenous Canadians.

Nonetheless, whether an indifference to or conditional support for treaty rights, these responses not only demonstrate the range of opinions and ways of conveying them (via stylist elements of Colour-Blind Racism), but also how identifying as a hunter/angler exposes one to anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty (settler colonial) ideologies which has the potential to shape the way Indigenous people, treaty rights, and Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations are perceived regardless of one's race-ethnicity or gender.

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[129] For instance, one participant, an East Asian Canadian angler, briefly explained how "I feel like everyone should be treated the same" (East Asian, male Int51SC25b).

Additionally, and aside from the nuances, these findings raise questions on the extent that these responses are formed during the socialization process of becoming and remaining a hunter/angler (i.e. learning importance of rule following and conservation coupled with learning definitions of Indigenous people as lawless) or, in regard to women and People of Colour, if this is reflective of a stigma management strategy used to separate from racial-ethnic or gendered stereotypes by adopting the anti-treaty ideologies shared by White male Canadians in hunting/fishing. For instance, in what ways do those from stigmatized social positions attempt to align themselves with the 'dominant' group via treaty opposition? Is this a way to signal a commitment not only to conservation but to the interests and privileges of all non-Indigenous hunters/anglers or Canadians overall?

In all, the complexities and fluidity of group positioning becomes apparent through the views of treaty rights in the hunting/fishing worlds. As described earlier, the process of becoming a hunter/angler highlights one's group position and existence in the ethno-racialized order (e.g. Asian and Eastern European immigrant anglers considered prone to break rules compared to White Canadians) but when it comes to the topic of treaty rights (who is or is not exempt from provincial game laws), treaty relations, and the direct use of, connections with and stewardship over Indigenous land, group positions can broaden in terms of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As a result, members from oppressed and ethno-racialized groups may come to share the same anti-treaty ideologies as Whites either through the socialization into the hunting/fishing worlds or possibly as a form of stigma management via 'boundary crossing' to separate from stigmatization and ethno-racialization. In short, the beliefs and boundary work which categorize and ethno-racialize Indigenous people as a threat may be reproduced by non-White Canadians alongside White Canadians and illustrates that anti-treaty and anti-Indigenous (settler colonial) ideologies can transcend gender and race-ethnicity.

Supporting Treaty Rights and Challenging Treaty Opposition

Against the backdrop of explicit and implicit anti-treaty images and ideologies among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers, there were at least thirteen[130] White, East Asian, and South Asian Canadian hunters/anglers who showed strong support for treaty rights and Indigenous sovereignty. This support differed from the 'contradictory' or 'conditional' support displayed by others in the way these thirteen participants did not (directly or indirectly) lambaste treaty rights before stating their 'support' nor did they ascribe to the assumptions of lawlessness and wildlife abuse in their accounts. For these participants, their support was based on one or several reasons such as the fundamental importance of honouring treaty relations and Indigenous sovereignty, the acknowledgement and respect for Indigenous peoples' longstanding connections to and use of the land, the importance of hunting/fishing for Indigenous peoples' cultures,

[130] 9 White (2 women, 7 men) and 4 People of Colour (men).

beliefs, source of food, etc., and to resolve historic/contemporary injustices Indigenous people face. In addition, several of these participants, even those who held 'contradictory' views of treaty rights, claimed to have openly challenged anti-treaty beliefs either by directly calling them out (e.g. questioning or threatening the perpetrator) and/or through education.

White settlers' engagement in various forms of anti-racist and/or anti-colonial activism is a growing body of literature that continues to strengthen our understanding of intergroup relations and group positioning in a settler colonial context (Warren 2010; McGuire and Denis 2019; Traoré 2017). Whether through their support for Indigenous rights and sovereignty or through direct acts of resistance, scholars have outlined how and why settlers mobilize to become allies and challenge White supremacy and settler colonialism (Lipsitz 2008; Bobo and Tuan 2006; Denis 2020; Davis 2010; Carlson-Manathara et al 2021).

In a study with forty non-Indigenous Canadians who attended Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) events, McGuire and Denis (2019) examined the reasons why some settler Canadians become involved in efforts of reconciliation, particularly after learning the shocking details of the residential school program and Canada's ongoing colonial history. They highlight six pathways that lead settlers to actively engage in efforts of reconciliation. In addition to learning about residential schools and intergenerational trauma (via school, first-hand accounts of survivors, official apologies), participants also were mobilized by positive intergroup contact or relations, exposure to injustices in Canada and beyond, previous social justice activism (e.g. environment, civil rights), experiences with marginalization (e.g. racism, sexism, ableism, etc.), and the impact of role models (e.g. family, church leaders).

Within the realm of opposition to Indigenous peoples' treaty harvesting rights, settler hunters/anglers and labour or faith-based organizations have actively shown their support for such rights through various strategies. For some, this can involve supporting Indigenous fisheries, while for others it could entail directly challenging anti-treaty views among settlers on an interpersonal level (Wallace, Struthers and Bauman 2010; Martino 2021). There are several examples of White settler allyship and solidarity with Indigenous people. In reaction to a First Nation commercial fishery in Central Ontario during the 1990s, many White settler hunters/anglers vehemently protested this fishery and marched to a local food market where they targeted a First Nation member who was selling fish. At the same time, White settlers from labour and faith-based groups had arrived to support the First Nation's treaty rights and to shelter the fish vendor from the harassment and violence brought by the anti-treaty protesters (Wallace, Struthers and Bauman 2010). Similarly, during a longstanding treaty dispute in Wisconsin, violence erupted when White-Americans began targeting Chippewa fishers for exercising their treaty fishing rights. In response, White-American supporters of the Chippewa's rights became non-

violent observers to witness and record the violence perpetrated on Chippewa fishers. For these White supporters, the historical and contemporary violence and racial injustices towards the Chippewa and their territory was a primary motivator for their active solidarity (Lipsitz 2008).

Within this dissertation research, many of the participants' discussions and support of treaty rights was often accompanied and contrasted with their criticism about settler colonialism. Like the literature (McGuire and Denis 2019; Regan 2010), the participants' sense of injustice occurring in a seemingly peaceful and accepting country like Canada was tied to their support for Indigenous people and treaty rights. For these participants, treaty opposition is not only unjust but is also inhibiting positive Indigenous-settler relations. A White hunter/angler who immigrated from Europe explains their support in contrast to historical and ongoing colonialism (e.g. dishonouring treaty rights and obligations, genocidal policies, etc.):

> *Q- did you want to elaborate on your feelings towards treaty rights or treaties?*
>
> I think we're doing a pretty terrible job. I came to Canada in the 1990s as a teen, and I didn't realize for years, this wasn't obvious, but the whole residential school system didn't end until 1996, and that still blows my mind; and just seeing what's going on in the world and the way First Nations are treated in relation to hunting and in relation to their rights, and it is disturbing and upsets me on a regular basis… So, I am a big supporter of First Nations using their rights to the best of their abilities and eating proper food (White, male Int6C4).

The participant not only highlights their support and devotion to honour treaty rights, but also how the disturbing realities of settler colonialism have fostered this support. Likewise, another participant, an avid angler, explains their support for treaty rights within the context of treaty opposition in the fishing world:

> Getting upset towards Natives for doing what they've been doing since before anybody was here is completely unfair. So, it's mostly their land, and I completely respect that. So, anybody who has a problem with that, I kind of have a problem with that because it's not really fair to get upset at those cultures because they've been fishing here a lot longer than the Europeans that settled here have been. So yeah, I'm very supportive of those communities and treaty rights (South Asian, male Int34C49).

As these participants show, their support and respect for treaty rights and Indigenous sovereignty is a response to the atrocities and inequalities from colonialism ranging from residential schools and land theft to the opposition of treaty rights and food insecurity. From this, a sense of settler duty to resolve or at least inhibit historic and contemporary injustices through their support is evident. However, the extent that these or

other non-Indigenous Canadians transform these feelings and views into direct action such as joining a protest or becoming involved in decolonial efforts is a question for future research.

Nevertheless, for another participant, their support for treaty rights and a sense of duty to be an ally had emerged from learning about settler colonialism and treaty relationships in post-secondary school. This experience had encouraged them to reflect on and reconsider their views about the nationalistic images of Canada and the wilderness as well as their use of and personal relationship with Indigenous land:

> It just really made me critically examine my own stances and beliefs about all that kind of stuff… So, it really kind of made me far more critical of Canada as a country and also the way that the country is framed, like vis-à-vis Indigenous people and history… I just learned a lot more and then I was like I'm not this sort of proud Canadian who has bought into this sanitized narrative of Canada as this peaceful, pristine country, like there is a lot wrong with Canada. I still like fishing obviously but it's different for me now. It's not the same because now when I'm fishing, I'm sort of directly coming into contact with some of the things that I don't like about Canada. And so, it's different now like whoever I'm fishing with, it's always an opportunity for me to have a discussion with them. The last time fishing was a few months ago with my ex-girlfriend now, but her and I were fishing in a river, and we had a long conversation about Indigenous rights and natural resources in Canada, so now that's what it's like for me (White, male Int9C5).

As the quote shows, learning more about settler colonialism in school had not only changed their view on Canadian nationalism and the wilderness but also altered their fishing experiences and orientation to the land. As a result, fishing or hunting on Indigenous land becomes a stark realization and reminder about dispossession, genocide, and the complicity of settler hunters/anglers. At the same time, this provides the participant with an opportunity to discuss with others the fundamental issues related to Indigenous rights and settler colonialism, which can become a starting point to recruit other settler allies. Consistent with McGuire and Denis' findings, this participants' support arises from a rejection of the "Canadian peacemaker myth" (McGuire and Denis 2019, 509; Regan 2010)[131] in addition to a keen awareness about the importance of nation-to-nation treaty relations that were supposed to be the foundation in which European settlers and Indigenous nations would co-exist (Gehl 2014).

The historical and contemporary injustices stemming from settler colonialism is also thought to be the reason Indigenous people are 'given' treaty hunting/fishing rights as well as other perceived benefits such as tax exemptions. Indeed, this understanding was prevalent among four participants who characterized treaty rights as reparations

[131] Similarly, Mackey discusses the "Benevolent Mountie myth" (1999, 14)

rather than rights that were enshrined in treaties between European and Indigenous nations (in addition to inherent rights that preceded European arrival). This is illustrated in the quotes below:

> I still feel like it's compensation for us having done some really awful stuff to them in the past right now (White, male Int3C23).

> They get treated so badly. I think they deserve to be able to feed themselves without massive taxation (South Asian, male Int47C16).

> Considering they were here first, and we basically just came and stole everything like it's the least we could do for them (White, male Int39C30).

While these participants appeared to have good intentions, characterizing treaty rights as reparations 'given' to Indigenous people is consistent with the legal colonial discourse of 'recognition' and the 'granting' of rights by the Crown which overlooks the fundamental spirit of treaty relations and Indigenous sovereignty. Consequently, adopting this notion of treaty rights shows how settler colonial power and hierarchies can be reinforced on micro, interpersonal levels, such as within the views of ordinary hunters/anglers, to macro, institutional levels such as constitutional laws and legal recognition from the Crown (Coulthard 2014).

Conversely, another participant highlights the problems with the recognition or granting of rights to Indigenous people. Through this, they show a deep understanding about the importance of upholding and honouring treaty rights and how Canadians and the Crown fall short of their treaty obligations:

> My thoughts on treaty rights are that it's not giving someone something if you took it in the first place. I think the treatment of First Nations people under a colonial regime in Canada has been absolutely abhorrent and continues to be, and the rectifying of treaty imbalances is a huge priority that has not been pursued nearly as strongly as it should be (White, male Int14C17).

Although honouring treaty rights is a significant step to respecting Indigenous sovereignty, resolving ongoing injustices, and combating settler colonialism, Indigenous scholars highlight that what is needed is decolonization, namely the repatriation of land and life (Tuck and Yang 2012). Though these participants conveyed their support and respect for Indigenous rights and sovereignty, as well as their criticisms of settler colonialism, decolonization was not mentioned by non-Indigenous hunters/anglers during the interviews or online. Without a steady and frequent discussion of decolonization, including ways to repatriate land, re-envision meaningful treaty relations, and ensure a peaceful co-existence of Indigenous and settler peoples, we risk circling in a current of 'reconciliation' and empty reconciliatory acts that ultimately preserves settler colonial structures, settler power and privilege, and ongoing land dispossession.

White-Settler Responses to Anti-Treaty Ideologies

At least eight (White) participants claimed they would openly confront and challenge anti-treaty views by either 'calling out' and questioning the perpetrator or by using education in varying ways. Most of the participants who had confronted racial-ethnic prejudices towards Asian and other Canadians of Colour (See chapter five) also challenged treaty opposition with similar strategies.

Education is not only a preferred way to challenge racial-ethnic prejudices among White, African American (Lamont et al 2016), and Indigenous peoples (Mellor 2004), but also was a preferred strategy to address treaty opposition among White-settler hunters/anglers in this study. For some, education was used in a constructive manner to correct misinformed views and possibly enable a greater understanding and support for treaty rights. This is exemplified in the quote below:

> There's a lot of overly simplified beliefs about what it [treaties, treaty rights] really means. They think they [Indigenous people] just signed away their rights, so they should have nothing to complain about. It is really baseless, oversimplified generalizations about the consent that a nation gave or two nations gave to each other, so I am happy to engage in those conversations; sometimes people don't want to hear it, sometimes people are actually informed you know. No one has ever told me to **** off or told me that I was wrong, like people literally don't know what they're talking about (White, male Int4C15).

The participant articulates how such treaty opposition can be traced to misinformation and a lack of knowledge. As shown in chapter five, this participant is sometimes constrained to confront racial-ethnic or sexist slurs or jokes in certain contexts; however, treaty rights are a topic the participant feels confident enough and compelled to address in a non-confrontational and educating manner. Although education, and the way one educates, can be a less aggressive way to confront racist and anti-treaty ideologies, the participant highlights how some non-Indigenous people refuse to be educated. Indeed, within a settler colonial context, education may not be able to fully reduce White settler Canadians' sense of group position, superiority, and entitlement to land and resources (Denis 2015, 2020; Wodtke 2012).

For other participants, a more aggressive approach was used to confront anti-treaty ideologies. One participant, a White male who has an Indigenous family member, claimed that they openly challenge all the anti-treaty views they encounter:

> I get pretty angry. I have Native family, so it becomes very personal for me. It's not just about conservation or hunting and everything else; now you're sliding my family and that's not a good thing. You start mocking my family you're going to find out in a hurry that you're messing with the wrong bull. When I hear shit like that, it's generally met with aggression to be quite honest… I'll stand my ground

> and raise my voice and get aggressive about it, and that's not the best way to do it. It's not something that happens on a regular basis or quite frequently. But when it does, it's met with ugly aggression. So, the unfortunate part, because of my reaction in those instances, things don't typically get resolved and the opportunity for educating somebody is lost. That's when I feel bad because I think it's an opportunity to maybe help somebody change their mind and learn a different way of thinking about things (White, male Int20C27-28).

Despite taking an aggressive approach, the participant feels this response can tarnish opportunities to educate someone and potentially change opinions. As highlighted by one participant in chapter five, some feel it's better to be a "wolf in sheep's clothing" and confront prejudices in a non-confrontational manner for more effective results.

Correspondingly, another participant, who had re-considered their nationalistic views and relations to the land, described the ways they firmly confront and question anti-treaty views in various contexts but admits the limited effectiveness of such an approach:

> You just have to ask basic questions like what do you know about treaty rights? You're saying that you don't like them, but what are they? Do you know why they exist? Do you know that you are fishing in a numbered treaty area? What treaty is this lake covered by? As a fisherman, you're supposed to know the guidelines, you're supposed to know the seasons. You purport to know about the land that you're on, but you don't even know what treaty you are on. I try to normalize that kind of knowledge, but for some people they won't even hear it (White, male Int9C26).
>
> *Q- Do you think it's effective?*
>
> I don't think it's effective, no. I think part of it is, for a lot of people, fishing and doing outdoorsy stuff is central to their identity, and so if you start trying to poke and prod at that in relation to Indigenous treaty rights, it's very threatening I think for a lot of people because it really kind of problematizes their entire identity (White, male Int9C27).

Despite the limitations of confronting, the participant touches on a fundamental point derived from this research: treaty rights are not only considered a threat to conservation or hunting/fishing opportunities, but also to many hunters/anglers' sense of identity (as well as other material/symbolic benefits such as bonding with family/friends, familial or national traditions, sentimental memories, emotional attachments, etc. See chapter three). As a result, the perceived threats posed by treaty rights penetrate much deeper and may cement anti-treaty views which become resilient to outside criticisms or education containing contradictory evidence of wildlife abuse, information on treaties, or the importance of meaningful treaty relationships.

Conclusion

Overall, the pervasiveness of treaty opposition via Colour Blind Racism within sport hunting/fishing in Canada fundamentally contributes to the processes that uphold settler colonial structures and settler power and privileges. Through mutually reinforcing and intersecting processes of inter-subjective meaning making, identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning, non-Indigenous hunters/anglers learn about and adopt the belief systems that inform hunter/angler identities and outline the criteria and boundaries between in and out group members. This includes learning anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty rights ideologies through frames, styles, and stories reflective of Colour-Blind Racism, which offers an interpretive lens for understanding Indigenous-settler treaty relations and provides the ammunition to criticize and oppose treaty rights. By reproducing treaty opposition via Colour Blind Racism, non-Indigenous (predominately White) Canadians perform the boundary work of defining and ethno-racializing Indigenous people as poachers and as a group threat, and in the process, they define themselves as superior in terms of morals, law-abiding behaviours, hunting/fishing methods, and environmental stewardship. As a result, this establishes a sense of settler 'ownership' over Indigenous land and strengthens the notion that settlers are the rightful stewards of the land who are more concerned with and solely responsible for preserving the environment which ultimately benefits Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples alike.

At the same time, some non-Indigenous participants showed that despite learning about anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty ideologies while acquiring and maintaining a hunter/angler identity, they did not develop feelings of superiority or deep-seated prejudices. Rather, they supported Indigenous rights and sovereignty, and in many cases, sought to confront the anti-treaty views to which they were exposed. In all, this research provides insight into the complex and multifaceted ways that treaty opposition, ethno-racialized hierarchies, and group positions are reproduced, reinforced, and challenged within the processes of hunter/angler identity formation. Although hunting/fishing can be a sphere where White supremacy and settler colonial structures are reinforced, it can also be a route for settlers to become allies for decolonization. Future research would benefit by investigating the ways settler hunter/anglers become allies and also the views of Indigenous hunters/fishers on the issue.

Chapter Seven: 'It's an Old Boy's Club:' Experiencing and Overcoming Gendered Boundaries in Hunting/Fishing

Women have had a long presence within the history of hunting/fishing. Archaeological evidence from Peru which dates back thousands of years[132] suggests that Indigenous women hunted large animals alongside men (Haas et al 2020). In the north, Indigenous women have long been hunting and/or fishing in varying degrees for food and trade before and after European arrival. For instance, within Cree and Ojibway communities in what is now Ontario, men were responsible for hunting large game, however, women would often hunt and trap small game like rabbits or partridge and were largely involved in fishing (Ray 1999; Van Kirk 1984). Most notably, Cree women in Treaty 9 territory (Northern Ontario) were responsible for numerous seasonal fisheries and used a variety of fishing techniques such as netting, spearing, and wooden or stone fishing weirs. Cree women's fishing not only helped feed their families but also provided a valuable source of food to White Europeans during the fur trade (Ray 1999).

Indeed, Indigenous women played a fundamental role within the fur trade (1600s-1900s) in what is now the settler state of Canada. Though often overlooked in history, the survival of White European traders, the success of the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Company (NWC), and the maintenance of the entire fur trading system relied on the knowledge, labour, skills, and diplomacy of Indigenous women (White 1999; Van Kirk 1984; Ray 1999).

Throughout the fur trade, Cree and Ojibway women, for example, were often hired by the HBC and the NWC to provide fish, berries, rice, and/or maple syrup, as well as other vital services and commodities such as making and repairing canoes, drying and preserving meat, producing snowshoes and moccasins, and processing furs (e.g. skinning, tanning) to name a few. Without the knowledge and skills of Indigenous women, it is likely that many White European traders would've perished[133] and the fur trade would not have succeeded the way it did (White 1999; Van Kirk 1984). Furthermore, the marriages between Indigenous women and White European traders helped establish alliances and peaceful relations upon which the fur trade could thrive (Van Kirk 1984). By establishing kinship relations, Indigenous women became influential diplomats and were pivotal in minimizing intergroup conflicts and ensuring positive trade relations. [134]

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[132] Late Pleistocene or Early Holocene period (Haas et al 2020)

[133] In many cases, Indigenous women were directly responsible for preventing famine among White European traders. In the winter of 1815, for instance, a Nor'Wester trader stationed at a post near Lake Superior described how he avoided starvation due to the knowledge and trapping skills of his Ojibway wife (Van Kirk 1984).

[134] At the same time, conflicts did arise, especially if Indigenous women were abused or White traders did not adhere to social or economic expectations (Van Kirk 1984).

The emergence of sport hunting/fishing among Europeans also had its women contributors. Some of the earliest writings about sport fishing date back to the 15th century England by a noblewoman and nun, Dame Juliana Berners, who wrote one of the first essays on sport fishing titled, "The Treatise of Fishing with an Angle." Within these writings, Berners promoted the pursuit of fishing for pleasure, solace, and (spiritual and physical) health rather than a means for food and outlined not only a guide on how to fish (e.g. making lines, rods or flies; appropriate seasons, bait etc.) but also many of the foundational ethics and codes of behaviours for sport angling that persist within angler (and hunter) belief systems today (i.e. not taking too much fish at one time; respecting nature to preserve fish populations and the sport)[135] (Berners 2018; Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002).

During the 19th century, American colonial narratives of the male 'hunting hero' and skilled outdoorsman were accompanied (to a lesser degree)[136] with images and stories of the 'woman hunting hero' or 'lady adventurer' who defied gender[137] boundaries. Women like 'Calamity Jane' became part of the romanticized folklore of the American West for wearing buckskin clothes, learning how to shoot a gun and hunt, and engaging in 'unfeminine' behaviours. Although most women did not hunt or transcend gender norms like Calamity Jane, there were some during this era, particularly middle and upper-class White women, who shared similar colonial aspirations as men and were enticed by the thrill of adventure, escapism, travelling and exploring presumably 'empty' landscapes in the West, and hunting wild and 'exotic' animals (Jones 2012). Middle and upper-class women had the money and time for leisure and could travel alone or with their partners, hire guides, buy equipment, etc. As a result, hunting became a form of empowerment and freedom from traditional Victorian ideals of femininity and gendered expectations (Bialeschki 1992), albeit empowerment and freedom that was afforded based on one's class[138] and race. Nevertheless, like their male counterparts, women who hunted did so

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[135] Berners (2018) asserted that an angler should not fish primarily to save money but to help one's spiritual, physical, and mental health. Berners also advocated that anglers should avoid overfishing because it could destroy the sport for everyone.

[136] Bialeschki (1992) notes that women's participation in outdoor activities and contributions to conservation were largely ignored at the time and not fully investigated by historians.

[137] When using the term 'gender', I am referring to binary, trans and non-binary people. Within this dissertation, participants only identified as male or female, and so one limitation is that it focuses on binary relationships and reproduces binary notions of gender. Future research would benefit by including the accounts from trans and non-binary hunters/anglers.

[138] Within the context of settler colonial expansion in the 1800s, there were opportunities for (non-Indigenous) women of all classes to challenge gender norms and roles. Women of lower classes who settled and became homesteaders on Indigenous land also participated in the duties of survival with men and proved their capability against ideologies of women's fragility, modesty, passiveness, and emotional instability (Bialeschki 1992; Herman 2003). Unlike middle or upper-class women hunters who hunted primarily for sport, these women hunted more for subsistence (Herman 2003). However, it's important to note that these (non-Indigenous) women contributed significantly to settler expansion and land

for sport (i.e. thrill of the chase), self-discovery, being out in nature and obtaining meat (Jones 2012; Loo 2001; Bialeschki 1992).

Moreover, the early feminist wave of the late 1800s was challenging Victorian notions of femininity and helped create the ideal "new woman"– an icon who embodied independence, confidence, and courage. The "new woman" ideal was vital for inspiring women to partake in outdoor activities (e.g. hiking, climbing, hunting/fishing, etc.), which in turn, helped disconfirm gender stereotypes (e.g. fragility, modesty, passiveness) and advanced women's independence and freedom. From this, women were empowered and mobilized to not only enter male domains like hunting/fishing but also become activists for various causes such as conservation and protecting the environment. For instance, women of the Sierra Club organized to help fight against the damming of the Hetch-Hetchy valley in Yosemite National Park. Other women were instrumental in the preservation of Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon which resulted in the formation of the Mesa Verde National Park in 1906 (Bialeschki 1992).

By the turn of the 20th century, women's presence in hunting/fishing, though minimal and overlooked, was established and the popularity of the 'lady adventurer' had emerged and flourished. Many outdoorswomen published journals, novels or articles about the wilderness and their adventures hunting, fishing, or travelling. For instance, Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, a middle-upper class woman and wife to the famous American conservationist Earnest Thompson Seton, was a hunter and author of several published books, such as "A Woman Tenderfoot" (1900), which catered to outdoorswomen with narrations about hunting and the wilderness from a women's perspective. Unlike the 'wild woman' archetype exemplified by Calamity Jane, Grace portrayed the lady adventurer as respectable and refined but consequently reinforced gendered and essentialist stereotypes about women's subordination to men and how women are 'naturally' sensitive to killing animals (Jones 2012).

Despite women's empowerment and participation in outdoor activities during this time, those who broke gender barriers were met with ridicule and criticism. Although there were outdoor magazines that welcomed women hunters and created columns for outdoorswomen (Smalley 2005), some magazines published articles that characterized women with firearms as 'laughable' or published stories alluding to women's inferiority. For instance, a 1920s article published in the magazine, 'Rod and Gun in Canada,' attributed women hunters' success to accident rather than skill (Loo 2001).[139]

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dispossession, so one must take caution not to romanticize (non-Indigenous) women's challenges to gender norms in this context.

[139] A content analysis of how women were portrayed in five popular fishing magazines between 2009-2012 showed that women were under-represented relative to men (e.g. photos, appearances on magazine covers) and often in stereotypical roles. Overall, women were portrayed both positively (e.g. experts, competent

Today, the gender roles and hierarchies from the 19th and 20th centuries have changed, and there is greater tolerance of and shifting attitudes towards women partaking in activities dominated by men (Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003). Nevertheless, women's participation within hunting/fishing continues to be minimal compared to men and this is reflected within the recruitment results of this study. Of the fifty-five participants interviewed, only ten were women despite reaching out to women's hunting/fishing organizations.[140]

Since the late 1990s, however, women have increasingly entered and excelled in the sport hunting/fishing worlds in Canada and the US (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Keogh George 2016; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003; Government of Ontario 2020; House of Commons Standing Committee Report 2015). Like men, many women who hunt/fish, including those within this study, see it either as a passion, as a part of their identity, as a chance to enjoy and connect with nature, relax from the drudgery of work and daily life, spend time with family and friends, partake in a family or national tradition, build or improve skills, and gain independence and self-sufficiency (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002; Schroeder et al 2006; Toth and Brown 2009; Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006). Most notably, several women participants in this study reported being avid hunters/anglers and were actively involved within the hunting/fishing community, such as (but not limited to) entering fishing tournaments, volunteer work (e.g. habitat restoration), and joining or creating hunting/fishing businesses and organizations.

Like other recreational activities, sports or even occupations that are predominantly male (Shaw 1994; Bridel 2007), women's advancement and increased presence within hunting/fishing is not without its challenges. Similar to the predecessors of the 19th and 20th centuries, the findings from this study and other literature shows that contemporary women hunters/anglers still face gender-related barriers and stereotypes, including stereotypes of women's fragility and the homemaker image, the underestimation of their skills and knowledge (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002), the scrutinization of hunting/fishing practices, exclusion from hunting camps or fishing trips (Keogh George 2016), limited leisure time (due to work or family obligations), a lack of role models and hunting/fishing partners (Metcalf et al 2015; Mitten 1992; Culp 1998), improper socialization or recruitment into hunting/fishing (Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003), and in some cases, misogynistic comments, sexualization/objectification, harassment, stalking, and even violence (Shaw 1994; Wesely and Gaarder 2004; Fennell and Birbeck 2019).

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anglers and valued fishing partners for men) and negatively (e.g. sexualized, women as an obstacle, women in domestic roles like cooking) (Carini and Weber 2017).

[140] Several organizations (or the administrators for their social media pages) refused to participate or post recruitment ads on their Facebook pages or websites. Although reasons for their refusal were not provided, it raises questions if it was due to the fear of participating in a study that may further stigmatize hunters/anglers or how the study touches on sensitive topics like racism and misogyny.

Yet, despite the persistent challenges and misogyny,[141] women continue to endure, address, and overcome many of the gender-related barriers that are experienced while acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity. The creation of women-run hunting/fishing organizations and clubs has been one effective way to reduce obstacles and help recruit and socialize women into the hunting/fishing worlds (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002; Mitten 1992; Culp 1998). One case in point is an organization called the Ontario Women Anglers (OWA). As will be discussed in this chapter, the OWA have significantly helped carve a pathway for women to become anglers through their programs, workshops, and efforts to assist and positively represent women anglers.

Overall, like the racial-ethnic hierarchies and group positioning discussed in previous chapters, the findings showed that the gendered hierarchies and inequalities within hunting/fishing are a microcosm of broader patriarchal structures which have long shaped the social, cultural, political, economic, etc. landscapes throughout Canada's ongoing colonial history, including activities or (sub)cultures surrounding hunting/fishing (Little 2002; Shaw 1994; Hall 2020; Meân 2016; Simpson 2017). Nevertheless, hunting/fishing has also been a site of resistance to patriarchal relations and ideologies of women's inferiority, and women's growing presence and contributions within hunting/fishing are breaking down ongoing gender stereotypes, boundaries, and barriers, and in the process, they are laying the grounds for empowerment (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Mitten 1992; Culp 1998).

From Childhood to Adulthood: Socialization into Fishing and Hunting

In general, and aside from the obstacles or negative encounters while navigating predominantly male worlds, women participants reported positive hunting/fishing experiences and felt that most men, especially those from younger generations,[142] welcomed women into hunting/fishing. For most women participants, their introduction to and appreciation for fishing/hunting and the outdoors often began through a male figure, though there were differences. Women's socialization into fishing mostly began during childhood through their family whereas (at least in this study) their socialization into hunting started later in life with the assistance from their male spouse. For instance,

[141] For this dissertation, misogyny will be defined as "a property of social environments in which women are liable to encounter hostility due to the enforcement and policing of patriarchal norms and expectations—often, though not exclusively, insofar as they violate patriarchal law and order. Misogyny hence functions to enforce and police women's subordination and to uphold male dominance, against the backdrop of other intersecting systems of oppression and vulnerability, dominance and disadvantage, as well as disparate material resources, enabling and constraining social structures, institutions, bureaucratic mechanisms, and so on" (Manne 2017, 13-14). As will be shown, misogyny can be experienced in both overt and covert ways.

[142] It's important to note that older and younger male participants in this dissertation research supported and praised women's entry into hunting/fishing.

seven of the ten women participants were introduced to fishing by their father or grandfather when they were children and either continued to fish or stopped as teens and resumed as adults. By contrast, only four women participants hunted, and they all started as adults, mainly through the mentorship of their partners.[143]

These findings correspond to the literature on women's socialization into hunting/fishing. Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall (2003) highlight that women's entry into hunting largely occurs in adulthood with the help of their spouses which differs from men who are often taught to hunt by their fathers when they are children in accordance with the gendered norms and meanings that are attached to hunting. Conversely, the participants and the relevant literature indicated that the socialization into fishing begins earlier and may be more inclusive for young girls compared to hunting. A study by Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman (2006) about fishing socialization in upstate New York found that both men and women passed through similar stages in the process of becoming an angler. Like men, women began fishing during childhood which persisted into adulthood, especially if they had the support and mentorship from family members or other role models.

Although the women anglers in this study described positive male mentors and role models who introduced them to fishing, there were a few who felt that they (and women in general) were not properly taught how to fish and were only shown the basic skills (e.g. casting and reeling) rather than technical skills (e.g. choosing lures, tying knots, how to troubleshoot, etc.). One participant explains how "I definitely found that growing up, I wasn't really taught how to set up for fishing other than like casting and reeling in" (White, woman, Int42C16a). Indeed, studies have shown that young women's socialization into leisure activities promotes "dependency, restrictive exploration and limited physical play" (Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006, 116) compared to young boys whose socialization focuses on "competence, mastery and independence" (ibid. 116). As a result, improper teaching or even the lack of a mentor/role model can act as a significant barrier for women to partake in and continue hunting/fishing, particularly those without family who hunt/fish (Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003; Metcalf et al 2015; Culp 1998). Luckily, these barriers have been recognized and are being addressed by organizations like the OWA. As will be discussed later in this chapter, such organizations have provided the support and mentorship that helps socialize women of all ages into the outdoor world.

Underestimating, Devaluing and Disregarding Women's Hunting/Fishing Skills, Knowledge, and Identities

In addition to barriers related to improper socialization, and consistent with the literature (Crowder 2002; Fennell and Birbeck 2019), at least eight women participants

[143] One of the four participants began hunting/fishing during adulthood without any mentors.

revealed the nuances of how their fishing (or hunting) skills and knowledge were underestimated and/or how their identity as an angler/hunter was overlooked due to their gender on one or more occasions. Such devaluation was rooted in persisting ideologies of women's fragility and inferiority as well as assumptions that women are disinterested or unable to engage in activities like hunting/fishing. According to the participants, this was experienced in subtle and overt ways (e.g. seemingly harmless jokes, comments, exclusion from conversation, ignored by male anglers/hunters or sales reps) and in various contexts such as social media, shopping in outdoor stores, and fishing/hunting among or around men.

One woman participant, an avid angler, explained how she has experienced rude or condescending off-the-cuff comments from men on several occasions inside and outside fishing. For instance, while ice fishing on a popular lake in Central Ontario, the participant encountered discouraging comments from a group of male anglers:

> I was just actually out ice fishing at a derby, and I don't know what it is, those guys up there, they do a quick looking up and down, they size you up, and then they just start making fun of you. There were a couple of guys that kind of looked and go "good luck out there, it is going to be pretty hard for you to walk all the way up there"…And for me it is actually the same comments that I would get when I am at work [construction] so I'm used to it and personally I think it is just ignorance and insecurity from the men but it is what it is (White, woman, Int54C8,11)

The participant's experience sheds light on the stigmatizing and misogynistic comments that degrade women's skill and physical endurance within competitive sports, activities, or work environments that are predominantly male (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Bridel 2007). The way this participant (and others) allude that these comments are normal while interacting in male worlds shows how the denigration of women becomes routine and expected.

Another participant highlighted how women's presence and skills within fishing are increasingly supported and recognized by male anglers but that women continue to be devalued due to a sense of male superiority:

> I think it is definitely changing. I have a lot of girlfriends that fish. I have a lot of guy friends that fish. But I definitely think that when I go fishing with guys, they have this 'I'm better than you at fishing' vibe, like especially when they are drinking…Yes, women can fish and guys recognize that but it's like no matter how many fish you get or how you do, it's always like they're going to be better and the women are not that great at fishing (White, woman, Int42C12-15).

For at least two women participants, fishing with their male partners and interacting with other male anglers by the water was a stark reminder about the persistent,

yet subtle, gendered inequalities that permeate inside (and outside) the fishing world. They described how male anglers would ignore them and speak directly to their male partners based on an assumption that women do not care to fish and that they are merely accompanying their husbands. In the process, these women's skills, knowledge, and angler identities are subtly disregarded due to their gender. One woman angler, who reported to have greater fishing knowledge and experience than their male partner, divulged their encounters while fishing:

> The times I have been out fishing with my boyfriend now, I mean, I have more fishing experience than he does, but generally when we get stopped and talked to, he's the one that they address, and like he's good at it, but I do know more than him. So, he always makes sure to redirect the conversation to me, or he'd just mention "oh, she's teaching me" because it does have to be noted (White, woman, Int33C17).

In addition to the subtle ways gendered hierarchies are reproduced through fishing interactions, several participants expressed how their skills, knowledge, and angler (or hunter) identities were often underestimated, devalued, or overlooked while shopping in outdoor shops (e.g. tackle or gun shops; both large and small businesses). Indeed, shopping in outdoors stores while female can not only be an uncomfortable and discouraging experience but also discriminatory. Participants revealed numerous experiences with rude staff and/or inadequate service, which was felt to be due to their gender, namely the assumption that the women knew nothing or that they were mistakenly in the wrong place. For example, a long-time woman angler disclosed their experience with a (male) owner of a fishing shop:

> I put it [fishing line] on the counter and he says, "you know this is for fishing, right?" And I was dumbfounded. I'm thinking I'm in the fishing store, what else would I be buying it for? And I said, "yeah'" and he says, "oh, that's okay because people sometimes buy it for like hanging pictures and crafts", and I'm just stunned like I didn't know what to think at the time, and so I gave him my money and I'm still kind of struck, and then he gives me my change, and I thought, "you asshole! You're not getting away with this." I said, "just to let you know, I'm buying this because I'm participating in a Canada-U.S. fishing tournament this weekend." And the guy behind me burst out laughing, and then the owner's face just went deadpan (White, woman, Int40).

Although ignoring such comments and treatment was often the chosen response among women (see below), this participant shows that the owner's assumptions compelled the participant to call them out and prove their expertise. Similarly, other participants described being ignored by male salesclerks on the one hand and/or being offered unsolicited advice on the other. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

> When I go to the fishing section, sometimes I get some funny looks as if I don't really know what I'm looking for, or I find that the store clerks, they are not necessarily as helpful in approaching a woman who's there shopping for fishing tackle by herself, as opposed to if a man was. I've seen store clerks go and chat with some of the men that are shopping in the same area (White, woman, Int28C16a).

> They go and try to over-teach me assuming that I don't know anything and then when I start explaining myself, they realize that I do have knowledge, but it is the first impressions; they always just take me for somebody who doesn't know enough (White, woman, Int54C14c).

Joining predominantly male hunting/fishing clubs or organizations can also be a sphere where skills are underestimated, suggestions or feedback to the club are ignored, hunter/angler identities are overlooked, and assumptions about gender roles continue to flourish. For example, a woman participant describes a case of 'mistaken identity' while attending a club meeting:

> An older gentleman, he meant no harm in it at all, and I don't take things to heart too much, he said "oh, are you one of the ladies that work in the kitchen?" during one of the meetings, and I just kind of smiled and said, "no, I'm actually a volunteer" (Club member).

Correspondingly, this participant revealed how paternal/patriarchal treatment of women is not a thing of the past. They explained how "I get comments, I get a pat on the head. You almost get treated almost like a child. I don't think I look that young and I've ignored it." (Club member). This is not to suggest that all women receive this treatment in predominantly male clubs, but it does show the discouraging and discriminatory ways that gender is experienced when crossing gendered boundaries.

Whether shopping in outdoors stores, joining (predominantly male) hunting/fishing clubs or fishing in popular locations, the participants' accounts illustrate how women must continuously prove themselves within male worlds due to ongoing stereotypes and assumptions that underestimate and devalue women. The pressure for women to prove their fishing, hunting, or other skills while navigating male dominated environments is a challenge that was acknowledged and experienced by most women participants. This is exemplified in the following quotes:

> It [fishing] just feels very much like an 'old boys club.' I guess once you sort of prove yourself, you are kind of in. Like, I don't know how to get around that because there's a lot of places where there is still this old boy's club mentality (White, woman, Int28C31).

> I mean in any male dominated industry or pastime or something like that, you just kind of basically have to prove yourself; prove that you actually know what you're doing (White, woman, Int54C18).

As the quotes show, partaking in activities or workplaces that were historically an 'old boys club' places a burden on women to prove their worth in the eyes of men. Alongside this burden is the calculation and emotional work that women must undergo when deciding how to respond when they encounter both implicit and explicit forms of misogyny. Although pressured to respond and disconfirm stereotypes, the participants revealed that in most cases, these types of incidents were ignored. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

Having to prove one's skills and knowledge as an angler or hunter was also a challenge experienced by East Asian and South Asian Canadian male participants (see chapter five). However, unlike White women, East Asian and South Asian male anglers described how they had to prove their moral worth via knowledge of the rules in addition to their knowledge and skills of fishing. Within this study, no women felt they were viewed as immoral or a poacher due to their gender. In line with an intersectional approach (Collins 2000; Zinn and Thornton-Dill 1996), these findings illustrate how the social and symbolic boundaries and inequalities within hunting/fishing can be experienced differently based on one's gender, race-ethnicity, and other social categories. Further interviews with women and men from the BIPOC, LGBTQ2+, and other communities would provide a greater understanding into the way one's gender, race-ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc. shapes their hunting/fishing experiences and identities.

In all, as more women become hunters/anglers and make their impact in the outdoor world, they must endure persistent stereotypes and subtle discriminatory acts based on gender ideologies and assumptions that denigrate or overlook women's skills and knowledge. As a result, a burden is placed on women to continuously prove their worth under a male gaze as they navigate inside and outside hunting/fishing.

The Gendered Dynamics of Hunting Camps

Within this dissertation, there were only four women hunters, but despite the low numbers, these participants provided valuable insight into the experiences and challenges that women can face within hunting. Overall, the findings showed that both women hunters and anglers face similar experiences of underestimation and devaluation. However**,** several women (and male) hunters/anglers felt that fishing had more gender (and racial-ethnic) diversity and less obstacles compared to hunting (e.g. easier access to public fishing spots in rural/urban areas, minimal licence requirements, etc.). Instead, hunting was seen as more restrictive, exclusive, and predominantly White and male compared to fishing.

As discussed earlier, women have long participated in hunting, particularly as it became a form of leisure and recreation during the 19th century; though, this participation was minimal (and overlooked) relative to men and mainly afforded to White and middle or upper-class women.[144] By the 1900s, the embedded connections between hunting and manliness were well established despite women's participation in hunting and outdoor activities (travelling, camping, etc.). Whether it was the collection of 'trophies' (e.g. heads, horns/antlers or pelts from big game animals) that symbolized masculinity or the novels, periodicals, and advertisements that connected hunting to the restoration of masculinity (Smalley 2005; Loo 2001), sport hunting at the turn of the 20th century became increasingly defined as an activity, and indeed a subculture or 'fraternity', which embodied 'masculine traits' such as courage, skill, self-reliance, self-control, toughness, risk-taking, and mastery (Loo 2001; Smalley 2005; Franklin 1998).

With the emergence of WW2, the construction of hunting as a strictly masculine activity had propelled and significantly sharpened gender boundaries. Whereas male hunters in the late 19th and early 20th centuries did not necessarily exclude women (and in several outdoor magazines, they encouraged women's participation),[145] the post war decades saw a new and "aggressively masculine" (Smalley 2005, 184) definition of hunting arise which was distinctly associated with militarism and male bonding. Male writers for popular outdoor/hunting magazines contributed to this shifting definition by writing periodicals which defined 'authentic' hunting as an inherently and exclusively male activity– one that women purportedly could not fully understand and should be excluded from (Smalley 2005).

As a result, hunting became gender segregated and hunting trips, camps, and clubs[146] became an exclusively male domain and male ritual. Spending days or weeks

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[144] Today, women of all classes and races-ethnicities hunt/fish, but class differences exist within different forms of hunting and fishing. For instance, fly fishing is a niche, elite sport within fishing (sub)culture (Franklin 1998) that differs from regular fishing and requires additional skills as well as equipment, travel expenses, etc. which renders it more exclusive. Hunting rare animals in Africa or the Arctic also reveals class differences within hunting (sub)cultures. The available data does not give information on the racial-ethnic composition of hunting (or fishing) in Ontario, but most participants agreed that the hunting community was largely composed of White men.

[145] For more info on how women were portrayed in outdoor magazines from the late 19th century into the mid 20th century, see Smalley (2005).

[146] Elite, all-male social clubs (e.g. fishing clubs) extend back to 18th century America (Haulman 2014), but the popularity of private sport hunting/fishing clubs rose in the mid to late 1800s in both (pre/post Confederation) Canada (Wamsley 1994) and the US (Duda, Jones and Criscione 2010). In Canada, elite hunting/fishing clubs (some with both men and women) gained exclusive access to large tracts of land through revenue-generating land leases issued by some provincial governments (like Quebec), which ultimately heightened class-based (social, symbolic, and geographical) boundaries (as well as settler colonial processes of land dispossession) by restricting access to land (Wamsley 1994). For the most part, early sport clubs in Canada were exclusive to men, though, women's sports clubs were not uncommon during the 19th century. The creation of the "Montreal Ladies Archery Club" in 1858 is one of the earliest known clubs for women in Canada (Hall 2020).

hunting in the wilderness was not only a way to restore, (re)assert, and perform one's masculinity but also a way to escape 'domestic' life and daily routines and connect with other male family members or friends. It also acted (and continues to act) as a rite of passage into manhood for young boys who were/are taught by their fathers how to shoot, hunt, and 'become a man.' During the post war years, ads in outdoor magazines often portrayed images of fathers passing down hunting skills and knowledge to their sons, and in the process, they helped reinforce and 'naturalize' the connections between hunting and manhood (Smalley 2005; Franklin 1998).

Today, these images and associations of hunting as an exemplar of masculinity persist but women's increased participation, presence, and contributions are changing this gendered image of hunting (Keogh George 2016). According to a 2015 Standing Committee Report on hunting for the House of Commons, women are the fastest growing demographic in hunting which is welcomed by the predominantly male hunting community. This support is due to a strong desire to recruit new hunters in light of decreasing hunting participation rates. As stated in this report, hunter recruitment is considered highly important, which is based on the premise that more hunters will result in more conservationists and additional funding to help preserve wildlife and hunting in general. Participants interviewed for this dissertation echoed similar concerns but also suggested that a larger hunting population will help counteract the stigmas attached to hunting.

Indeed, hunting organizations and individual male hunters, including participants in this dissertation research, have sought to recruit women of all ages into hunting. For instance, several male participants described their eagerness to teach their daughters how to hunt and/or fish. The Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters (OFAH), an organization with male and female members, have implemented programs to help recruit women into hunting/fishing such as the "Women's Outdoor Weekend" (OFAH 2022).[147]

Correspondingly, women have created all-women hunting organizations or groups online and actively work to recruit women and provide support, mentorship, or networking for new and experienced women hunters. In the 1990s, Dr. Christine Thomas, a professor of natural resources and an outdoorswoman, created the 'Becoming an Outdoors-Woman' (BOW) program in Wisconsin to help women overcome barriers and integrate them into outdoor activities like hunting, target shooting, fishing, etc. Since its formation, BOW workshops have emerged in most US states and several Canadian provinces (Culp 1998; Harms 2005; Heberlein, Serup and Ericsson 2008). Thus, unlike the exclusion from hunting in the mid-late 20th century, women today are generally accepted and actively recruited and socialized into the hunting community.

[147] The weekend involves various outdoor activities like fishing, archery, target shooting, rope climbing, etc.

However, despite the welcoming of women hunters, the historic associations between hunting and male bonding continue to reproduce normative gender boundaries and the exclusion and segregation of women, particularly within hunting camps[148] (Keogh George 2016). Both men and women provided insight into their experiences with or knowledge about hunting camps and confirm that they can be an exclusively male sphere and ritual that is often comprised of male family members and friends from multiple generations who meet annually to hunt deer, moose, bear, etc. Like the literature (Smalley 2005; Franklin 1998; Boglioli 2009; Keogh George 2016), participants described how these annual hunting trips/camps are usually treated as a vacation and a chance to bond and renew relations with other men, relax, enjoy and connect with nature, obtain meat, and escape the drudgery of work, daily routines, and family life. Additionally, hunting camps are a realm where men can let loose at the end of the hunting day and engage in 'backstage' behaviour (Goffman 1958) such as drinking, sharing unsavory (misogynistic or racist) jokes, teasing each other (see chapter four), and acting in ways they would avoid when in public or if a woman were present. A male hunter explains:

> People tend to let loose a little bit when they're sort of away, and certainly there weren't any women at the camps that I went to, so it was probably fairly male dominated and so without the female presence, it was probably a little more rye ball than it probably needs to be, but that kind of goes with the sort of sense of comradery, eating well, drinking well, you know, enjoying cards or whatever in the evening (White, male Int13C10).

Women hunters were fully aware of the meanings and exclusionary aspects of all-male hunting camps and how it can be a vacation for the guys to escape family life and engage in backstage behaviour:

> For many men, their hunting trip is how they get away from their family. That is their time away; just with the guys (White, woman, Int53C15).

> Definitely been told 'it's a guy's weekend', like 'it's a guy's thing' and the women are not welcome whether they want to go or not because they get in the way (White, woman, Int42C22a).

Because hunting camps/trips are still treated as an all-male getaway and male domain, at least two women participants described their exclusion from them. For one participant, their entry into a moose hunting camp was based on the condition that they would obtain

[148] Women hunters are not always excluded from hunting camps. For instance, Boglioli (2009) found that male hunters in Vermont welcomed women into their hunting camps. In addition, several outdoor clubs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries opened membership to women and supported women's rights (Bialeschki 1992; Cutter 2021). Mountain clubs like the "Sierra Club" and the "Appalachian Mountain Club" supported women's rights and had a distinguished female membership. Cutter (2021) explains how mountain clubs helped disconfirm notions of women's inferiority with clear evidence of women's mental and physical toughness, skills, and ability.

an extra moose tag for the group. When they received a tag, however, the invitation was later retracted:

> My husband used to hunt with a moose group, and they wanted me to join in but only to be the extra tag. But I always said if my tag was ever drawn that I would come hunting. My tag was drawn, so I kind of joined into the group, but some of the guys were getting older and these older hunters decided they didn't want women and children, so they sort of kicked us out of the group. I guess it would be the best way to describe it. They didn't tell us until the day before hunting, so that was very uncool (White, woman, Int53C15).

Although the participant got an extra tag for the group, it was still not enough to convince some of the older hunters to break gender norms and allow a woman to enter their domain. The conditional acceptance and the subsequent exclusion suggests that the male hunters did not see women as equals and were only concerned about extending their hunting opportunities which ultimately did not outweigh breaking boundaries.

The apparent difference between younger and older hunters regarding their attitudes about women and hunting camps was noted by several male/female participants. A young male hunter who attends a camp comprised of men of all ages sheds light on this generational gap:

> When I approached the topic of having female guests it was kind of shot down to avoid potential conflicts because evidently something negative would happen and obviously, I don't agree. I think a lot of guys are happy to spend some time away from their wives because they may not have the best home life whereas I am quite happy to spend time with my partner and my female friends and whoever (White, male Int4C5).

Although strong gender boundaries continue to preserve hunting camps/trips as a male domain, this male participant (and several others) demonstrates that not all men want to exclude women. Rather than challenge the rules and boundaries of the camp and cause tensions with fellow hunters, the participant, who happens to own property in a rural area, took an active approach and created a separate hunting camp that is inclusive to all genders:

> Having the property that I live on, the hunting that happens here is substantially different than the hunting that happens in the camp. I am very much about creating an inclusive space (Int4C28)…I get to be the benevolent dictator whereas at the hunting camp, I still feel like the young member who is the new generation into this tradition, and so for me I can't just come in and make a rule about being inclusive because I will ruffle all these feathers but like on my property, obviously I could do whatever I want which is kind of nice… Definitely lots of women have hunted here (White, male Int4C29).

This participant illustrates not only how gender boundaries are being challenged by men, but also the generational differences between new and old definitions of hunting that may create tensions between older and younger hunters. This generational difference appears to shape the interactions and decision-making within the camp insofar as new and younger hunters may have limited seniority and decision-making authority and may want to avoid disturbing the status quo. As such, political avoidance norms (Denis 2015, 2020) within this context may constrain some hunters from challenging longstanding gender boundaries, but they can also provide other routes to create an inclusive environment and redefine the gendered meanings of hunting.

At the same time, some women hunters may avoid joining a predominantly male hunting camp even if they are inclusive to women (Keogh George 2016). A male participant who helps operate a hunting camp open to women hunters describes how many are hesitant to join:

> A lot of the hunting camps have so many men, it's not really set up for women. We advertised a few times if women wanted to come, and I had a few of them that were interested in coming because they heard my daughter was hunting with me. But then the next year, when my daughter decided she was not coming, the women who were going to come up hunting decided no, they’re not going to go into camp with a bunch of hairy ass old men (White, male Int30C41).

Likewise, the reluctance of women to join all-male hunting camps was noted by a few women participants and shows that the exclusion or segregation of women may be mutually agreed upon. A woman hunter/angler explains:

> A hunting camp would be interesting. That I kind of avoid just from the stories because it is a very male dominated activity…The feedback that I've got from other ladies, it's not an environment where you can be yourself. And from what I heard, the guys don't feel that they can be themselves either for whatever reason, and I guess it’s just usually the hunt camps are people that either have known each other for 20 years or you know if they bring in someone new and there's a female, they just said that changes how people are for whatever reason (Woman, Int15C3b).

The topic of women attending all-male or co-ed hunting camps is widely discussed online through outdoor magazine articles and women-run blogs and websites. Organizations such as the NRA or women-run hunting/fishing businesses (that sell hunting/fishing equipment or clothing for women) have articles that provide tips for women who attend

all-male or co-ed hunting camps[149] as well as blogs with open discussions about the pros and cons of joining such camps (Ross 2020; Thompson 2019).

By and large, the exclusion from hunting camps has not stopped women from hunting. In response, women hunters have mobilized to find alternatives like seeking out and attending co-ed hunting camps, joining or creating all-women hunting camps, or simply hunting alone or with a few others outside an established camp. In particular, the creation of all-women (private) hunting camps or (for-profit) outfitters have helped women overcome barriers by providing not only accommodations, but also a sphere to hunt without assumptions related to their gender or having to prove their worth under a male gaze (Mitten 1992). Most notably, celebrity outdoorswoman, Amanda Lynn Mayhew,[150] created the "Take Me Hunting" outfitters for women to learn and/or improve their hunting and outdoor skills (Just Hunt 2022).

In short, the longstanding associations of hunting and masculinity and the gender boundaries within hunting camps are being challenged and dissolved through the resistance of women (and some, especially younger, men) who continue to hunt regardless of hunting camp exclusion by finding or creating alternatives such as all-women or co-ed hunting camps. While exclusion from hunting camps can pose obstacles for some, the participants also revealed that the threat of physical and sexual violence is a reality they must consider when entering predominantly male worlds. This will be discussed in the next section.

Violence Against Women

Alongside the underestimation of women's hunting/fishing skills and the gendered dynamics of hunting camps, some women participants disclosed more dangerous encounters that women can face, particularly when fishing on riverways. These encounters ranged from being followed or approached by men to sexual assault and violence. Indeed, a fear of violence and feeling unwelcome has been shown to constrain women's participation in leisure activities like hunting/fishing (Metcalf et al 2015; Shaw 1994; Floyd et al 2006; Wesely and Gaarder 2004).

Being followed or approached by men was a concern noted by several women participants who either had direct experience or had heard stories from other women anglers. In one case, a participant was by a river looking for a place to fish when they noticed a man was following them:

[149] Some of the tips provided to women who attend all-male hunting camps appear to encourage women to adapt and yield to men's needs, preferences, and their environment. See the NRA's article (Deering 2020) titled "6 Things Not to Do When You're a Woman at a Hunting Camp."
[150] Amanda is a professional hunter and the TV host of "Just Hunt" and "THAT Hunting Girl".

> I was scoping out fishing spots on a creek, and I went off the main path to go closer to the water, and I realized as I got close to the water, someone had been following me. He was about six feet behind me. I actually wasn't very far, and I didn't hear him at all. So, he kind of snuck up on me (White, woman, Int33C25).

The participant goes on to describe how the man tried to lure her into a bush to identify berries and when she refused to get close and started walking away, the man then complimented her appearance and asked for her phone number. Unfortunately, occurrences like this were too common for the participant. They explained how men would often approach them (sometimes out of harmless curiosity) or try flirting with them when they're fishing alone, and this has shaped their fishing habits:

> I've been sort of like approached often enough and in creepy enough ways, like whether I'm fishing or not, just in my life. Sometimes I will not even feel like going out because I don't even want to risk it; like I'm just so tired of it happening that I don't even want to go outside…. I tend to choose more out-of-the-way spots rather than highly populated ones, so that I avoid people in general (White, woman, Int33C29a).

In other instances, some men may go beyond following women and sexually assault them. A woman participant, and long-time angler, discussed witnessing a young man sexually assault a woman angler while fishing:

> There was one guy that we had, and he came right up, and he grabbed this young girl; both hands on both of her breasts, and he thought it was funny, like he was just that turned around, and he was with a bunch of his buddies and that's exactly what he did. And I mean, that was not a good experience for him whatsoever by the time we had a little chat with him on that one (White, woman, Int27C16a).

Although cases like this were reportedly rare, it shows the way that the violence and objectification of women appears seemingly harmless or even humorous among males when interacting with each other and with other genders or sexes. Whether or not such behaviour would exist if the male was alone and away from a group context of hyper-masculinity and aggressive sexuality, these actions cannot be attributed to a 'few bad apples' nor is it restricted to fishing or hunting. Rather, it connects to longstanding patterns of sexualization and violence against women which has been informed and justified by ideologies of male superiority and a sense of entitlement to and power over women's bodies (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Shaw 1994; Little 2002; Anderson 2014; Hannon et al 2009; Meân 2016).

As well as witnessing sexual assault, this participant also divulged their experiences with violence while fishing on a creek:

> I got pushed face-first into a creek because I'm a catch-and-release angler and a gentleman wanted the fish I had caught, and I said, you're welcome to put your line in and you're welcome to catch it yourself. And so, as I was bending over to let the fish go, he pushed me face-first into the water. So, these things happen. It's very real and that gentleman actually made a big mistake because there were two other anglers that watched this happen and these two gentlemen were already taking care of this gentleman… These two guys that got a hold of him, like they had him tied to a tree by the time the police got to him, like they beat him up badly. So, I mean it's not an acceptable thing to be happening in the angler's culture (White, woman, Int27C6,16b)

This disturbing account shows the violence that can be inflicted on women when they do not submit to men's demands and a sense of male entitlement. The way in which other male anglers helped the participant shows that by no means is this type of violence condoned among most male anglers or in the angling or hunting subcultures. Nevertheless, if historically based gendered structures continue to reproduce gender inequalities and shape micro-level interactions among different genders/sexes, women will continue to face varying forms of violence and objectification even within cultures or (sub)cultures of which this violence is deeply discouraged.

Responding to Misogyny, Managing Stigmas

In response to the experiences with misogyny, women participants engaged in an array of responses that reflects the literature on stigma management and coping with and responding to racial prejudice (Fleming, Lamont and Welburn 2012; Lamont et al 2016; Mellor 2004), including humour, ignoring, confronting and calling out, and as previously mentioned, being compelled to prove or defend themselves. Participants' responses were often mixed and dependent on the situation or type of incident, but the most common response to misogynistic comments, treatment, unsolicited advice, etc. while fishing/hunting or shopping in outdoor stores was to ignore it, mainly to avoid further controversy or even aggressive backlash. This is exemplified in the following quote:

> Half the time I just kind of laugh, and I just walk away, or I just kind of placate and say, 'thanks for the tip' and walk away. I've learned over the years not to challenge anymore in that sense because it's just not worth the aggravation. There are some guys who get completely angry and then they will start calling you other names. So yes, I just ignored it. I've just learnt that's the best form of defense. There's no point in getting into arguments with ignorance is what I've discovered over the years (White, woman, Int54C16).

Indeed, the threat of retaliation, especially where male privilege is challenged, can act as a substantial constraint. For another participant, their responses were mixed and varied

accordingly but consisted of ignoring or using humour when their skills were underestimated inside and outside fishing:

> I usually try to make a joke out of it when I can… The same kind of attitude, I get it at work too, like people assume I don't know what I'm doing. It's funny. So, I do joke it off when I can because that also shows that not only have I dealt with that particular type of asshole before, but I'm also confident enough in my knowledge that I don't get defensive about it. But yeah, I would say joking but sometimes I do get a little short with them or like I'll just give kind of nonresponses. So that will shut down the conversation, if I'm just not feeling in the mood to joke about it that day." (White, woman, Int33C18)

In some instances, participants will confront and call out the misogyny, especially if it's someone they know rather than a stranger. According to one woman angler, calling out their male friends' comments and proving them wrong were the chosen responses:

> I get really frustrated. I get really pissed off. And then I do everything in my power to just prove them wrong (White, woman, Int42C19a).
>
> *Q- Do you ever confront them or address it directly?*
>
> Oh always! Always! I'll just tell them straight up I think you were being rude, like you shouldn't say that. If I think someone's being sexist, I'll call them out (White, woman, Int42C20).

As the above quotes show, the participant not only calls out their male friends, but it motivates them to disconfirm stereotypes about women's perceived inferior fishing skills. As previously shown, the underestimation of skills often creates pressure for women to prove themselves in various contexts such as shopping in outdoors stores or working in male-dominated occupations.

Like the responses to racial prejudice (see chapter five), the women participants showed how their responses to misogyny were constrained or enabled depending on various factors such as the context, the type of experience, their relationship to the perpetrators, etc. What remains clear is that women must endure such experiences and calculate how to respond when interacting within fishing and hunting, as well as throughout daily life. As will be discussed in the next section, joining women-run organizations can be a form of social support that helps overcome or cope with negative experiences and the obstacles that inhibit hunting/fishing.

Overcoming Challenges and Barriers: The Ontario Women Anglers (OWA)

So far, the participants have demonstrated the challenges and barriers that women face when navigating the hunting and/or fishing worlds. Despite this, women continue to hunt/fish and make a positive impact within the outdoor sport community. One effective

way to recruit and keep women in hunting/fishing is through organizations led by and for women. Women-run organizations have helped break down gender barriers within a variety of predominantly male activities and offered women "a sense of security and solidarity" (Fennell and Birbeck 2019, 513) where their gender is not denigrated.

The formation of the Ontario Women's Anglers (OWA), along with other women-run fishing/hunting clubs and organizations, has significantly helped women enter these domains. The OWA have been pivotal with recognizing the gender boundaries and common barriers women face and with providing practical solutions that help women of all ages become anglers. Through the implementation of fishing seminars, workshops, mentorship programs, tournaments, and social events (to name a few), the OWA have recruited and provided support for novice and experienced women anglers, created a space for women to build networks and friendships with like-minded others, and they have laid the foundation for women to learn or enhance various fishing skills in a judgment-free environment. As such, the OWA are breaking down barriers in a non-confrontational manner and strengthening gender diversity in the sport fishing community.

History of the OWA

The OWA is a non-profit, volunteer-run organization that was founded in 2015 by Yvonne Brown, a professional Canadian woman angler.[151] Before the development of the OWA, Yvonne had spent years teaching women how to fish through a small seminar that grew into the organization we know today (Brown 2017; OWA 2022; interviews with OWA members 2020). It all started in 2012 when Yvonne was asked to be a fishing instructor for a program called the "Women's Outdoor Weekend" which was created by the OFAH to help integrate women into fishing, hunting, and the outdoors (OFAH 2022). After volunteering and interacting with the attendees, it was clear that many women had a strong interest in fishing and preferred to be taught by other women. Some of the common barriers that women face (Fennell and Birbeck 2019; Crowder 2002; Metcalf et al 2015) also came to light, including the lack of women mentors and the inadequate teaching of and socialization into fishing during childhood and/or adulthood (Brown 2017; OWA 2022).

With a clear understanding of the barriers and a passion and desire to help women and sport fishing in general, Yvonne was motivated to create a "Fishing 101 For Women" seminar shortly after the Women's Outdoor Weekend to help teach and socialize women into the angling world. The seminar included learning fishing skills and practices, but also the written and unwritten rules that are vital for acquiring and maintaining an angler

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[151] Yvonne has won several awards for her contributions to fishing, including being the first woman to receive the Rick Amsbury Award of Excellence presented by the Canadian Angler Hall of Fame in 2016 and the President's Award given by the Canadian Sport Fishing Industry Association in 2019 (OWA 2022).

identity (e.g. regulations, safety, fish identification, fish handling, equipment, etc.). In time, the vast turnout and popular demand for Fishing 101 compelled Yvonne to get a small group of dedicated volunteers which then grew to a larger group as the years proceeded and the activities expanded (Brown 2017; OWA 2022; interviews with OWA members 2020).

By 2015, after noticing that the seminar attracted a growing number of new and accomplished women anglers, Yvonne added more activities and subjects to teach beyond the basic skills and soon "Fishing 101 For Women" developed into the Ontario Women Anglers organization. The Fishing 101 program remains but other programs and events were created that cater to anglers of all ages and skill levels (Brown 2017; OWA 2022).

OWA's Continued Success

Today, the OWA is well established and has a membership of over a hundred anglers and dozens of volunteers that play a vital role with overseeing the programs, events, fundraising, etc. Since their formation, the OWA have solidified partnerships with outdoor organizations such as the OFAH, of which they are an affiliated club, and Muskies Canada. They also have a pronounced online presence with a popular Facebook page that has approx. 5K followers which provides updates on events and other information, as well as a private Facebook group comprised of approx. 1.4K members (and non-members) which offers a sphere for women to build friendships and networks, ask questions, and share photos, stories, and tips related to fishing without scrutiny from male anglers or the public (Interviews with OWA members 2020).

Fundamentally, the OWA continues the trend of addressing and providing solutions to the challenges and barriers women may face (i.e. lack of women mentors or fishing partners; inadequate teaching/socialization into fishing; preference for women teachers) through various programs and events that help women of all ages and experience levels acquire and maintain an angler identity and learn or refine skills. This includes the 'Mentorship' and 'Master Angler' programs as well as activities and events like fly-tie workshops, guided pike fishing, and tournaments for numerous fish species (OWA 2022), though this is not an exhaustive list.

Key to the success of these programs and events is the fact that women are teaching women. The preference to be taught by other women was emphasized by women interviewees, including both OWA members and non-members:

> The common theme was they wanted to learn from other women because of that comfort level; because of being able to ask questions without being judged, and they're not doing it in competition with their partners (OWA member1, interview 2020).

> Most of the ladies that I have met, there's a very large percentage that did not want to have their spouse teaching them how to fish because they ended up wanting a divorce by the time they were getting close to shore. So, what they [OWA] ended up finding out is that the women were more comfortable being taught by other women (OWA member2, interview 2020).

In addition, to help recruit and keep young girls involved in fishing and the outdoors and to provide positive role models and representations of women, the "OWA Junior Club" was established which offers mentorship to girls ages 7-15. Since adequate teaching and support from family or other role models helps young girls remain anglers into adulthood (Kuehn, Dawson and Hoffman 2006; Mcfarlane, Watson and Boxall 2003; Culp 1998) this program is vital for overcoming barriers and socializing girls into fishing.

These programs, activities, tournaments, etc. created and operated by the OWA have substantially helped foster lasting friendships and support networks inside and outside fishing, which have simultaneously helped women cope with or manage common obstacles (e.g. shared experiences with sexist comments; being followed) and remain committed to fishing and an angler identity. An OWA member describes the bonds that have been nurtured through the organization:

> I've been in it [OWA] for a number of years. We've had ladies I've watched come in, first time holding a fishing rod, having the amazing experience of their first catch; but half the times too, we've had individuals that we've made friends with that we went and paid our respects to because they passed away… because when you spend a week long with a bunch of ladies and when you're spending that many times fishing together, there is a real bond that does occur and yeah I met some amazing friends. And I mean, ones I'm quite sure will last a lifetime (OWA member2, interview 2020).

The work of the OWA and the overall growing presence of women anglers is reducing boundaries and barriers in fishing but doing so in a non-confrontational manner that does not directly challenge male privilege or men's sense of superiority. Instead, the programs and efforts by the OWA and others are intended to help make fishing more inclusive for women and to allow women the opportunity to enjoy fishing and the outdoors as equals. Below, OWA members describe how a non-confrontational approach is the best route to take for the OWA and women anglers when entering a predominantly male world:

> We're not like man-hating feminists[152] that are out to out-fish male anglers. We're out there because of the love of the sport and being outdoors and supporting each

[152] The 'man-hating feminist' stereotype/myth is not new and has shaped the views towards feminists as far back as the late 1800s in the US and Europe. It's important to note that feminists and the various schools of feminist thought do not advocate for the hatred of men but rather criticize and challenge historic and ongoing misogyny linked to patriarchal systems of oppression that create different forms of gender

> other and providing mentorship to each other; it's not a competition (OWA member1, interview 2020).

> We do not want the men to think that we're there to take over. We want to fish with them, and we do not want to come across as 'the bitches of the boardwalk', you know, so it's just being as passive as we can be and lead by example. What we end up finding out is we'll be out ice fishing, and I mean all the guys come to us and it'll be like "how long have you been fishing? It is so good to see you out. How do I get my wife to come out with me? I'd love to go out with my daughter." We end up finding out that having an attitude of that brings the gentlemen to us, and I mean, rather than causing the threat of giant jerks (OWA member2, interview 2020).

As these quotes illustrate, a conflict-avoidant approach is perceived to be the best way women and the OWA can reduce barriers and cross gender lines. The quote by OWA member2 suggests that this strategy can garner support from men rather than elicit backlash or attract hyper-masculine aggression from 'giant jerks.' Considering the verbal and physical violence that women can face, particularly when entering male spaces or challenging men's sense of superiority, a 'passive' or peaceful approach may often be the more viable and safer option. Although a 'passive' approach may be perceived as reinforcing hierarchal relations or stereotypes of women's subordination to men (Bridel 2007), it also illustrates agency, calculation, and self-determination in the way social situations are interpreted and evaluated to determine the most appropriate approach, particularly when resisting longstanding gender boundaries which can provoke aggression (Shaw 1994).

Through the efforts of organizations like the OWA, and by getting out into the public view and the outdoor community, several women participants had a positive outlook for the future and felt that the stereotypes of women are being disconfirmed, women are being positively represented, and pathways for inclusivity are widening:

> What we're doing is we are actually getting out in the public! Yvonne has been on television numerous times and doing promotions and even us ladies too are getting out and in the public eye and newspapers and derbies. We're representing and that's changing the public view as well. So, it's not a surprise anymore as much to find out that there's a bunch of ladies out fishing (OWA member2, interview 2020).

> The more that they get out there and they show what the women can do, the better it's going to be for the future (OWA member4, interview 2020).

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inequalities which women continue to experience in many spheres of life. In fact, research shows that feminists may have more positive attitudes towards men compared to non-feminists (Anderson 2014).

> I think because some women are emerging as amazing hunters and anglers, I think they're getting a lot more respect (OWA member5, interview 2020).

In all, the programs and accomplishments by the OWA are working to disconfirm notions of women's inferiority inside and outside fishing. Whether overtly intentional or apparent, they are resisting and breaking down barriers that connect to longstanding patriarchal structures which continue to reproduce inequalities for women in Canada. In the process, the OWA and similar organizations are laying the foundations for women's empowerment, independence, and self-determination (Shaw 1994; Mitten 1992).[153]

Conclusion

Despite how hunting/fishing has been and continues to be predominantly male, women hunters/anglers are increasing in numbers, disconfirming stereotypes, redefining gendered meanings and images, and creating pathways for women and gender diversity within the outdoor community. Although most women participants mainly reported positive experiences, there were several ongoing challenges that women endured while acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity. These included improper/gendered socialization, the denigration and underestimation of knowledge and skills, hunting camp exclusion, and in some cases, sexual and physical assault. Thus, these participants provided deep insight into how gender is experienced while navigating predominantly male domains such as hunting/fishing.

Like the racial-ethnic hierarchies discussed in the previous chapters, the gendered hierarchies and inequalities that exist within hunting/fishing are a microcosm of the broader patriarchal order in Canada and illustrate how power relations and understandings of gender are reproduced within activities like hunting/fishing (Little 2002; Shaw 1994; Hannon et al 2009; Meân 2016). As such, the misogyny that persists is not an individual issue or a result of a few individuals; nor is it exclusive to hunting/fishing. Instead, it is a collective phenomenon that connects to longstanding patriarchal structures and ideologies of male superiority that have long informed and been exacerbated by the emergence of settler colonialism and capitalism (Simpson 2017; Coulthard 2014) and which have shaped the interactions between genders within all realms of life.

The experiences that women divulged (i.e. skills/knowledge underestimated; having to prove oneself) were similar to those described by East Asian and South Asian male participants; however, women did not have deviant labels (e.g. poacher) attached to

[153] Overall, the data from Ontario showed that fishing participation rates for women aged 65 and above increased from 2010 to 2015 compared to women aged 18-64 who showed a gradual decrease in participation since 2005. The participation of Canadian women anglers who fished in Ontario but lived in other provinces increased substantially from 2010 (14.1%) to 2015 (19.5%) (Government of Ontario 2020). Although further studies are needed to understand how organizations like the OWA have impacted women's participation, OWA members who were interviewed for this dissertation explained the importance of these organizations for helping them and women in general overcome barriers in fishing.

their gender and did not report instances of surveillance or suspicion of breaking the rules. In short, women did not have to prove their moral worth but rather their skills and ability. Additionally, the frequency and types of violence (e.g. physical and sexual) that women participants experienced differed from men, and despite evidence of physical violence inflicted on East Asian men, no instances of sexual assault were found in my research among (Asian and non Asian) men.

Unfortunately, there were only two women of Colour in this study, and although they did provide some insight into the intersections of race-ethnicity and gender, future research would benefit by interviewing more Indigenous, Black, and other women of Colour within hunting/fishing in Ontario or other parts of Canada. One thing is clear– men, particularly hetero, White (Northern European) Canadian citizens with a long settler history, did not report these types of experiences due to their gender or race-ethnicity and are generally afforded privileges that are subtle and largely taken-for-granted (i.e. not having to prove ability due to gender, no fear of sexual assault, not subjected to poacher label, etc.).

While women faced many gendered obstacles, several were also complicit in reproducing racial-ethnic and settler colonial ideologies and practices. Whether drawing on elements of Colour-Blind Racism to oppose treaty rights or offering unsolicited education to Asian anglers, some women participants exhibited prejudiced views and behaviours similar to those of male participants and revealed how these ideologies can be learned, adopted, and reproduced regardless of one's gender or race-ethnicity.[154]

Although longstanding gendered hierarchies in hunting/fishing have and continue to shape the contours of interactions and how gender is experienced, predominantly male sports and activities like hunting/fishing have also been a site of resistance and have offered opportunities for women to reject traditional gender norms, roles, and ideologies. As previously discussed, within the context of the early feminist movement and the rise of the 'new woman' ideal in the 19th century, hunting/fishing was an effective way for women to gain independence and self-sufficiency, prove women's capability, and become empowered (Bialeschki 1992).

Like the predecessors at the turn of the 20th century, women today are by no means passive victims to the social hierarchies inside (and outside) hunting/fishing. Rather, they have endured and actively overcome persistent misogyny and gender-related barriers and have helped widened the pathway for women and possibly other oppressed genders to acquire a hunter/angler identity. At its core, the formation of women-run organizations like the OWA have addressed and provided solutions to many of the common barriers women face by offering a judgement-free realm where women of all ages and skill levels can learn or enhance their fishing skills, develop friendships,

[154] In one case, an Asian woman held seemingly indifferent but nonetheless critical views of treaty rights.

network with other women, and become empowered in the process. The literature on women hunters/anglers and women-run organizations in Canada, however, is minimal and although this dissertation research adds a greater understanding into the views and experiences of Canadian women hunters/anglers, further research with women, particularly women from the BIPOC and LGBTQ2+ communities, would provide a more detailed account of the gendered dynamics within hunting/fishing in a Canadian and settler colonial context.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The goal of this research was to analyze the experiences with and responses to prejudice and discrimination within hunting and fishing, intergroup relations and group boundaries, and hunter/angler identities and belief systems. Specifically, this research investigated how processes of intersubjective meaning-making, hunter/angler identity formation, ethno-racialization, and group positioning work together to ethno-racialize groups as poachers, cultivate or strengthen White Canadians' sense of group position and superiority, and sustain social hierarchies within hunting/fishing in Ontario.

This dissertation shows how becoming a hunter/angler not only involves learning or reaffirming multifaceted belief systems, including roles, responsibilities, and codes of behaviour that are centred on environmental stewardship and following rules, but also overlapping racial-ethnic, anti-immigrant, and settler colonial ideologies. These ideologies provide the lens for perceiving and orienting to out-group members and were often expressed through specific frames, styles, and stories that resemble Colour-Blind Racism. Through Colour-Blind Racism, participants and online commenters contribute to a collective process that defines and ethno-racializes certain groups as poachers and a group threat, particularly Indigenous people, Asian Canadians, and to a lesser degree, White Eastern (and Southern) European Canadians. In the process, White Canadian-born hunters/anglers, especially with a Northern European background and a multigenerational settler history, define themselves as superior and position themselves on top of a social hierarchy with all others positioned below based on perceived morals, law-abiding behaviours, culinary and dietary customs, level of hunting/fishing skill, and commitment to hunter/angler roles and duties. This lays the grounds for White Canadians to develop prejudices that are rooted in perceived group threats not only to the environment, but to White Canadians' hunting/fishing opportunities, identities, and everything important that hunting/fishing provides (e.g. family and national traditions, emotional attachments, connecting with nature, etc.).

At the same time, participants revealed that under the right circumstances, being a hunter/angler can encourage intergroup friendships and positive interactions, reduce prejudices, and create a sense of camaraderie and fraternity that can transcend race-ethnicity, gender, citizenship status, etc. Most importantly, not all White participants adopted these ideological frameworks while acquiring or maintaining a hunter/angler identity. Fourteen White participants even reported to have openly challenged the prejudices to which they were exposed.

Merging Theoretical Frameworks

In all, the findings from this study demonstrate how a blend of Group Position Theory, Colour-Blind Racism Theory, and Identity/Social Identity Theories are useful for analyzing the unique ways that prejudices, group boundaries, and hierarchies unfold in

hunting/fishing. Although research has investigated treaty disputes (Bobo and Tuan 2006; Martino 2016, 2021) or angler identities (Miller and Maanen 1982) using one or more of these theories, no research to my knowledge has merged all three together to understand how prejudices and a sense of group position and superiority can develop while becoming a hunter/angler. Indeed, to fully understand how/why prejudices within hunting/fishing are rooted in perceptions of group threat, it is imperative to investigate hunter/angler identity formations, the fundamental role of being a conservationist, the sacredness of following the rules, the disdain towards poachers, and the material and symbolic importance of hunting/fishing that is considered under threat by outgroups.

As such, these theories compliment each other, and drawing on the relevant aspects of each theory enabled a greater understanding into the nuances and complexities that underlie processes of group positioning, ethno-racialization, and hunter/angler identity formation. Blumer's (1958) Group Position theory did not address the ways that a sense of group position can develop within different (subcultural) group identities, nor did he outline how abstract images of multiple groups are reproduced or challenged within a settler colonial context. Identity/Social Identity and Colour-Blind Racism theories helped explain the intricacies of the study findings where Group Position theory fell short.

For instance, both Group Position and Social Identity theories highlight how identities are formed through intergroup comparisons with out-groups; however, Social Identity theory extends the focus into (non-racial) social categories with which people identify (Hogg, Terry and White 1995) rather than focusing solely on the racial identities of 'dominant' group members. As well, Identity theory helps account for hunter/angler role identities and how a strong commitment to the conservationist role may shape perceptions and behaviours towards ethno-racialized groups who are largely defined as poachers. This is vital for understanding the interplay of hunter/angler and racial identities and how prejudices and group boundaries emerge and are maintained in hunting/fishing. Additionally, Colour-Blind Racism theory was not only compatible with these theories, but also integral for explaining the findings, mainly the unique language and linguistic strategies that White hunters/anglers drew on, which worked to define some People of Colour as inferior and White Canadians as superior.

In sum, merging these theoretical frameworks assisted with analyzing how 'abstract images' (Blumer 1958) of non-White deviants are continuously learned, internalized, and (re)defined through Colour-Blind Racist language (Bonilla-Silva 2018) in various interactions among White (and some non-White) Canadians. These images form the basis of overlapping ideologies and shape, and are shaped by, hunter/angler belief systems and the evaluative criteria for determining who is and is not a true, law-abiding, and ethical hunter/angler along racial-ethnic lines. As a result, notions of the ideal, authentic hunter/angler become synonymous with Whiteness (and Northern,

particularly British, Europeanness) and a sense of group position and superiority can develop among predominantly White Canadians while becoming a hunter/angler. This, in turn, can create a spawning ground for racial-ethnic prejudice in the hunting/fishing worlds.

Furthermore, merging these theories helps explain the racially motivated violence within hunting/fishing and how the ethno-racialization of poaching coupled with hunters'/anglers' role as conservationists has in fact mobilized White Canadians to engage in vigilante justice (e.g. vandalism, assault, unsolicited education) that targeted People of Colour. As the findings showed, the perception and assumption that East Asian or South Asian anglers were not following the rules, alongside angler role expectations and a sense of duty to protect the environment, appeared to be the main reasons and justifications for their actions. As such, this violence was seen as a noble and altruistic act done on behalf of the group and under the guise of conservation. Although this violence perpetrated by White hunters/anglers would occur against an individual regardless of their race-ethnicity, citizenship status, etc., the abstract images of non-White deviants over-fishing/hunting seems to be the fuel igniting the violence against People of Colour.

Contributions to the Literature

The findings from this study contribute to the expanding literature investigating prejudices in hunting/fishing and the outdoors and can help build on the chosen theories, especially Colour-Blind Racism and Group Position theories. First, the results add to Colour-Blind Racism theory by showing the distinct frames, styles, and stories that participants used to articulate their views about out-groups in a seemingly non-prejudiced manner. Like the other theories, little research has analyzed how Colour-Blind Racism operates within the hunting/fishing worlds. My previous research (Martino 2016, 2021), which utilized Group Position and Colour-Blind Racism theories, showed how White hunters/anglers opposed treaty rights with specific frames and linguistic strategies centred around the virtues of equality (e.g. equal application of laws) and a concern for conservation to defend their group interests. This dissertation study builds on my previous research and strengthens Colour-Blind Racism theory by demonstrating the nuanced and unique ways that group positioning and ethno-racialization processes work through Colour-Blind Racism in hunting/fishing in Ontario.

Whether it was frames and stories about the purported lawlessness of Indigenous people (e.g. "whatever they want, whenever they want") or coded language characterizing Asian Canadian anglers as over-fishers (e.g. "white bucket brigade"), this performed the boundary work of defining and ethno-racializing groups as poachers, as morally and environmentally inferior, and as a group threat. In line with Colour-Blind Racism theory, they were often conveyed based on a concern for conservation and many participants and online commenters did not feel their views or criticisms were necessarily racist. Indeed,

the sematic moves, cultural frames, and coded language discussed in this dissertation allowed White (and some non-White) hunters/anglers to reproduce group boundaries and contribute to an ethno-racialization process while attempting to appear non-racist.

Second, the findings build on Group Position theory by showing how group positioning in hunting/fishing is complex, fluid, and occurs among White European Canadians as well as between Whites and People of Colour. Indeed, an unexpected finding within this research was how historical, symbolic boundaries among European Canadians persists and how White Eastern or Southern European anglers/hunters, especially immigrants, are sometimes defined as deviants or poachers alongside Asian Canadians and/or Indigenous peoples, though, in a less frequent and less prejudiced manner. Despite this, the findings suggest White Eastern/Southern Europeans (immigrant or Canadian-born) have a racial advantage as they can often cross or blur ethnic boundaries and escape racism under the broad category of Whiteness. Interviews showed that White, Eastern European hunters/anglers had minimal to no prejudiced encounters and were not subjected to suspicions and scrutinization like Asian participants. Though one White participant experienced teasing due to their immigrant status, this appeared more to be friendly banter rather than a xenophobic, prejudiced reaction. Nevertheless, this teasing still (re)produces symbolic boundaries but in a more covert and friendly manner and not as rigid as the boundaries between Whites and People of Colour.

The complexity and fluidity of group positioning in hunting/fishing was further evident within the anti-treaty views among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers. The findings showed that the prejudices towards Indigenous people were rooted in historically based, deep-seated resentment which differed from those conveyed about non-Indigenous People of Colour due to the purported lawlessness that treaty rights are thought to enable. Furthermore, at least five (East and South) Asian participants expressed varying concerns about Indigenous people and treaty rights and drew on the same frames and strategies as Whites to cautiously express their criticisms, indifference, or ‘conditional support’ for such rights.

This raises questions about why some People of Colour who are also ethno-racialized as poachers would share similar anti-treaty views and concerns as Whites. One explanation could relate to the socialization into hunting/fishing subcultures where the role as a conservationist mixed with the collective definitions of Indigenous people and treaty rights are learned and adopted regardless of one’s race-ethnicity. Indeed, the longstanding and pervasive anti-treaty views in hunting/fishing (Sandlos 2003, 2008; Pulla 2012; King 2011; McLaren 2005; Martino 2021) indicates how becoming a hunter/angler often exposes participants to settler colonial, anti-treaty ideologies (via Colour-Blind Racism) that can shape how they learn and feel about treaty rights and Indigenous-settler relations. This was illuminated in the way most participants were aware of or articulated anti-treaty views.

From this, group positions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people become broadened and clearer due to a heightened awareness and misinformed view of treaty rights among non-Indigenous hunters/anglers. As such, identifying as a hunter/angler and committing to the conservationist role may highlight and reinforce one's non-Indigenous identity and sense of group position within Indigenous-settler relations. Consequently, some People of Colour may feel (and/or seek) a sense of commonality with Whites in terms of the hunting/fishing laws they must follow in contrast to the 'special rights' that they are perceived to be excluded from and that purportedly jeopardize fish and animal populations.

Another explanation may point to a strategy used by some members of oppressed groups to avoid racism and ethno-racialization by aligning themselves with the views and interests of the 'dominant' group. Though further research is certainly needed, fundamental questions arise: could the prejudices towards Asian Canadians or other People of Colour within hunting/fishing influence some members to scapegoat other oppressed groups to separate themselves from racial stereotypes? Using Group Position theory to study a multiracial context, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) found that members of racialized groups (e.g. Black, Latino, Asian) who felt their group was mistreated within the racial order were more likely to view other racialized groups as a competitive threat. Given how Asian Canadians and other People of Colour are ethno-racialized as poachers, the anti-treaty views adopted by some Asian participants in my study may reflect a similar process. However, it should be noted that most non-White participants supported Indigenous peoples' treaty rights and sovereignty.

Analyzing group positioning and ethno-racialization processes among multiple groups adds to Blumer's (1958) Group Position theory and a greater understanding of the prejudices and hierarchical arrangements in hunting/fishing. Blumer's theory, for example, originally focused on Black-White relations, and scholars who built on this theory have added compelling insight into Indigenous-settler relations in Canada (Denis 2020; Krause and Ramos 2015) and the US (Bobo and Tuan 2006). Aside from Bobo and Hutchings' (1996) study, limited research has used Group Position theory to analyze these processes in a multigroup, settler colonial context, let alone how this unfolds within the hunting/fishing worlds in Ontario. Therefore, my research adds to the literature by highlighting the unique ways group positioning can operate among White Europeans and among People of Colour in specific contexts.

Above all, the findings showed how hunting/fishing has contributed in myriad ways to the underlying processes that fuel ongoing settler colonialism and nation building (Binnema and Niemi 2006; Gillespie 2002; Tough 1992). Specifically, within hunter/angler belief systems lies a complex settler colonial ideology anchored in collective meanings that provide the framework for understanding treaty rights and Indigenous-settler relations. Colour Blind Racism is the primary vehicle that

communicates these meanings; it not only reproduces anti-treaty views and ethno-racializes Indigenous people as lawless poachers, but also performs ideological functions that justify ongoing land dispossession and legitimize non-Indigenous Canadians' sense of 'ownership' over Indigenous land. Indeed, this sense of ownership is premised on the (misinformed) view that Indigenous peoples' stewardship and conservation practices are inferior or non-existent and that White Canadians are morally, scientifically, and environmentally superior and the true stewards of Indigenous land.

Integral to settlers' sense of entitlement to land ownership (Denis 2020; Mackey 2016) is the hunter/angler role expectations about being a conservationist, the deep sentimental meanings, emotions, and symbolic (and practical) importance that hunting/fishing and the land provides, and how this invokes strong feelings about connecting with nature and protecting it from imagined non-White poachers. Moreover, these meanings and settler connections with the land intersect with and are enhanced by nationalistic narratives about the importance of hunting/fishing and the wilderness for Canadian identity, culture, and heritage. Romanticized, conflict-free images of the fur trade and settlers surviving an unforgiving landscape via hunting/fishing also inform these narratives. Together, this works to gloss over a history of genocide and land theft and undermine Indigenous peoples' sovereignty and longstanding relationships with and stewardship of the land by emphasizing, and sometimes equating, settlers' (alleged superior) stewardship and connections with nature.

In all, these settler colonial ideologies and the hierarchal arrangements in hunting/fishing have long stemmed from and contributed to settler colonialism, including settler hunters/anglers support for land dispossession, imposing laws on Indigenous people, and building an outdoor recreational economy at the expense of Indigenous peoples' homes, hunting/fishing lifestyles, and economies (Tough 1992; Pulla 2012; Binnema and Niemi 2006; Waisberg, Lovisek and Holzkamm 1997; Sandlos 2003, 2008).

Additionally, the accounts from (East and South) Asian participants also adds to the growing body of literature on People of Colours' experiences in the outdoors (Tirone 1999; Scott and Tenneti n.d.; Finney 2014) and how the ethno-racialization of poaching and vigilantism committed by White hunters/anglers has pervaded their experiences navigating the hunting/fishing worlds. From racial slurs to accusations of deviance, most participants of Colour shed light on the suspicions and harassment from White hunters/anglers and how their experiences with and ability to manage perceived prejudices was shaped by the perpetrator's comment or behaviour (i.e. subtle vs overt), their level of skill and knowledge, fluency of English, and whether they were alone or with White friends. In many cases, Asian participants were compelled to 'prove' they knew or were following the rules to their White accusers.

These participants, however, were not 'passive recipients' of prejudice and often used a variety of stigma management strategies to confront, avoid, and/or cope with racial tensions (e.g. education, not using a 'white bucket,' ignoring, humour). While eight Asian participants reported a range of experiences with prejudice in fishing, most of them claimed it did not occur regularly and that it did not stop them from enjoying the outdoors. Despite the low number of participants of Colour (i.e. twelve) in this study, my research builds on the OHRC's 2007 report by illustrating not only how racially-motivated violence continues, but the ways that East and South Asian Canadians experience and manage prejudices in Ontario's fishing world.

Furthermore, the unique experiences of women participants and the gender-related challenges they face was an unexpected finding within this research and offers compelling insight that contributes significantly to the limited literature of women hunters/anglers. Although research has outlined women's historic and contemporary participation in hunting/fishing and the gender barriers involved (Smalley 2005; Metcalf et al 2015), little research has focused specifically on the gendered dynamics or experiences of women within Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds. As such, this study shows that despite positive experiences and men's general welcoming (or sometimes active recruitment) of women into hunting/fishing, women reported a wide range of misogynistic experiences and gendered boundaries, including the underestimation of their skills (while fishing or shopping in outdoor stores), improper/gendered socialization, exclusion from hunting camps, being followed in the woods, and even physical and sexual assault.

Conversely, women interviewees also showed that hunting/fishing can be a site for empowerment, for overcoming barriers, and for redefining women's image and role within hunting/fishing. Fundamentally, a central contribution to the literature is how groups like the *Ontario Women Anglers* (OWA) are breaking down boundaries and enhancing inclusiveness within Ontario's fishing communities by helping women become anglers in a welcoming and non-judgemental environment. In the process, they are creating a pathway for women's empowerment and active involvement in and contribution to fishing and the broader outdoor community.

These findings also showed minor but important differences in the way race-ethnicity and/or gender is experienced within hunting/fishing. While both women (White and non-White) and (East and South) Asian men had their fishing/hunting skills and identities underestimated or overlooked, women did not report accusations of poaching, nor did they have to prove their moral worth. Rather, women had to prove their knowledge and ability against persistent stereotypes and assumptions about their supposed gender inferiority. By contrast, Asian men had to prove they were aware of and following the rules and that they were upholding the roles and duties of an outdoor-sports person.

Limitations and Future Directions of Research

There were several limitations within this study. One limitation was the small number of BIPOC participants, especially women. Though men and women of Colour, and also White women, provided a wealth of information, future research should include more interviews with people from these and other demographics (e.g. LGBTQ2+) and investigate how the intersection of race-ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, etc. shape people's experiences in hunting/fishing. Given the negative views towards and experiences of Asian anglers, future research should conduct more interviews with Asian Canadians who fish/hunt. As well, further interviews with Black Canadian hunters/anglers would fill the gap in the literature. Research in the US has examined the reasons Black Americans fish or partake in other outdoor activities (Toth and Brown 1997), but little research has focused on the experiences of Black Canadian anglers (or hunters). Additional research should focus on women-run hunting or fishing organizations in Canada, including how they help socialize women into hunting/fishing, the programs they offer, and the ways friendships and support systems in these organizations help women overcome barriers in hunting/fishing.

After writing the bulk of this dissertation, I became aware of an organization titled the *Brown Girl Outdoor World* (BGOW) which had recently formed (approx. 2018) to help break racial-ethnic and gendered barriers and to provide positive representations of women of Colour within hunting/fishing (BGOW 2023; Bessonov 2020). This organization represents a fundamental development within Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds that requires further research. Given the limited literature on BIPOC women in hunting/fishing, it is paramount to investigate the experiences of those in the BGOW (and similar organizations) and the successes and challenges the BGOW and its members face while challenging the (predominantly White, male) narrative and the limited representation of women of Colour who hunt/fish.

Since Indigenous people were not interviewed for this study– a fundamental limitation– interviews with Indigenous hunters/fishers and community leaders would have provided a greater balance of views and valuable insight into Indigenous peoples' experiences with non-Indigenous hunters/anglers, wildlife officials, or settler organizations. Moreover, studies in the future could further examine settler-Métis relations (or even First Nation-Métis relations) and settler attitudes towards Métis peoples' treaty rights since the *Powley* (2003) decision.[155] Within this dissertation

[155] The *Powley* case emerged in 1993 after two Métis men, Steve and Roddy Powley, were charged for killing a moose without a provincial hunting licence near Sault Ste Marie, Ontario. The Powleys, with the support of the Métis Nation of Ontario, argued that Métis hunting rights were protected under section 35 of the *Canadian Constitution*. In 2003, the Supreme court ruled in the Powleys' favour stating that the Métis community in or near Sault Ste Marie, Ontario has an Aboriginal right to hunt for food. The *Powley* decision also established a test (i.e. '*Powley* test') with criteria to define Métis rights and determine whether

research, most of the anti-Indigenous and anti-treaty views were either directed towards First Nations peoples or they did not distinguish between First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples. Explicit resentment towards Métis hunters did appear in a few online comments, however, this dissertation did not fully explore the nuances within anti-Indigenous/anti-treaty prejudices. Future research should also focus on the ways hunting/fishing has been a vehicle for positive Indigenous-settler treaty relations in Ontario and beyond. As well, research should investigate how/why some members of non-Indigenous oppressed groups support or oppose treaty harvesting rights and the ways this is influenced by hunter/angler socialization or as a strategy to avoid racial stigmatization and align with the 'dominant' group.

Another limitation was the inability to conduct participant observation and in-person interviews at various hunting/fishing sites, outdoor stores, etc. Originally, I had planned to utilize these research methods to observe intergroup interactions and interview participants in the field. Due to COVID pandemic restrictions, however, these methods had to be omitted and revised to include telephone or Zoom interviews. As a result, important findings may have been lost. Given the limited research on these topics, future research would greatly benefit by including in-person field work to investigate the racial-ethnic and gendered dynamics in hunting/fishing.

Aside from the limitations, research should also analyze the strong sense of stigmatization felt by hunters/anglers in Ontario or across Canada. Indeed, an unexpected, though not surprising, finding was how most participants thought that hunters/anglers are highly stigmatized by animal rights groups, vegetarians, and city dwelling non-hunters. Several participants and commenters online illustrated how adhering to hunter/angler roles and responsibilities not only preserves the environment but also the public image of hunters/anglers and that a tarnished image could result in the closure of public access points to forests and waterways or additional firearm regulations. This fear extended into racial territory where the disdain towards Asian and Indigenous peoples (e.g. poaching, littering, leaving fish carcasses) was also fuelled by the view they were tarnishing the image of all hunters/anglers and endangering (predominantly) White Canadians' outdoor opportunities.

Moreover, the large number of would-be interviewees who declined to participate (approx. 45) after learning more about the study raised several questions. Although the reasons were unknown, others who participated described their hesitancy and concerns about whether the study would further stigmatize hunters/anglers by labelling them as racists. Since interviews were conducted at the height of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2020 and the topic of racism was at the forefront of public discussions, 'political avoidance norms' (Denis 2020) and/or the fear of appearing or being labelled

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other Métis groups or individuals are entitled to such rights (Métis Nation of Ontario 2023; Government of Canada 2015).

racist may have repelled some from participating. Concurrently, a few participants were eager to be interviewed to disconfirm hunter/angler stereotypes (e.g. 'redneck racist') and present a positive image of the outdoor community.

Although research has outlined how hunter/angler ethics can work to manage or deflect stigmas (Lord and Winter 2021; McLeod 2007), little research has investigated the stigma felt by hunters/anglers in Ontario and the stigma management strategies they employ. Future research would benefit by analyzing the real and perceived stigmas towards hunters/anglers, as well as the extent hunter/angler identities are salient (or hidden) across contexts or social networks, the specific frames or linguistic strategies available to avoid stigmas, and how ethno-racialized groups are sometimes blamed for purportedly stigmatizing all hunters/anglers.

Closing Remarks

Overall, this study showed the dynamic ways prejudices, ideologies, and group boundaries are learned, reproduced, reinforced, experienced, responded to, and challenged within Ontario's hunting/fishing worlds. Conversely, the passions for hunting/fishing and being in nature can be uniting and encourage positive intergroup interactions and relationships. Indeed, hunting/fishing can be a site for breaking down racial-ethnic or gendered barriers and a pathway for non-Indigenous peoples' solidarity with and respect for Indigenous peoples' hunting/fishing rights and sovereignty. Nevertheless, it is my hope that this study will encourage self-reflection among hunter/anglers, particularly White male Canadians, to understand not only the privileges we are afforded, but also the challenges and prejudices one can face in hunting/fishing based on their race-ethnicity, gender, and/or immigrant and non-citizen status. Although some participants and readers of this dissertation may not agree with all the interpretations and analyses, I hope it will inspire ongoing dialogue and learning about the prejudices and social hierarchies that permeate inside (and outside) hunting/fishing. If discussion about racism and misogyny in hunting/fishing are avoided or denied, if prominent (White, male) hunting/fishing organizations and public figures do not speak out, or if defining groups as a threat is justified under the guise of conservation, then the potential for ongoing violence against Indigenous people, Asian Canadians, and other People of Colour will continue to lurk throughout Ontario's forests and waters.

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Appendix 1: Interview Guide for White Participants

1. What do you hunt and/or fish?
    a. How long have you hunted/fished?
    b. How often do you hunt/fish?
    c. Who do you hunt/fish with?
2. What is your ethnic/racial background?
    a. Do you have a strong or weak attachment to your ethnic/racial background? Please explain.
    b. In what ways is your ethnic or racial background important for your identity? Please explain.
3. How has hunting and fishing affected your sense of identity?
    a. Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for your identity? Why or why not?
    b. Is hunting/fishing important for your ethnic/racial identity? What are other important aspects of your identity?
    c. In what ways is conservation important for a hunter or fisher identity?
    d. Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for a Canadian national identity? Why or why not?
    e. Do you think hunting and fishing is a prominent feature of Canada's culture or heritage?
    f. Overall, what does it mean to be a hunter and fisher in Canada?
4. What are your experiences with other White hunters or fishers?
    a. Do you feel your experiences are mostly positive or negative? Why or why not?
    b. In what ways have your experiences been shaped by the context or the people you were with?
    c. Do you think urban or rural contexts make a difference? If so, in what ways?

   d. Overall, do you think people from all backgrounds should be welcome to hunt and fish in Canada? Why or why not?

5. What are your experiences with non-White hunters or fishers? (Ask same set of sub questions listed above)
6. What are your views towards non-White hunters and fishers?
7. To what extent have your views towards non-White hunters/fishers been influenced by:
   a. Other hunters or fishers? Sport organizations?
   b. Friends, family or acquaintances?
   c. Personal experiences?
   d. Other sources of information?
8. Overall, do you feel any non-White (e.g. Asian) hunters and fishers are stereotyped or stigmatized?
   a. If so, in what ways? Could you give examples?
   b. Do you agree or disagree?
   c. How did you learn about this?
9. Do you feel there are strong ethnic/racial boundaries among hunters and fishers?
   a. To what extent do hunters and fishers associate with those inside and outside their own race/ethnicity? Gender?
   b. Have you witnessed many intergroup friendships or interactions while hunting or fishing?
10. Are there any challenges you have encountered when hunting and/or fishing?
11. Have you experienced or witnessed harassment or stereotypes when hunting or fishing?
    a. If so, by who?
    b. What did they say or do?
    c. In what context did this occur?
       i. Rural or urban?
12. How do you respond to stereotypes or harassment?

a. Do you use any particular strategies to counteract stereotypes or stigmas?
b. In what ways was your response shaped by the context or the people you were with?
c. Do you think you'd respond in another way if you were in a different context or with different people?
d. Do you think responding to or experiencing stereotypes or harassment has impacted your hunting/fishing activities? Social relationships? If so, in what ways?
e. Do you ever prepare for or anticipate negative experiences before you hunt or fish? If so, in what ways?

13. Do you feel such stereotypes or harassment is racist? Why or why not?
    a. In your view, what is considered 'racist/prejudiced'?
    b. How did you learn about racial prejudice?
    c. Do you think prejudiced views are prevalent among white hunters and fishers?
    d. How do you respond?
    e. What is the best way to respond?
    f. Have you ever challenged racial prejudice or stereotypes? If so, in what ways?
    g. Do you think prejudice is a problem in Canada? Why or why not?
    h. What would be the best way to reduce prejudice in Canada?
14. Are you a member of a hunting and fishing organization?
    a. How long have you been a member?
    b. Why did you join?
    c. How do you feel about the contribution that the organization makes towards sport hunting/fishing?
        i. How about the conservation of wildlife and resources?
        ii. Canadian culture and heritage?
15. In what ways has membership in the organization contributed to your identity?

   a. What about Canadian national identity?

16. Has the organization shaped your views towards other ethnic/racial groups? If so, in what ways?
   a. Political views?
17. Is there anything else that you would like to add?
18. Would you like to receive a copy of the results? Mail or email?
19. Do you know any hunters or fishers who may be interested in participating?
   a. If so, could you pass along my contact information or forward an email script which includes a brief summary of the research as well as contact info?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Participants of Colour:

1. What do you hunt and/or fish?
    a. How long have you hunted/fished?
    b. How often do you hunt/fish?
    c. Who do you hunt/fish with?
2. What is your ethnic/racial background?
    a. Do you have a strong or weak attachment to your ethnic/racial background? Please explain.
    b. In what ways is your ethnic or racial background important for your identity? Please explain.
3. How has hunting and fishing affected your sense of identity?
    a. Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for your identity? Why or why not?
    b. Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for your ethnic/racial identity?
    c. What are other important aspects of your identity?
    d. Do you feel hunting and fishing is important for a Canadian national identity? Why or why not?
    e. What about Canada's culture or heritage?
    f. Overall, what does it mean to be a hunter and fisher in Canada?
4. What are your experiences with other non-White hunters or fishers?
    a. Do you feel your experiences are mostly positive or negative? Why or why not?
    b. In what ways have your experiences been shaped by the context you were in? What about the people you were with?
    c. Do urban or rural contexts make a difference? If so, in what ways?
5. What are your experiences with White hunters and fishers? (Ask same set of sub questions listed above)

6. Are there any challenges you have encountered when hunting and/or fishing?
7. Have you experienced harassment or stereotypes when hunting or fishing?
    a. If so, by who?
    b. What did they say or do?
    c. In what context did this occur?
        i. Urban or rural?
    d. Were you alone or with friends, acquaintances or strangers?
    e. How do you make sense of these experiences?
8. How do you respond to stereotypes or harassment?
    a. Do you use any particular strategies to counteract stereotypes or stigmas?
    b. In what ways was your response shaped by the context? What about the people you were with?
    c. Do you think you'd respond in another way if you were in a different context? Different people?
    d. Do you think responding to or experiencing stereotypes or harassment has impacted your hunting/fishing activities? Social relationships? If so, in what ways?
    e. Do you ever prepare for or anticipate negative experiences before you hunt or fish? If so, in what ways?
9. Did you have any social support to help you through this experience?
    a. In what ways has support from friends, family or other sources helped you deal with the experience?
10. Do you feel such stereotypes or harassment is racist? Why or why not?
11. In your view, what is considered 'racist/prejudiced'?
    a. How did you learn about racial prejudice?
    b. Do you think prejudiced views are prevalent among White or other non-White Canadian hunters and fishers?
    c. How do you respond?
    d. What is the best way to respond?

   e. Do you ever challenge racial prejudice and stereotypes? If so, in what ways?
   f. Have you experienced racism or discrimination outside of hunting/fishing?
   g. Do you think racial prejudice is a serious problem in Canada? Why or Why not?
   h. What would be the best way to reduce prejudice in Canada?

12. Overall, do you feel hunters and fishers from your own ethnic/racial group are stereotyped or stigmatized?
    a. If so, in what ways?
    b. What are the challenges ________ hunters/fishers face?
    c. How do other _________ hunters/fishers respond to stereotypes or stigmas?
    d. Do you feel _______hunters/fishers are targeted by the Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR)?
13. Do you feel other non-white hunters/fishers are stereotyped or discriminated against?
    a. If so, could you elaborate or give examples?
14. Do you feel there are strong ethnic/racial boundaries between hunters and fishers?
    a. To what extent do hunters and fishers associate with those inside or outside of their own race/ethnicity? Gender?
    b. Have you witnessed many intergroup friendships or interactions while hunting or fishing?
15. What are your views towards White or other non-White hunters or fishers?
16. To what extent have your views towards White/non-White hunters and fishers been influenced by:
    a. Other hunters and fishers? Sport organizations?
    b. Friends, family or acquaintances?
    c. Personal experiences?
    d. Other sources of information?
17. Are you a member of a hunting or fishing organization?

a. How long have you been a member?

b. Why did you join?

c. How do you feel about the contribution that the organization makes towards sport hunting/fishing?

    i. How about the conservation of wildlife and resources?

    ii. Canadian culture and heritage?

18. In what ways has membership in the organization contributed to your identity?

    a. What about Canadian national identity?

19. Has the organization shaped your views towards other ethnic/racial groups? If so, in what ways?

    a. Political views?

20. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

21. How would you like to receive the results? Mail or Email?

22. Do you know any hunters or fishers who may be interested in participating?

    a. If so, could you pass along my contact information or forward an email script which includes a brief summary of the research as well as contact info?